THE FIRST LETTER BOOK

OF THE

EAST INDIA COMPANY:

1600—1619

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The Register of Letters &c.

of the Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies

1600-1619

EDITED BY

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD MD KCIE

ASSISTED BY

WILLIAM FOSTER B'A

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TO THE

SETT PREMCHUND ROYCHUND,

HINDOO MERCHANT

OF

The Loyal City of Bombay,

WHO NEVER LOST HIS HEAD IN PROSPERITY,

NOR HEART IN HIS ADVERSITY,

AND WHOSE SPLENDID ENDOWMENT

OF LEARNING AND CHARITY IN WESTERN INDIA

TIME, WHICH TEMPERS AND PROPORTIONS ALL THINGS,

WILL LASTINGLY RECKON UNTO HIM

FOR RIGHTEOUSNESS,

I, EVER GAZING

WISTFULLY

EASTWARD

ACROSS THE SEVEN SEAS,

DEDICATE THIS VOLUME.

"Omnis, in Arctois, populus, quicunque pruinis
Nascitur, indomitus bellis, et Martis amator.
Quicquid ad Eoos tractus, mundique teporem
Labitur, emollit gentes clementia coeli."

LUCAN, *Pharsalia*, viii. 363.

"Sero respicitur tellus, ubi fune soluto
Currit in immensum panda carina salum."

OVID, *Amores*, ii. 11, 23.

"God is mightier and wiser than we, therefore He does with us according to His pleasure."

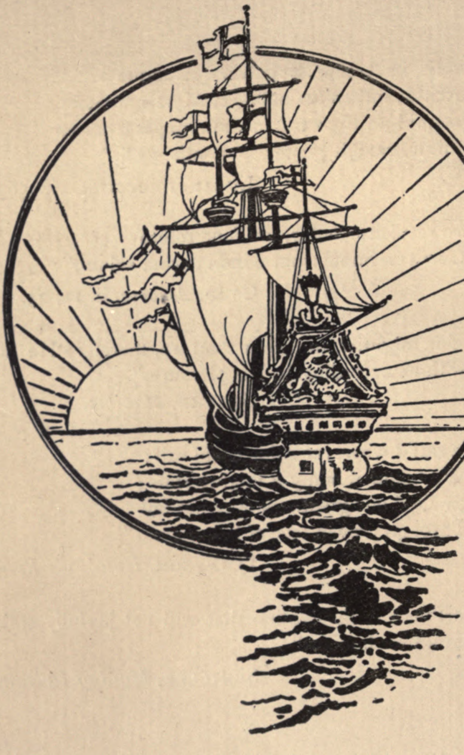
GOETHE, *Maxims*.

"We sail'd wherever ships could sail;
We founded many a mighty state;
Pray God our greatness may not fail
Through craven fear of being great."

TENNYSON, *Hands all Round*.

"Worthless is the Nation that will not joyfully stake its all for honour."

SCHILLER, *Maid of Orleans*.



INTRODUCTION

"And Thomas eke with his beyete Of Ynde."
GOWER: *Confessio Amantis*, Liber v.

IN the preface to the second reprint, by Messrs. W. H. Allen & Co., in 1891, of my *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, after gratefully testifying to the admirable manner in which the Registry at the India Office had, since 1879, been rearranged, and its contents made readily accessible to the public, by Mr. F. C. Danvers, the Registrar and Superintendent of Records, and to the attention that was simultaneously being given by Mr. George Walter Forrest, B.A., Director of Records, Calcutta, to the custody of the state archives in India, I ventured to express the hope that means might be devised for reproducing those records in print more fully and rapidly in the future than had been found possible in the past. They have hitherto chiefly been used for the compilation of "Memoirs" on the history and organization of different Departments of the Government of India; and of "Selections," giving an account of the policy and procedure of the various branches of British Administration in India. The *Memoir on the Indian Surveys* prepared by Mr. Clements R. Markham, C.B., in 1871, and since followed by a continuing volume from the pen of Mr. C. E. D. Black, is a classical example of the former kind of official publications; while of the latter we have recently had a brilliant illustration in Professor Forrest's *Selections from the Records of the*

Foreign Department of the Government of India, 1772-85. There are, besides, Mr. Noel Sainsbury's five monumental volumes of *Calendars of State Papers: East Indies*, which include the two India Office series of "Court Minutes" and "Original Correspondence" from 1599 to 1634.

But the Government both at home and in India might, I contended, still further promote the diffusion of a thorough knowledge of the rise and progress of the British Indian Empire, by encouraging private enterprise, firstly, in the facsimile reproduction of such graphic documents in their possession, or in that of private persons, as those photo-lithographed by Mr. William Griggs of Peckham in the *Journal of Indian Art* for July, 1890, January and April, 1891, and July, 1892; secondly, in the publication, *verbatim et literatim*, of selected series of the records, such as the "Court Books" or "Court Minutes," and "Original Correspondence," after the manner of the publication, in 1886, by Mr. Henry Stevens, of Vermont, U.S., of the first volume [1599-1603] of the "Court Books," under the title of *The Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies;* and finally, by extending the utmost possible assistance to trained scholars of recognized literary capacity, who would be found willing to rewrite the history of British India, or well-defined portions of it, direct from the stored muniments of Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, and the India Office.

Through my innate delight in the handling of trade products and the study of their history, and through the lines in which my official duties have been cast, and the opportunities thus afforded me, as well as by the limitations of natural capacity, it is in the two first directions that I have personally been most interested in furthering the general utilization of the India Office records. It was, therefore, with the liveliest satisfaction that, about eighteen months ago, I received a letter from Mr. Bernard Quaritch, offering, in the most generous terms, to bring out a second fac-simile volume of the records, in series with Mr. Henry Stevens' *Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies*, if I would select the volume, and edit it for the press. I thought at first of the second volume of the "Court Books," but ultimately settled on the present volume; and chiefly because of the

obscurity it had lain in for three hundred years, whereas the "Court Books" had been made well acquainted and familiar to us through Mr. Noel Sainsbury's invaluable "Calendars." The volume was known to Thomas Rundall and used by him in his *Narratives of Voyages towards the North-West in search of a Passage to Cathay and India* [Hakluyt Society, 1849], wherein he entitles it "Court Miscellaneous Book" and "Court Miscellany Book"; and it was known to Mr. Bolton Corney, who, in *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to Bantam and the Maluco Islands* [Hakluyt Society, 1855], reproduced, more or less completely, ten of the documents it contains, calling it "Court Miscellaneous Book." But after this it was lost sight of for about thirty years. It was certainly not handed over to Mr. Sainsbury when he commenced his "Calendars" of the India Office records; and when, on page 151 of his first volume, he comes across a reference [in the "Court Book" for 1607] to the present volume, he notes:—"This register is missing." It was overlooked by me when, in 1879, I examined and reported on the supplementary miscellaneous "Old Records" enumerated in the "Statistics and Commerce Departmental List No. 2397," and other Departmental Lists of the India Office; and the lost volume was only found again when these records were exhaustively explored and collated under the direction of Mr. F. C. Danvers, on his appointment as Registrar and Superintendent of Records in January, 1884.

The volume has been generally known as the "Miscellaneous Court Book," and that is the description inscribed on its label. There seems, however, to be little doubt that the proper title is the one now adopted, viz: "The Register of Letters, &c." of the Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies. This is the title by which it is designated in the earlier "Court Minutes";[1] although later on it seems to have lost its original title and is referred to as "the booke wher ye Commissions be."[2] It is in fact the first Letter Book and Register of the "London" or "Old" East India Company.

Nothing definite has been determined regarding the date, and

[1] See pp. 152, 219, 236, 267, 305, and 307 *infra*.
[2] See p. 446 *infra*.

the copyists of the volume. It must of course have been in existence at the date of the first entry in the "Court Minutes" relative to it, viz 28th March, 1607;[1] but probably not long before. The handwriting of the first portion of the MS. would appear to be identical with that of the second volume of the "Court Minutes" or "Court Books," commencing the 31st of December, 1606, and differs from that of the first volume, 1599 to 1603. The documents up to about 1606-7 are entered carefully, and one may presume leisurely. They are well written, with the initial words in "Old English" letters. This, together with the fact that they are only roughly in order of date, suggests the hypothesis that they were entered up all at once, from drafts already on hand, rather than as they were from day to day received. On the other hand, the volume cannot have been begun later than about November, 1607, for it contains a document of that date, corrected and interlineated, as though first drafted in it, and corrected there; and a letter of the 21st of December, 1607, entered by another writer, who has also made a corresponding entry in the index. Probably the volume dates from the latter half of 1606. The only entry in the "Court Minutes" that may possibly militate against this conclusion, is that of the 6th of July, 1607, ordering that "all letters be entred into a Booke and Coated for future memorie as occasion may fall out." This would seem to imply the non-existence of the present volume. But it may only mean that the "Adventurers of the Fourth Voyage" wished to have their letters entered up with regularity and care, or, still more probably, it may refer to a separate book. Certainly some of their letters to the East Indies are entered in the present volume, but none from the East Indies.

The first half of the MS. is all in one handwriting, while the rest seems to be in two or three, and soon gets more and more hurried and scrabbled; and it may plausibly be conjectured that the copyist of the first half was William Leighton, Secretary to the "Third Voyage" [1606-9], and presumably the official who kept the second volume of the "Court Minutes" commencing the 31st of

[1] See note, p. 152 *infra*.

December, 1606, the handwriting of which, as has already been said, is the same as that of the first part of the present volume. The objection might be raised that, in February and March 1609, when William Leighton was away from office, and a substitute was appointed to attend the Court Meetings in his place, no alteration is perceptible in the writing of the Minutes. We know, however, that the filed Minutes were not written at the time of the Court Meetings, but were entered afterwards from rough notes; and the probability is that the substitute took the notes of the Minutes, and that William Leighton wrote them in subsequently on his return to duty. So careful a caligraphist would never have willingly tolerated the interpolation of any inferior penmanship in the "Court Books" regularly kept by himself. Leighton seems to have been elected Secretary some time in 1606. He was re-elected in July, 1607, July, 1608, and July, 1609; and then he disappears from view. By a Minute of the 28th of August, 1607, he was ordered to have £162 a year from the "Adventurers in the Fourth and Fifth Voyages."

In reproducing the volume every endeavour has been made to present a rigidly accurate and literal copy of it; and with this end in view the original has been followed even in its blunders. Most of these are self-evident, but where they might possibly prove misleading an explanatory note has been appended. In the same scrupulous adherence to Mr. Henry Stevens' plan of reproduction the original punctuation has been preserved. In short, the only liberty taken with the text has been in, here and there, conjecturally supplying, within square brackets, an obviously missing word. Reproducing the volume in this way, *verbatim et literatim*, has of course involved the employment of a few types somewhat unfamiliar to modern eyes. They will, however, be readily understood. Thus: ꝑ means "per" or "par," as in "ꝑfect," or "ꝑticular"; ƀ means "ber," as in "Roƀt"; ꝑ means "pro," as in "ꝑfit" and "ꝑvidence"; ꝭ is equivalent to a final "s" or "es," as in "merchaunteꝭ" or "damageꝭ"; while a mark over or through a letter, or a letter raised above the line, signifies the omission of an adjacent letter. Similarly, wherever the copyists have changed their own style of writing, in order to emphasize a word, or have engrossed an initial or

important word, with the same object, the alteration has been marked in the printed reproduction by a change of type as from "roman" to "italics," or from "small type" to "capitals." The only exceptions to these rules are that, in the marginal insets and the footnotes, no "peculiars" have been used, contractions being written out in full; and that in one or two instances in the text, such a word as "Rob̃t" occurring in "italics" has been turned into "*Robert.*" Both these deviations were followed simply because "peculiars" in the kinds of type used for the marginal insets, footnotes, &c., were unobtainable without having matrixes cut expressly for them, and it was not worth while going to this cost for so limited a use.

After William Leighton, until nearly the end of the book, the perfunctory copyists gave up engrossing the first word of each document in "Old English" letters; and, in accordance with strict rule, the ornamental first letter and capitals for the rest of the word ought also to have been dropped in the printed reproduction of the Register; but I found it impossible to so far sacrifice the lust of the eye to the witness of a consistently good conscience, whatever the consequences—

> "Of every worldes cure
> Fortune stant in aventure
> Parauntur well, parauntur wo.
> But how as ever that it go,
> It shall be by my honde assaied"

—and I have accordingly continued the use of the ornamental letters and capitals for all the initial words to the end of the volume.

The notes are, for the most part, based on gleanings from *Purchas his Pilgrimes* and from the India Office records, in consulting which Mr. Noel Sainsbury's *Calendars of State Papers: East Indies* have been of inestimable service. For the rest, except in the case of obvious and well-known works of reference, full acknowledgment has been made, in each instance, of the sources of information.

The official value of the volume consists in the early date, and important character, of the documents it contains. Over one-fourth of them are of the first six years [1600 to 1606] of the

existence of "The London East India Company," commonly called "The Old East India Company," a period of which the records have hitherto been extremely meagre. Exclusive of the "Court Minutes," there are only fifty-four original MSS. in the India Office belonging to the period, and of this number forty-eight are included in the present volume; while of a large proportion of the one hundred and seventy-eight letters and commissions embraced in it, no other first-hand copies are known. The volume is especially serviceable in filling up the gap caused by the never-to-be-sufficiently-regretted loss of the "Court Books" or "Court Minutes" for 1603-1606, and 1610-14, and in thus sustaining the continuity of the contemporary official records for the first obscure years of the "Factory Period" in the history of the East India Company, extending from the formation of the "London" Company in 1600 to its absorption in the "English Company trading to the East Indies" in 1709.

This period of purely commercial operations may be divided into three well-marked sub-periods; the first from 1600 to 1623, the date of the "Massacre of Amboyna," during which the Company pushed its trade in the East Indies under the greatest difficulties, but without exciting much popular attention; the second from 1623 to 1660, during which, partly in consequence of the national solicitude aroused by the massacre of the Company's Agents at Amboyna, a general competition was rapidly developed throughout the country for a participation in the commerce of the East Indies; and the third and last, from 1660 to 1709, during which this disastrous rivalry at length resulted in the amalgamation of the "London," or "Old," and the "English," or "New," Companies, in the "United Company of Merchants of England trading into the East Indies," commonly known as "The Honourable East India Company;" whose great commercial Empire was sequestrated to the British Crown in 1858. The present volume, it will be found, throws a flood of fresh light on the home and Indian affairs of the Company during a considerable part of the first section of the great "Factory Period" of their career.

The volume, in short, covers all the years of the Company's "Separate Voyages," and the first seven years of their "Joint Stock Voyages."

Of the twelve "Separate Voyages," "The First," 1601, under James Lancaster, consisted of the *Red Dragon*, *Hector*, *Assention*, *Susan* and *Guift;*

"The Second," 1604, under Henry Middleton, consisted of the *Red Dragon*, *Hector*, *Assention* and *Susan;*

"The Third," 1607, under Keeling, consisted of the *Red Dragon*, *Hector* and *Consent;* and William Hawkins, who commanded the *Hector*, left her at Surat, and proceeded to Agra;

"The Fourth," 1608, under Sharpey, consisted of the *Assention* and *Union;*

"The Fifth," 1609, was under David Middleton in the *Consent*, the only ship sent;

"The Sixth," 1610, under Sir Henry Middleton, consisted of the *Trades Increase*, the *Peppercorn*, commanded by Nicholas Downton, and the *Darling;*

"The Seventh Voyage," 1611, was under Anthony Hippon in the *Globe*, the only ship sent;

"The Eighth," 1611, under John Saris, consisted of the *Clove*, *Hector* and *Thomas;*

"The Ninth," 1612, was under Edmund Marlowe, in the *James* [James I.], detached from the "*Tenth Voyage*";

"The Tenth," 1612, under Thomas Best, consisted of the *Hoseander*, *Solomon* [*i.e.* James I. again] and *Red Dragon;*

"The Eleventh," 1612, under Best in the *Solomon*, detached from the "Tenth Voyage";

And "The Twelfth," also in 1612, was under Christopher Newport, in the *Expedition;* which was commissioned chiefly to carry Sir Robert Sherley [brother of Sir Anthony], Ambassador from Shah Abbas to King James I., back to Persia, where he died in 1628.

Of "the Joint Stock Voyages," "The First," 1614, under Downton, consisted of the *New Year's Gift*, *Merchant Hope*, *Hector* and *Solomon*, and is the only one on the Joint Stock account of any general interest. The fleet which sailed in January, 1615, under Peyton, took out Sir Thomas Roe, on board the *Lion*, as Ambassador from James I. to the "Court of the Great Mogol" [Jehanghier, 1605-27] at Agra. Another, under Benjamin Joseph, consisting of the *Charles*, *Unicorn*, *Globe*, *Swan* and *Rose*, sailed

in February, 1616, with Edward Terry on board the *Charles*, as "Chaplain to the Right Honble Sir Thomas Row, Knt:". William Baffin served in the fleet, consisting of the *London*, *Hart*, *Roebuck* and *Eagle*, which sailed in February, 1620, under Shillinge. The latter was killed in an encounter with the Portuguese fleet in January, 1621, off Ras Jask, and was buried near the town of Jask; while Baffin died in January, 1622, of a wound received at the siege of a Portuguese fort on the island of Kishm, where he lies buried. John Davis, who sailed as pilot on board the *Tiger*, in Sir Edward Michelborne's independent voyage in 1604, was slain in December, 1605, in an encounter with a Japanese junk in the Straits of Malacca, and there found his watery grave within sight of the island of Bintang.[1]

At home these twenty years were marked, in the general history of England, by the insurrection of Essex, the occupation of Kinsale by the Spaniards, the debates in Parliament on monopolies, which Queen Elizabeth consented to abolish, all of which events took place in 1601; the death of Elizabeth and accession of James I. in 1603; the treaty of peace concluded with Spain in 1604; "the Gunpowder Plot" in 1605; the first permanent English settlement in America, made at Jamestown by the Virginia Company in 1608; the commencement of the colonisation of Ulster by the English and Scotch, and the institution of the order of Baronets in 1611; the negotiations with Spain concerning the marriage of Prince Charles, and the landing of the first Puritan settlers in America in 1620, the same year in which the German Protestants were defeated at the battle of Prague; and the incessant quarrels of James I. with his successive Parliaments, namely, those of 1604, 1614 [the "Addled Parliament"], 1621 and 1624, the last finally declaring monopolies to be illegal: while in the particular history of the Company, these same years are notable for the grant of their first charter by Queen Elizabeth, dated the 31st of December, 1600, "to 1615," and of the twelve charters of James I., namely: (1) of 23rd February, 1604, licensing the

[1] See *The Life of John Davis*, 1550-1605. By Clements R. Markham, C.B., F.R.S. George Philip and Son, 1889.

transport of £12,000 into the East Indies; (2) of 9th August, 1606, permitting the Company to sell spices in bulk for exportation ungarbled; (3) of 5th January, 1607, and (4) of 8th February, 1608, licensing the transport of £20,000 in each of these years; (5) of 22nd May, 1609, licensing the Company to sell to other merchants ungarbled spices in whole packs, to be by them transported in whole packs; (6) of 31st May, 1609, making the monopoly granted by Queen Elizabeth "perpetual"; (7) of 4th December, 1610, providing that neither the Company, nor their merchandises, should be thereafter sued, vexed, arrested, molested, or disquieted in respect of their trading, with other privileges; (8) of 14th December, 1615, confirming the right of the Company to transport to the East Indies foreign silver, either as brought into the Kingdom, or coined anew in the Mint within the Tower of London; (9) of 11th July, 1617, renewing the licenses granted to the Company to sell ungarbled spices, and transport silver; (10) of 16th January, 1618, renewing the license to transport foreign bullion; (11) of 4th February, 1623, granting the Company the right to chastise and correct all English persons residing in the East Indies and committing any misdemeanour; and (12) of 11th October, 1624, pardoning the Company for certain offences, and granting to them such sums of money, and other goods and merchandises "as did belong to the King."

The above brief enumeration of the Company's "Voyages," and of their "Charters" or "Letters Patent" of Monopoly, Confirmation, License, and Privilege, during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, will serve to explain almost any document in the present volume, wherever it may be opened.

Although these years were "the day of small things" with the Company, the reaction of their narrow operations on the wider history of England was even then apparent, not only in the Parliamentary discussions on monopolies, but in the whole intellectual activity of the time, especially as applied to the consideration of the question of protection or freedom in commerce; which was not definitively determined for this country until 1846, and then not absolutely and unequivocally, for the correlated and subsidiary problem of combination or freedom in

labour still remains unsolved by us: the popular tendency of the moment seeming, indeed, to be to decide it violently, that is, by provoking the antagonism of political parties on the question, in defiance of those fundamental principles of economic progress, the unrestricted working of which has within fifty years made the words "foreign countries" an unmeaning phrase for Englishmen by making the whole world Britain.[1]

The contemporary influence of the Company's early voyages is to be traced even in the plays of Shakespeare; and the uniform success of all the "Separate Voyages," excepting "the Fourth," at once stimulated those commercial and industrial controversies in which were gradually laid the solid foundations of the economic philosophy that found its first systematic, and, to the present day, its greatest, exponent in Adam Smith. It is in the second and third portions of the great "Factory Period" that these polemical

[1] Compare Spenser's lines in "The Ruines of Rome"; which are far more true of the proud commercial empire of the English people, than of the merely military conquests of "those antique Cæsars sleeping long in darke":—

"Who list the Romane greatnes forth to figure,
Him needeth not to seeke for usage right
Or line, or lead, or rule, or squaire, to measure
Her length, her breadth, her deepnes, or her hight;
But him behooves to vew in compasse round
All that the Ocean graspes in his long armes;
Be it where the yerely starre doth scortch the ground,
Or where colde Boreas blowes his bitter stormes.
Rome was th' whole world, and al the world was Rome;
And if things nam'd their names doo equalize,
When land and sea ye name, then name ye Rome;
And, naming Rome, ye land and sea comprize:
For th' auncient Plot of Rome displayed plaine
The map of all the wide world doth containe."

We have, in truth, by means of the leverage of our free-trade policy, raised the whole world in company with ourselves, our colonies, and dependencies, to the highest pitch of industrial and commercial greatness yet reached by mankind.

The great evil that has grown up with free trade, as established in the United Kingdom, is the concentration of wealth, often of inordinate wealth, in the hands of a few, and the corresponding increase in the number of the unemployed poor; and the most pressing social need of our generation is the more equable distribution of wealth among all classes of the community: but this is not to be brought about by aggressive combinations of labour, with their direct corollary in universal commercial protection against foreign competition; a return to which would but hasten our emphatically trading empire to swift decay.

publications become more and more numerous and significant; but already, between 1600 and 1623, the year of the Massacre of Amboyna, the following, all of recognized importance, had appeared :—

Gerard Malynes' *England's View in the unmasking of two Paradoxes*, 1603;

Tobias Gentleman's *England's Way to win Wealth*, 1614;

Britains Busse, by E. S., 1615;

Trades Increase, by J. R., 1615;

Sir Dudley Digges' *Defence of Trade*, 1615;

Thomas Mun's *Discourse of Trade from England to the East Indies*, 1621;

E. Misselden's *Free Trade, or the Means to make Trade flourish*, 1622;

——————— *Circle of Commerce*, 1623;

Gerard Malynes' *Lex Mercatoria*, 1622; and

——————— *Centre of Circle of Commerce*, 1623.

J. Hagthorpe's *England's Exchequer, a Discourse of the Sea and Navigation*, 1625, also belongs essentially to the same empirical stage in the development of economic doctrine reached by the rest of the writings on the sovereignty of the seas, state monopolies, private enterprises, the exportation of bullion and coin, exchanges, the balance of trade, *et cetera*, all published during the reign [1603-25] of James I.

If to these works we add François Pyrard de Laval's *Voyage to the East Indies*, between 1601 and 1611, with Pietro Della Valle's *Travels in Turkey, Persia and India*, between 1614 and 1626, and the logs of the early voyages of the East India Company preserved by Purchas, and all these to the present volume, and the rest of the contemporary India Office records, it becomes clear that there are now materials enough available for a complete and almost exhaustively detailed account of the twenty-three years of the obscure and carefully experimental beginnings of the East India Company. I only wish that Mr. Walter Besant would take up the period for illustration in one of his healthful historical novels. The scenes, the properties, the *dramatis personæ*, the authentic history, even suggestions of the love story underlying it, are all there ready to his creative hand; and a secondary serio-comic

character, the double martyr to love and conscience, of unique originality. This was one of the Company's servants in India, whose letters to his principals are full of remorseful confessions of the influence over him of the alluring beauty of the Hindu women, and of his grotesque contrivances for resisting it.

> "In eche of them he fint somewhat
> That pleseth him, or this, or that.
> Some one, for she is white of skinne,
> Some one, for she is noble of kinne,
> Some one, for she hath a rosy cheke,
> Some one, for that she semeth meke,
> Some one, for she hath eyen grey,
> Some one, for she can laugh and pley,
> Some one, for she is longe and small,
> Some one, for she is lite and tall,
> Some one, for she is pale and bleche,
> Some one, for she is softe of speche,
> Some one, for she can dance and sing,
> So that something of his liking
> He fint, and tho no more he fele
> But that she hath a litel hele,[1]
> It is inough, that he therefore
> Her love, and thus a hundred score."

At last he can no longer withstand it, and writes to inform his employers that, rather than yield to the overmastering tempta-

[1] The Hindu women of the higher castes, or as it might now, under British rule, be more accurately said, of the wealthier classes, are remarkable for the perfect proportions and dainty modelling of their hands and feet, the classical beauty of which is enhanced in its effect on the beholder by the unrestrained ease and natural grace of their whole presence, demeanour and carriage, as they recline in statuesque repose, or move about, like the immortal goddesses of Homer, enwrapped in the long elegant folds of their bright flowing draperies. Their olive-tinted hands, passing into ivory white on the palms, moderately plump, and with straight firm fingers, tapering to the tips, are the sweet gracious hands of the Capitoline Leda, the hands attributed also by the Greeks and Romans to Pallas Athene. Their feet are the fair feet of the Medicean Venus, smoothly rounded, high arched in sole and instep, full and elastic in the tread, the toes all delicately dimpled at the articulations, the second being longer than the first, and the little toe "preternaturally small," as some modern critics have ignorantly affirmed of the masterpiece of Cleomenes [I.], and with the strongly knit round "heels of Atalanta," one of the lesser pulcheritudes ascribed to Aspasia. They are the "winged heels" of the poets, and, with the corresponding springy tread, are the result of the free exercise throughout unending generations of

tions to which he was exposed, he has subjected himself, by the topical application of a douche of molten lead, to a voluntary humiliation difficult to parallel anywhere in the heroical hagiology of Christendom. And there ends this strange, new *Confessio Amantis*.

The incident is a humorous illustration of the familiar relations always maintained between the Company and their servants in India ; based, as the present volume repeatedly indicates, on a devout sense of their responsibility in each other's well-being. When the Company was first founded, the feudal tradition of the affiliation of servants to their masters had not yet become obsolete in England, and, during the second half of the sixteenth, and the first half of the seventeenth centuries, it was, indeed, strengthened by the elevating spiritual significance given to all the conditions and concerns of our temporal existence by the prevailing puritanism of the times ; and notwithstanding that men have of themselves but little strength to rise above their natural frailties, the age was undeniably one of high religious profession and formality, touching and adorning the humblest details of

the naked, or the simply sandaled, foot. But now-a-days, Hindu ladies, particularly in the Presidency towns of India, under the blighting influences of our western ideas of impropriety, are becoming more and more opposed to appearing in public with uncovered feet, and are rapidly accustoming themselves to the use of shoes and slippers. In Bombay they had already in my time almost universally adopted the Persian style of slipper; and since then they have taken to English shoes, happily, made up in all sorts of coloured stuffs, and even, as I am informed, to stockings. It is saddening that in this way the healthful, picturesque habits of the ancient Aryas should one after the other be obliterated in their last surviving sanctuary, leaving the life of the modern world lowered to the dead level of the timid uniformity of the self-conscious West. But in spite of their going into shoes and stockings, and the scarcely less unwholesome abomination of gloves, the Hindu women will always retain an attractiveness, especially their own, in the automatic, rhythmical comportment, whether in rest or action, of their shapely hands and feet, which I can compare, in English art, only to the unlaboured freedom and refinement of the disposition of the feet and hands, as of the limbs generally, in Thomas Stothard's charming compositions of female figures. And after all, for lovely woman is supreme over every detraction, the "glancing," beneath waving robes, of "many twinkling feet," all in their "finical shoes" of gayest dyes and spangled over with sparkling gold, will make a pretty picture anywhere, and is a sight to be constantly seen in the loftily shadowed streets, and among the spacious suburban gardens, of the many-languaged Town and Island of Bombay.

public and domestic life; and the East India Company and their agents at least endeavoured to give as full effect to them in the practice of the amenities, charities, and moralities of the Christian faith, as was within the capability of contemporary humanity. The Company's servants of the period have, on account of the apparently extravagant eating and drinking that was constantly going on in the Indian factories, been held up to odium by superficial writers, as an ungodly set of gluttons, drunkards, and miscellaneous debauchees. But they were obliged to systematically keep open table for the entertainment of passing European travellers, in whose gratefully appreciative reports these unmerited reproaches have, for the most part, originated; while the truly fearless fashion of their hospitality was but part of the high Roman living of their day. Those read in the seventeenth century receipts for such dishes as "florendines," "battalias," "pulpatoons," "tansies," and even "an amulet of eggs," as then prepared, and for such "entertaining waters" as "cock-ale,"[1] know that it was an age "of lusty drinke and lusty mete." Moreover, as in northern Europe, the Phœnician receipts, received chiefly through the Romans, had gradually been modified by the addition to them of ever increasing quantities of solid flesh, so the same receipts received in India, chiefly through the Arabs, had been modified by continually subtracting from the original prescriptions of meat, and adding to those of vegetables and spices; and thus it came about that the cookery of the Company's factories, which continued to be more or less that of Anglo-Indians down to the suppression of "the Mutiny" in 1858, combined the aggravated solidity of the English cookery of the reigns of the Stuarts, with the fiery high-flavouring of the Indian cookery of the Mo(n)gol Empire. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, receipts for Indian "paloes," and for "mangoes" in the sense of "pickles," with the verb "to mango," melons, cucumbers, &c., appear even in our English cookery books. "That accursed Bombay punch," so named from its five [in Sanskrit *pancha*] ingredients, and thus

[1] "Cock Ale" is made by bruising an old cock, "the older the better," bones and all, with three pounds of raisins, mace, cloves, &c., and stirring it all thoroughly with two quarts of sack, digesting it for nine days in ten gallons of ale, and then bottling off, and leaving it "the same time to ripen as other ale."

stigmatised by President Gerald Aungier in his Letter of the 24th of January, 1675/6, was, after all, no "plausive invention" of the English factors at Surat, but probably an immemorial oriental beverage, similar, as pointed out in the first edition [1879] of my *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, to the πενταπλόα of Athenæus.[1] These simple, rude fellows, were, in short, average samples of the Englishmen of the middle classes of their time; a time of general elevation of the national character, to which the Company and their servants, in spite of the "bad bargains" among their number, contributed in a marked degree. There can be no mistaking the spirit of godliness to be traced throughout their business letters and other official documents, and which frequently finds formal expression in the valedictory style observed in their correspondence with each other. This simple natural piety of theirs has indeed become the noblest inheritance of the Indian services, ever growing, in depth of fervour and breadth of charity, with the growth of our Imperial responsibilities toward India. It is the true basis of the structure of our supremacy in India, as all who had the privilege of studying on the spot the men who suppressed "the Mutiny" of 1857 can never hesitate in acknowledging; and if, through the lowering social and political clouds at present overshadowing the Old World, we may still venture to contemplate with serenity the future of India, under the hegemony of the United Kingdom, it is because no other rulers of the nations are more practically

[1] All the strong drinks of which the poets have sung may be traced back to the East, not only chronologically, but, so to say, genealogically, or through the history of the descent of the receipts for them. Ambrosia, the drink of "immortality" of the Greeks, is the *amrita* [Sanskrit for "immortality"] of the Hindus; and although the word originally had a purely physiological significance, it soon came to be identified with some heavily sweetened intoxicating "beverage of the gods of the Aryas." Mead, the famous Anglo-Saxon brew, "brose," or broth, of spirit and honey, similar to the "methygllyn" of Devonshire, was the Greek μέθυ, a honied wine, and the Hindu *madhu* [Sanskrit for "sweet"], the luscious liquor distilled from the flowers of the *madhuka*, *mahua* or "Mowra Tree," *Bassia latifolia*. Nectar, as Athenæus tells us, was a Babylonian wine, and its name is obviously the comparative form of the Persian *nek*, "good," *i.e.* *nektar*, "better;" used in its superlative degree of *nektarin*, "best," in Europe as the name [generally said to be the Italian diminutive, *nettarino*, of *nettare*, nectar, and, again, an adjectival form of nectar], of the variety of the peach known as the nectarine, *Amygdalus Persica*, var: *B. Nectarina*.

impressed than those who administer the government of that noble country with the truth taught by all secular history, that, in "morall Gower"'s ancient diction:—

> "There is a State, as ye shall here,
> Above all other on earthe here,
> Which hath the londe in His balaunce.
> To Him belongeth the legeaunce
> Of clerke, of knight, of man of lawe,
> Under His honde all is forthdrawe,
> The marchaunt and the laborer,
> So stant it all in His power,
> Or for to spille, or for to save."

The present volume is, if possible, even more useful than Mr. Henry Stevens' *Dawn of British Trade in the East*, for the information it affords of the measures taken by the Company to secure their trade with the Indian Archipelago and India, for it deals, not as the "Court Minutes" of 1599-1603 principally do, with the organization of the "First Voyage," but, for the greater part, with the instructions given by the Company to their agents regarding the actual articles of trade to be exchanged between the East Indies and Europe; and in the minuteness and comprehensiveness of these instructions, and the energy and perseverance with which they were carried out in every part of the Indies, we have one of the secrets of the Company's unprecedented success. Theirs was indeed the same procedure as is being adopted by the Germans in the present day, with the result that the latter are beginning to supplant us wherever, through our own supineness and neglect, we have given them an opening to the littoral and insular markets of the Indian Ocean. We seem indeed to be losing the art of seizing the opportunity of new markets for ourselves, and standing steadfastly by them. The other day when the British South Africa Company assembled in the City to hear Mr. Rhodes expatiate on their position and prospects, we were told that there was something very Elizabethan in the meeting. Save in coats, hats, and umbrellas, the scene was said to be identical with that presented at the preliminary meetings of the East India Company in the sixteenth century. It is something that pride should be taken in making the

comparison. But the East India Company never suffered itself to be deluded with the Will o' the Wisp idea that "Trade follows the Flag;" and the French have over and over again demonstrated for our edification that only too often it does not. The Company was even reluctant that our flag should follow their trade, as was inevitable; while, because our flag—at first the banner of St. George, then the "Union Flag" of 1606, and, finally, the "Union Flag" of 1801—cautiously waited on their trade, wherever it was at last planted in India there it remains to this day; and will remain so long as it is upheld as the sacred symbol of the unity of the British Empire under the paramount protectorate of the United Kingdom.[1] Again, some years ago, a promoter of the Imperial British East Africa Company, asking for some light to be thrown on their contemplated leap into the dark, and being advised to read the earlier "Court Books" of the East India Company, turned away, like Naaman, in contempt, protesting the philanthropic purposes of his abnormal adventure. But the East India Company, while always religiously observing the responsibilities of proprietorship, took infinite pains to first make sure of their property, and never in the whole course of their history attempted the practice of philanthropy at the expense of other people. The result of the contrary policy of vicarious benevolence is to be witnessed in the present deplorable condition of the Empire of Uganda, one of the most picturesque, luxuriant, and fertile regions of Central Africa, rich also in mineral wealth, but now reduced to inextricable anarchy and desolation by the wicked warfare waged along all its verdant uplands, and through

[1] "Also remember the cities, our colonies,
out-lying States in the East and the West,
Scattered about to a distance surrounding us,
these are our shreds and our fragments of wool;
These to one mighty political aggregate,
tenderly, carefully, gather and pull,
Twining them all in one thread of good fellowship;
thence a magnificent bobbin to spin,
Weaving a garment of comfort and dignity,
worthily wrapping a People therein."—

ARISTOPHANES [by B. Bickley Rogers], *The Lysistrata.*

all its umbrageous valleys, by the rival Catholic and Protestant sects into which its population of two million souls has been divided, thanks to the impotency of the East Africa Company to fulfil the most elementary duties of their lightly assumed vague sovereignty.

The highest value of the present volume is in the faithful record it has preserved of the character and conditions of the great secular trade between Europe and Asia at the very instant when England first entered on her now fulfilled possession of it; and its highest interest in reference to the consequences of the dexterous measures then taken by the East India Company to obtain a footing in it, involving as these did the whole future of the United Kingdom. The current of this trade, at first, and for four milleniums, through Mesopotamia and Egypt, and then round the Cape of Good Hope, and, after nearly four centuries, once again through Egypt, has, from its forgotten beginnings, determined the destinies of the historical nations of the Old World; and now we find it dominated by the United Kingdom not only along both its competing courses, but at all its perennial head springs, in the tropical fertility of India, Farther India, the Indian Archipelago, and the East Indies generally, from Abyssinia or "Middle India," to China or "Superior India." The history of the Old World has, in brief, been the history of its commerce in the dye stuffs, cloth, and spice, and gold of India; and it was the fame of the East Indies for their fresh spices, deep toned dyes, bright cloths, and precious stones, and wrought gold and silver, and sumptuary arms, that led Columbus on to the unexpected discovery of the New World of the Americas.

The elaborately broken coast line stretching obliquely from the British Isles gradually southward through a distance, as the crow flies, of from 8000 to 9000 miles, until it ends in the Indian Archipelago, naturally invited the population along its entire length to mutual commerce, not simply by the facilities it affords for inter-communication, but also by the infinite variety in the productions of the temperate and tropical zones they have to offer each other. Once settled by the human race, it was inevitable that a great commerce, having its inexhaustible sources in "the world's green end" of Homer's "blameless

Æthiopians,"[1] should grow up everywhere along this remarkable coast line. The renown of the riches of the trade with India, and the Indian Archipelago, was propagated from the earliest date all over Asia and Europe in the Legends of the Earthly Paradise, the Sea of Riches, the Land of Gold, &c.; and the geographical, mercantile, technical, and other myths of universal fable and folk lore, are the vague broken traditions of the immemorial trade, in its prehistoric origins, pursued for countless generations along all these shores of old romance. For centuries this commerce was carried on, not directly between one country and another, but through innumerable intermediate agencies, so that distant countries knew each other only by their productions and the strange "travellers' tales," that grew in wonder as they passed from mouth to mouth between the East and West. The very name of India[2] remained unknown among the nations of the Mediterranean Sea for centuries after its costly perfumes had been in daily use in the service of the Tabernacle at Shiloh, and afterward of the Temple at Jerusalem, and for milleniums after their earliest use for embalming the dead in Egypt.

This southern coast line of the continent we arbitrarily divide into Europe and Asia is interrupted between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean by the Isthmus of Suez; and as the peninsula of Arabia extends from this point about 1500 miles southward, the Isthmus of Suez really presents the length and breadth of Arabia as an obstruction to the direct transit of the trade between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean; and as it is twice as long from Suez to Aden as from the

[1] From the right bank of the Nile—

"Eastwarde, Asie it is algates
Till that men comen to the gates
Of Paradis, and then Ho!"

GOWER, *Confessio Amantis.*

[2] It is first used in this its Hellenised Persian form [Hindu] by Herodotus. It is indeed used still earlier by Homer in its Hellenised native Sanskrit form of σινδών, but not as the designation of the country, but of its fine cotton stuffs, or muslin, the *sindhu* of a pre-Homeric cuneiform inscription of Babylonia, and *sadin* of the Old Testament. Compare "cendalum" and sendal, or cendal, the Low Latin and early English names of old Indian silks, resembling the "Liberty silks" of the present day; and also silk and serge, both these words being formed from the Latin "serica,' "silken"-garments, literally (of the) "Seres," *i.e.* "Chineses."

Mediterranean Sea to the head of the Persian Gulf, the commercial advantages of the Red Sea route, even after the discovery of sailing to India by the monsoons, have always been nearly equalled by the comparative shortness of the route by the Persian Gulf and Euphrates Valley. Thus from "the deep backward and abysm of time" these two lines have competed on almost equal terms for the commerce of India, and the competition between them is the true key to the history of the successive states and empires that rose and fell along their course; rose as they gained the trade of India, and fell when they lost it.

So important are the positions in connection with the Red Sea and Persian Gulf that not only was there always a rivalry between the nations on the Persian Gulf, and those on the Red Sea, but it was a vital question among the latter whether the trade should go by the Gulf of Akaba, or the Gulf of Suez. The rivalry successively of Assyria and Babylonia with Phœnicia on the one hand, and Egypt on the other, and again between Jerusalem and Tyre, and Jerusalem and Petra, that finds such startling expression in the prophetic denunciations and lamentations of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, had largely for its origin the competition for the monopoly, or at least a share, of the profits of the commerce between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. The overwhelming advantage of the Semitic races, and particularly of the Arabians and Phœnicians [for the Hebrews were unfortunately placed between the Idumæans and Phœnicians] was that from the dawn of history they were already in occupation of all the lands separating the Mediterranean Sea from the Indian Ocean. This gave them their start in the civilisation of the world. The Phœnicians in the Mediterranean Sea, and the Arabians in the Indian Ocean, at once engrossed in their own hands the whole of the trade between the countries of the Mediterranean Sea and the countries of the Indian Ocean; the Arabians keeping possession of their share of it without interruption until Vasco Da Gama [A.D. 1497] opened up the trade to India by the Cape of Good Hope. Ultimately the Phœnicians and their colonies were forced to succumb to the rivalry of Assyria and Greece and Rome. Yet Tyre was not finally destroyed until taken by the Crusaders, who, behind their religious professions,

were chiefly influenced in their operations by the sordid interests of the commercial Italian States of the twelfth century.

During the three hundred years subsequent to Da Gama's enterprise the Red Sea and Persian Gulf routes gradually fell into disuse, but are now regaining their former importance; and to safeguard them against all danger as the future channels of the rapidly increasing commerce of Europe and America with Asia and Australasia has become one of the highest political obligations of the British Empire. Commerce always sets steadily toward the shortest routes, and under the pressure of the competition of the modern world, Egypt and Mesopotamia will become the chief commercial highways between the East and West. Commercial supremacy, the only sure foundation of political supremacy, is absolutely dependent on the opportunity of roads and markets, or on strategical points and communications as military men call them. Indeed war is only another form of commercial antagonism, seeking by violence the same advantages commerce often more surely secures by its slower, deadlier sap. It was of comparatively little consequence that the three successive Egyptian empires, and the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchies were overthrown, or that ancient Tyre was twice razed to the ground, for while the commerce of India still went by the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf the people prospered; but when the Portuguese outflanked these routes by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, then Egypt became indeed "a base kingdom," and "great Babylon" "a refuge for the wild beasts of the desert," and Nineveh "a desolation," and Tyre "a place to spread nets upon." If

"Peace hath her victories
No less renown'd than war,"

her defeats also are not less terrible and crushing, and are far more enduring in their disastrous results. The discovery of Da Gama made the whole of Anterior Asia a desert, and impoverished all the countries of the Mediterranean Sea, for more than three hundred years. Their revival, already notable in the instances of Italy, Greece, and Egypt, may be formally dated from the reopening of the overland route between India and Europe by Lieutenant

Waghorn in 1845, and was placed beyond all future hazards by the successful opening of the Suez Canal on November 17th, 1869, and the insurance of its freedom and neutrality by the British settlement of Egypt in 1882-3.

Modern research is gradually teaching us that it is impossible to give too early a date to the origin of this life-giving trade between the East Indies and Europe. In its primeval inceptions it was probably little more than an insensible interchange of productions maintained from the first migrations of the Caucasian races westward, in the wake of the daily revolving sun. It was in this way possibly that the saffron crocus, *Crocus sativus* [in Sanskrit *kamkama*, whence the Greek *κρόκος*, and Arabic *zafran*, and *kurkum*, Latinised as "curcuma," turmeric], found its way from Cashmere into all the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean. But it must have been by a regular trade, organized by the Sabæan Arabs and Chaldæans, that muslin, entered in early cuneiform lists under the name of *sindhu*,[1] in Greek *σινδών*, and teak, found among the ruins of the Akkadian temple at Ur,[2] and blackwood, discovered by Rassam among the ruins of Jamjama, both exclusively Indian woods, were carried into Babylonia; and by a regular trade, organized by the Arabians and Phœnicians, that indigo, the name of which, signifying the "Indian" dye, came to the Greeks [*ἰνδικός*] and Romans [*indicum*] later through Persia, and cotton [Arabic *koton*], tamarind wood [Arabic *tamar u'l Hind*, "date of India"], and Indian garnets and carbuncles, and the Indian elephant and Indian bear, were imported into Egypt, before the date of the new Theban Empire founded by the 18th Pharaonic dynasty, B.C. 1700-

[1] The *sadin* of Judges xiv. 12, 13, Proverbs xxxi. 24, and Isaiah iii. 23.

[2] The only question is whether the teak was used in the original construction of the temple by the Akkadians, or in its reconstruction by Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 605-562. Eutychius, the Patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 933-40, records a tradition of *saj* timber, *i.e.* teak, the *sag* of Western India [Edrisi's "Land of Saj"], having been used in the building of Noah's Ark; and Theophrastus, who died B.C. 287, says that the ships of Tylos, or Tyros, in the Persian Gulf, mentioned in some traditions as the original seat of the Phœnicians, were made of a wood that lasted 200 years; and this could only have been teak, of which the Arabian ships on the Indian Ocean are still all built. The "gopher wood" of which, according to Genesis vi. 14, the mythical ark was constructed, is generally identified with the "cypress," *tirzah*, of Isaiah xliv. 14; but the term is translated *saj* in the Arabic version of the Pentateuch.

1400; and that ivory and tin became known to the Greeks by their Sanskrit names, *ἐλέφας* [Sanskrit *ibha*], and *κασσίτερος* [Sanskrit *kastira*], and cotton in the form of the *χιτών* [the Arabic tunic of cotton cloth], before the age of Homer. The "tripple-gemmed earrings," *ἕρματα τρίγληνα*, of the Iliad [xiv. 183] and Odyssey [xviii. 298] are also generally supposed to have been of Indian [Cingalese] pearls, but as they are described as "mulberry"-coloured, *μορόεντα*, they were probably of Indian carbuncles or garnets. In any case the Greek name for the pearl *μαργαρίτης* is the Sanskrit *maracata*.[1] The fragment of carved ebony found in "the Homeric Ilios" may have been sent from the Malabar Coast of India, or from Ceylon, or the Indian Archipelago, but more probably it came from Upper Egypt, or Inner Africa. The Hebrew Scriptures of the Old Testament are full of indications of the early importance of the Indian trade. The bdellium of Genesis ii. 12, and Numbers xi. 7 [*bdolach*, in Sanskrit *madalaka*, the *βδέλλιον* and *μαδαλκόν* of Dioscorides, in

[1] Some are of opinion that *maracata* is derived from *μαργαρίτης*, but the pearl is an Eastern product; and others that the Greek derivative from *maracata* is *σμάραγδος*, a word first used by Herodotus, and identified with either the aqua marine or the emerald; but although these gems are found in southern India and Farther India respectively, neither has an Indian name resembling *maracata*, while both are in Persian named *zamarud*. In such difficulties the original derivation of the denomination of any articles that became famous in the great historical trade between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea may be determined with tolerable surety by the knowledge of the original place of their production; an indication never sufficiently regarded by oriental and classical scholars and philologists, but which, when duly considered, makes it clear that very few of the Sanskrit denominations of such articles are derived from Greek and Latin originals, and that the majority of the Greek and Latin denominations for them are derived from the Sanskrit, either indirectly, through the mediation of the Arabians or the Persians, or directly, during the intimate intercourse that existed between the Greeks and the Indians under Alexander the Great, and the Diadochi. The Greeks seem to have introduced many geographical and historical names into Sanskrit, and innumerable scientific terms, but not the denomination of a single commercial product, unless it be *mulva* [*μόλυβος*], "lead," nor of a single manufacture other than *kalinas* [*χαλινός*], "a bridle," or industrial appliance excepting *surunga* [*σῦριγξ*], "a (mine) shaft." They also introduced the salutation *khera* [*χαίρε*], "hail!", and the words *lopaka* [*ἀλώπηξ*], a "fox," and *kamelaka* [*κάμηλος*], "a camel," and this is the sum of their indisputable contributions, of the kind here discussed, to the vocabulary of Sanskrit; notwithstanding that plausible suggestions have been urged for the addition to it of *samida* [*σεμίδαλις*], "fine flour," *i.e.* "simnell," *kangni* [*κέγχρος*], "*Panicum italicum*," *kasturi* [*καστόριον* of Dioscorides and Galen], "civet," and even *kastira* [*κασσίτερος*, as if compounded

Hindi *mukul*], whether it be bdellium, the gum resin of *Balsamodendron Mokul*, and other species of *Balsamodendron*, as is almost certain, or, as some argue, musk, and the aloes[1] of Psalms xlv. 8, Proverbs vii. 17, and Canticles iv. 14 [*ahalim*, in Sanskrit *agaru*, the ἀγάλλοχον of Dioscorides and ξυλαλόη of Aetius], the eagle-wood, or aloes-wood of modern commerce, the coarser quality of which is produced by the *Aquilaria Agallocha*, and the finer, distinguished as calambac [Javanese *kalambak*], by *Aloexylon Agallochum*, are distinctive products of India and Farther India. The spikenard of Canticles i. 12 [*nerd*, in Sanskrit *nalada*, in Greek νάρδος], the root of *Nardostachys Jatamansi*, is exclusively a product of Nepaul at high elevations; and the cassia or, as it should be translated, costus of Psalms xlv. 8 [*ketzioth*, in Sanskrit *kushta*, in Greek κόστος], the root of *Aucklandia Costus*, exclusively of Cashmere; the original habitat also, as has already been noticed, of the saffron of Canticles iv. 14 [*karkom*, in Sanskrit *kamkama*, and in Arabic *zafran*]. The cassia[2] of Exodus xxx. 24,

of κατά and σίδηρος!], "tin." On the other hand Sanskrit supplied to Greek a long list of adopted designations of Indian trade products; viz.: ἀγάλλοχον and ξυλαλόη [*agaru*], "eagle wood," ἀργελλίον [*narikela*], the "cocoanut," βδέλλιον and μαδαλκον [*madalaka*], "bdellium," βήρυλλος [*Vaiduriya*], the "beryl," βούτυρον [*bhutari*], "butter," ἐλέφας [*ibha*], "ivory," ζιγγίβερις [*sringavera*] "ginger," ἰνδικόν [*Sindhu*], "indigo," κάλαμος [*kalama*], "culm" of reeds, sedges, sweet flags, *et cetera*, καμφόρα [*karpura*], "camphor," κάνναβις [*sana*], "hemp," κάρπασος [*karpasa*], "cotton," καρυόφυλλον [*kaduaphalla*] "cloves," κιννάβαρι [*kinnabari*] "dragons blood," κόστος [*kushta*], "costus," κρόκος [*kumkuma*], the "crocus" and "saffron," λάκκος [*laksha*] gum-"lac," μαλάβαθρον [*tamala-patra*] leaf of *Cinnamomum Tamala*, μαργαρίτης [*maracata*], "the pearl," μόσχος [*muskha*], "musk," νάρδος [*nalada*], "nard," ὀπάλλιος [*upala*], "the opal," ὄρυζα [*vrithi*, in Tamil *arisi*], "rice," πέπερι [*pipali*], "pepper," σαγάλινος [*saka*] "teak," σάνταλον, σάνδανον, τζανδάνη [*chandana*], "sandalwood," σάκχαρον [*sakhara*] "sugar," σασαμίνον, σησαμίνον [*sisu*] "blackwood," and σινδών [*Sindhu*], "muslin." To Latin Sanskrit directly gave cinnabaris [*kinnabari*], "gum dragon" [later vermilion"], curcuma [*kumkuma*], "turmeric," garyophyllum [*kaduaphala*], "cloves," indicum [*Sindhu*] "indigo," malabathrum [*tamalapatra*] leaf of *Cinnamomum Tamala*, sulphur [*sulvari*], "sulphur," "sacondas," "sacos," and "sapenas" [*saphena*], an unknown amethystine stone, and zingiber [*sringavera*], "ginger." It took from Latin absolutely but the two words *Romaka*, "Roma," and *dinara*, "denarius."

[1] This, the most precious of perfumes, must not be confused with aloes [Syriac *alwai*], the malodorous inspissated juice of *Aloe indica*, *A. socotrina*, and other species of *Aloe*. The aloes of the island of Socotra [Sanskrit *dvipa Sakhadara*, "island of the Blest"] was known to the Greeks in the fourth century B.C. The *ahalim* ["lign aloes"] of Numbers xxiv. 6 refers to some unidentified tree.

[2] The ingredients of the "oil of holy anointment," Exodus xxx. 23, 24, are cassia

and Ezekiel xxvii. 19 [*kidah*], the bark of *Cinnamomum Cassia*, is a product of the Malabar Coast of India, and the cinnamon of Exodus xxx. 23, Proverbs vii. 17, and Canticles iv. 14 [*kinamon*, and with cassia *κιννάμωμον*], the bark of *C. zeylanicum* of Ceylon. The camphire of Canticles i. 14 [*copher*] is identified with *Lawsonia alba*, originally a native of the East Indies, and the well known *henna* plant of Egypt, north Africa and Cyprus; while the calamus[1] of Exodus xxx. 23 [*kaneh bosem*], Canticles iv. 14, and Ezekiel xxvii. 19 [*kaneh*], translated "sweet cane" in Isaiah xliii. 24 [*kaneh*], and by "sweet cane from a far country" in Jeremiah vi. 20 [*kaneh hattob*], is exclusively a native of India, and the source of the "grass oil," or "ginger grass oil" of modern commerce. The "almug trees" "from Ophir" of 1 Kings x. 11, 12, and "algum trees out of Lebanon" of 2 Chronicles ii. 8, and ix. 10, 11, have generally been identified with the sandalwood tree, *Santalum album* [*σάνδανον* of Aetius, in Sanskrit *chandana*] of southern India; while the ebony of Ezekiel xxvii. 15 [*hobnim*, ? *ἔβενος ποικίλη* of Theophrastus, calamander, *Diospyros dubia*], certainly refers to the ebony of North Canara [*D. melanoxylon*] or of Ceylon and the Moluccas [*D. Ebenum*], and not to African ebony, the botanical source of which is unknown. The word cotton is not used in the authorised English version of the Old Testament, but in the passage of Esther i. 6:—"Where were white, green, and blue hangings," the Hebrew word translated green is *karpas*, the Sanskrit *karpasa* [*κάρπασος* of Dioscorides], "cotton" [in the pod], an aboriginal Indian production; and the passage should

[*kidah*], calamus [*kaneh bosem*], cinnamon [*kinamon*], and myrrh [*mor*]; and of the "pure and holy perfume" "put before the testimony in the tabernacle," verse 34, onycha [*shecheleth*], galbanum [*chelbenah*], and frankincense [*lebonah*]. The four first are all Indian products, and galbanum, though chiefly obtained in Syria and Persia, is sometimes also gathered up to the right bank of the Indus. Frankincense, long supposed to be the product of the *Boswellia thurifera* of India, I have shown, in my paper "On the Genus Boswellia," *Linnean Society's Transactions*, Vol. xxvii., 1871, to be really obtained from several species of *Boswellia* [*B. Carterii*, *B. Frereana*, *B. Bhau-Dajiana*, *et cetera*] in the Somali horn of Africa, and southern Arabia. Onycha is still imported into Bombay to mix with frankincense in the prepared perfumes used in the Hindu temples there. Myrrh is obtained from an unidentified African tree.

[1] The Sanskrit *kalama*, and its Greek derivative *κάλαμος*, with some qualifying adjective, designates a variety of sedges, grasses, and sweet flags; and possibly the palm *Borassus flabelliformis*. See note 1, page xxx.

rightly be read: "Where were white and blue [striped] cotton hangings." The peacocks mentioned with apes, ivory, silver and gold, in 1 Kings x. 22, and 2 Chronicles ix. 21, are true Indian peacocks, as is proved by the Hebrew word used for them, *tukkiyim*, being identical with the Sanskrit name *taki;* which seems to reappear also in the Greek name *ψιττακός* or *σιττάκη* of the parrot, the "Indian bird"[1] of Ctesias, *circa* B.C. 400. The Hebrew word *kophim*, here used for apes, is also the Sanskrit *kapi;* while the phrase *shen-habim*, literally "teeth of elephants," used for ivory, is based on the Sanskrit for elephant, *ibha*, the *habba* of the Assyrian monuments, and the initial source, apparently, of both the words elephant [*el-ephas*] and ivory. The gold imported by Solomon from Ophir [the Sophir of Josephus], now justly identified with Sopara, the capital of the North Konkan, B.C. 1500—A.D. 1300, is specified in 2 Chronicles iii. 6, as "the gold of Parvaim," a designation in which, through the Sanskrit *parva*, "the East" [literally "before" the worshipper of the rising sun, applied by the Hindus to all the countries east of the Ganges],[2] we may trace an indubitable reference to India[3] or the Indies generally; including "the land of Sinim," of Isaiah xlix. 12, that is of the Indo-"Chineses" of Farther India, and southern China, the classical Sinæ. The classical fables of the "gold-digging ants," and of the Arimaspians who fought with the "gryphons"[4] for the gold they guarded, both refer to the gold of Thibet guarded by the mastiffs [*gyake*] kept by the miners for the purpose. The horn of one of these "gold-digging ants," said by Pliny to have been preserved in the temple of Hercules at Erythræ, was simply the pickaxe of wild sheep's horns used by the Thibetan

[1] "——— a caged green bird within an Indian ship."—WILLIAM MORRIS, *Life and Death of Jason.*

[2] Thus in Bombay a Hindu from beyond the Ganges is known as a Purbiya; a designation not to be confounded with that of Pardasi, from *para*, "another," and *desi* "country," *i.e.* "a foreigner," used in Bombay for any Hindu not belonging to the Presidency, but more definitely for a Rajput. Parbhu is a Mahratti word, and denotes the indigenous writer caste of Western India.

[3] In Genesis ii. 11, 12, bdellium, a distinctive Indian product, and the onyx stone, also an Indian product, are associated with gold as products of Havilah, the quarter of the Garden of Eden wholly encompassed by the river Pison, which has always been identified with either the Indus or the Ganges.

[4] See my article on "Indian Jewelry" in the *Graphic* of Nov. 26th, 1881, pp. 537-8.

gold diggers.[1] The peacock is represented in polychromy on the walls of Sargons Palace at Khorsabad, B.C. 722-705; and was already in the fifth century B.C. consecrated by the Greeks to Here, and kept at her celebrated temple on the island of Samos. The head and neck of the domestic fowl, like the peacock, an exclusively Indian [including Farther India] bird, appears as a stuffed curiosity, with the Indian elephant and the Indian bear, on one of the monuments of Thotmes III., "the Alexander the Great of Egyptian history," B.C. 1600-1566; again, with the head and neck arranged as a triskelion, on the reverse of the coins of Lycia, B.C. 700-500; while later the bird is seen fully figured on a Babylonian cylinder of the seventh century B.C., and on the Harpy monument at Xanthus in Lycia, circa B.C. 600-500; and on the reverse of the coins of Dardanus, and the obverse of those of Himera, both B.C. 480-400. The domestic fowl and aloes wood of Farther India, the musk, bdellium, saffron, costus, nard, borax or tincal and gold of northern India, and the hemp [in Sanskrit *sana*, the *κάνναβις* of Herodotus], salep, and poppy plants, together with the Balas [*i.e.* Badakshan] ruby, lapis Lazuli [*i.e.* Lajwardi, or "stone of Lajward"] and Turquoise [*i.e.* "Turkish" stone] of Central Asia, have probably, notwithstanding that some of them long remained anonymous to Europe, been current in the trade between the East and West from the earliest associations of the Caucasian races with northern India.

Passing from the Old Testament and the Iliad and the Odyssey, we find that of famous Indian products, indigo, sesamum seed [*σήσαμον*], castor oil [*κροτών*] and hemp [of Central Asia], are named, among the writers known to the West, first by Herodotus in the fifth century B.C.; rice [in Tamil *arisi*, in Arabic *aruj*] first by Strabo, and the diamond [*ἀδάμας*], opal [*ὀπάλλιος*, in Sanskrit *upala*] and black pepper [*πέπερι*, in Sanskrit *pipali*] first by Theophrastus, in the third century B.C.; and gum dragon ["cinnabaris," afterward vermilion], long pepper ["piper longum"], turmeric ["cypira herba Indica"], ginger ["zingiber," in Sanskrit *sringavera*], cloves ["garyophyllum," in Sanskrit *kaduaphala*] *rusut* [lycium, *λύκιον* of Dioscorides], and rhubarb

[1] It is interesting in this connection to note that the alluvial gold of India, is from the form of its grains, named in Sanskrit *pipilika*, "ant-like"-gold.

["rhacoma," from S. E. Thibet] first by Pliny in the first century A.D. Sugar [Sanskrit *sharkara*, Greek *σάκχαρον*] would seem to have been heard of, as a distant curiosity, by Herodotus and Theophrastus, but is first distinctly named by Dioscorides in the second century A.D. Indian *ghi* [*βούτυρον* (meaning, in Hipparchus and Galen, some salve), in Sanskrit *bhutari*], "Bombay blackwood" [*φαλάγγων σησαμίνου, sisu* of Bombay], gum lac [*λάκκος*, ? *ἤλεκτρον* of earlier Greek writers], *ὑάκινθος*, ? the ruby of Ceylon, and cowries, if *ναύπλιος ὀλίγος* may be so translated, are first named in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, attributed to Arrian, also in the second century A.D.; the beryl [*βήρυλλος*, in Sanskrit *Vaidurya*, *i.e.* of Vaidura, ? Ceylon] is first named by Dionysius Periegetes in the third century A.D.; and the cocoanut [*ἀργιλλίον*, in Sanskrit *narikela*] by Cosmas Indicopleustes in the sixth century A.D. These articles may all have possibly been imported into the countries of the Mediterranean for generations before they were named by the above writers; but the trade of the East with the West is not more remarkable for the antiquity of its origin than for the slowness of its continuous development. Even the precious diamond was not known in Europe until after the conquests of Alexander the Great, nor rustling silks, whether Indian or Chinese, before the time of Julius Cæsar.[1] Camphor [Sanskrit *karpura*, Arabic *kapur*][2] was certainly unknown before the time of Aetius of Diarbekir, A.D. 545; who is the first to unequivocally name musk [*μόσχος*, in Sanskrit *muska* and also *madalaka*]. He also first names galangal, again named by Ibn Khurdabah A.D. 869-85; and zedoary, again named, with zerumbet, by Barbosa A.D. 1516, and Avicenna in 1563; and ambergris.[3] His

[1] Such statements seem incredible in these days; but again the very first mention of Chinese tea [*sah*] is in the *Ancient Accounts of India and China* [Englished from the French translation of Eusebius Renaudot, and published by *Sam. Harding* at the *Bible and Anchor*, on the Pavement in St. Martin's Lane, 1733] written by the Mahomedans who travelled in those countries in the ninth century; and it is not again mentioned until by Ramusio about 1545; while the first mention of Chinese porcelain is not until late in the thirteenth century, from which date, however, it is in continuous evidence.

[2] The trees yielding it may be the *καρπίον* of Ctesias in the fifth century B.C.

[3] The etymology of ambergris and amber [*ἤλεκτρον* and "succinum" of the Greeks and Romans] is unusually interesting. Amber is a fossil resin found chiefly on the Prussian coast of the Baltic; but also on the shores of several islands of the Indian

"nuces Indicæ" may be nutmegs, but they, and cubebs, by some thought to be the *μυρτίδανον* of Hippocrates [circa B.C. 450] are first unequivocally named by Masudi of Bagdad A.D. 915-20. Cardamoms may be referred to under the *ἄμωμον* and *καρδάμωμον* of Theophrastus, Pliny, Dioscorides, and Aetius, but they are first distinctly identified by Edrisi, A.D. 1099-1186, who is also the first to distinguish mace,[1] the outer shell of the nutmeg, from the kernel itself. It was the Arab traders who introduced bezoar[2] [Persian *pad-zehr*, "*chasse-poison*," "antidote"] and civet [Arabic *zibad*, Mahratti *javad*, Tamil and Malayan *kasturi*,[3] the *καστόριον* of Dioscorides and Galen] into the West in the eighth and ninth, and Indian senna in the ninth and tenth, cassia fistula in the thirteenth, sappan wood in the fourteenth, and cocculus indica,[4] nux vomica, and borax or tincal in the sixteenth centuries A.D. They also carried the orange [Sanskrit *narunga*] of Gurwhal, Sikkim, and Khasia, and the lemon [Sanskrit *nimbuka*, Hindi *nimbu* and *limbu*, Arabic *limun*] of Sikkim and Kumaon into Syria, whence the Crusaders helped to gradually propagate them throughout Southern Europe; and they were apparently the first to trade in gum-benjamin [Arabic

Archipelago, and along the East Coast of Africa, whence it was at one time exported in considerable quantity to the countries of the Mediterranean Sea by the Arabs through the mediæval emporium of Aden. Ambergris is a morbid excrement of the spermaceti whale [*Physeter macrocephalus*] found floating on the sea along the coasts of India and Africa. The Arabs call it *anbar* [they call amber *nikitriun*, *i.e.* electron !], and Aetius refers to it as "*ambar*, which we have first nominated oriental succinum." After this succinum having been for a time distinguished as *yellow* amber [*i.e.* yellow ambergris] gradually became known as amber *par excellence*, and then true amber had to be discriminated as *grey* amber or amber*gris*. See note 1, page lxviii.

[1] It has nothing to do with the "macer" of Pliny, and *μάκερ* of Dioscorides, which was the bark of an Indian tree.

[2] Bezoar is now almost any lithoid intestinal concretion, such as camel bezoar, horse bezoar, ox and cow bezoars, ibex bezoar [greenish and resinous] and pig bezoar ["Lapis porci Ceylanici," "Lapis Malaccensis"]. There is even a monkey and a dog bezoar. But the true bezoar is obtained in India and Persia only from the goat.

[3] African civet is yielded by *Viverra Civetta*, and East Indian by *V. Zibetha*, and it is the Malayan name of this perfume, in its Latinised form, which is given to *Castor fiber*, the North American beaver, the source of castoreum. Both civet and castoreum closely resemble musk, yielded by the musk deer [*Moschus Moschiferus*] of the Himalayan mountains, and now generally known to the Hindus by the name of *kasturi*, and to the Malays by that of *jabat*, *i.e.* "civet."

[4] It may possibly be referred to by the *δένδρον λόπους ἔχον* of Strabo.

luban-Javi, i.e. "Olibanum of Java"], the earliest undoubted reference to which occurs in the travels of Ibn Batuta, A.D. 1325-49. It may possibly have been included in the classical styrax, now almost wholly superseded in the Old World by rose-malloes [Malayan *rasamalla*], the sweet balsam of the *Liquidambar Altingia* of Java. Our knowledge of the Indian soap nut we owe to the Dutch; who were also the first to introduce a sample of gamboge into the West, although the first to offer it for public sale in Europe as "a drugge unknown here" were the London East India Company.[1] Catechu [cutch], although named by Barbosa in 1514, and by Garcia d'Orta in 1564, was first regularly imported into Europe by the Company in the seventeenth century. Gambir, a similar product to catechu, does not appear among the imports of the Company [now the United East India Company] until the beginning of the nineteenth century. "East Indian kino" [Hindi *kini*] was first prepared by the Company at a plantation near Tellicherry, on the Malabar Coast, and thence exported to Europe about 1844. The trade in jute fibre from Bengal commenced about 1828, but it was not until the Crimean War that the exportation of it gradually rose from 364 cwts. in 1828 and 275,578 cwts. in 1853 to 11,985,967 cwts. in 1891; or, as expressed in value, from Rs. 620 in 1828 to Rs. 100,839,720 in 1891. Gutta percha, prepared from the sap of *Isonandra Gutta* in Farther India, was first brought to the notice of Europe by Drs. Montgomery and Almeida at a meeting of the Society of Arts [John Street, Adelphi, London] in 1843.

The first great impulse given to the trade between the East and West was when Pharaoh Psammetichus I., about B.C. 671-617, threw Egypt, and Nebuchadnezzar III.,[2] about B.C. 605-562, threw Babylonia freely open to it; and from that time forward, for nearly two thousand years, it grew and prospered marvellously.

[1] See the Court Minutes of 13th Oct., 1615.

[2] The Assyrian King Sennacherib, B.C. 705-681, built sea-going ships, manned by Phœnicians from Tyre, for the purpose of trading, in competition with the Sabæan Arabians, directly with India; but Nebuchadnezzar the Great made the Mesopotamian trade with India, by way of the Persian Gulf, absolutely free, as Psammetichus I. had previously done for the Egyptian trade with India by way of the Red Sea; and in both cases it was at once appropriated by the Arabians, in whose monopoly it remained down to the apparition of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean.

So intimate did it at last become that a temporary revolution was wrought by it in the religious life of India, where the system of materialistic atheism, known as Buddhism, became the predominant moral philosophy of the Hindus, until, as a direct consequence of the Mahomedan conquests of Asia Minor, Persia, and India, the overland communications established by Psammetichus I. and Nebuchadnezzar the Great were broken up, and the indigenous Brahmanism again became triumphant throughout India. Similarly Judaism under the humanising influences of this international intercourse became modified, as Christianity in Europe, and, later, as Mahomedanism in northern Africa and Anterior Asia. It was through this trade also that the historical nations of the Old World received their common alphabet, and current coinages. The Phœnicians carried the alphabet, originally derived from Egypt, all over Europe; while the Sabæan Arabs carried the same alphabet, as modified by themselves, into India, and all the countries of the Indian Ocean. And we may observe the civilising effects of this continuous overland trade, of nearly two milleniums, between the East and West, not only in the essential unity of the religions, alphabets, and coinages of modern Europe and Anterior Asia, but also in so trivial a circumstance as the use of saffron in the confectionery, and other cookery, of all the maritime people of the Old World from the coasts of Cornwall to the Coromandel Coast of India.

The first systematic review of this trade is given in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* [*i.e.* Indian Ocean] attributed to the historian Arrian, who lived from A.D. 90 to about A.D. 180, and obviously founded on documents dating back to at least the time of Alexander the Great, B.C. 356-323. Confirmed as it is by the statements to be found in the *Universal Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, who traded in the Indian Ocean between A.D. 530 and 550, it may be relied on as an authentic account of the ancient commerce between the East and West as it existed at the height of its activity from about 500 B.C. to 500 A.D., the millenium of the supremacy of Buddhism in India. It gives the imports and exports of every emporium in the Indian Ocean from Adulis, corresponding with the modern Massouah, the port of Abyssinia, to Masalia, the modern Masulipatam, on

the Coromandel Coast of India. I will only quote the Indian productions named. These are, among the imports of Adulis, "agate cups," "Indian iron," "plain and broad Indian cottons," "cotton for stuffing couches," "coverlids," "mallow-coloured cottons," "Indian muslins," and "gum-lac" [λάκκος χρωμάτινος];[1] at Abalites, Malao, and Mondus, places in the modern bay of Zeyla, "cloths of various sorts," "tunics" [χιτῶνες], "corn," "tin," "iron," "gold" and "silver," "cassia," "cinnamon," "gum-cancamum" [*decamali* of Western India] and *μάκειρ*; at Mosullon, or Berbera, "iron"; at Tabai, south of Cape Guardafui [*i.e.* "Aromata Promontorium"], "cassia" and "cinnamon"; at Opone, south of Tabai, "corn," "rice," *βούτυρον* [*i.e. ghi*, the clarified butter of India], "oil of sesamum" [ἔλαιον σησάμινον], "cotton in the flock and in the web," "sashes for girdles and turbans," and "sugar"; at Moosa, the modern Mocha, "purple cloth," "brocaded and made-up clothes," "cloaks," "muslins," "quilts," "sashes," "saffron," and *κύπερος* [? "turmeric"]; at Kane, the modern Maculla, "cloths," "corn," "tin," *στύραξ* [? rose-malloes or else gum-benjamin], "specie"; and at Omana, some port of Baluchistan, "teak" [ξύλων σαγαλίνων], "ebony" [φαλάγγων εβενίνων], and "blackwood" [φαλάγγων σησαμίνων], "purple" and other "cloths," and "gold." Among the exports from India are named, at Barbarike, corresponding with the modern Karachi, "costus," "bdellium," λύκιον [*rusut*], "spikenard," "indigo," "silk," "cotton cloths," "furs from northern China" [*via* Thibet and Nipal], "jade" [λίθος καλλαινὸς], and "sapphires"; at Barugaza, the modern Baraoch, "onyx stones," "agate cups," "Indian muslins," "muslins dyed of a mallow colour," "a large quantity of ordinary cotton cloths," "silks," "silk thread," "spikenard," "costus," and "bdellium," λύκιον [*rusut*], "long pepper," and "ivory"; at Barake, near Musiris, the modern Mangalore, "pepper in great quantity," "pearls," "ivory," "fine silks," "spikenard," "betel," "all sorts of gems," "diamonds" [ἀδάμας],

[1] That is "stick lac," or lac with the dyeing matter, "lake" [the female *Coccus Lacca*], still retained in it. When the lake is washed out, the purely resinous residuum is "seed lac"; and this melted into masses is "lump lac," and, run into layers, "shell lac." Both these forms of gum-lac were probably included under the ἤλεκτρον [amber] of the later Greek writers. Lacquer is a varnish of lac. See note, page xlvi., cochineal; and page 39 of my *Report on the Old Records of the India Office* [3rd Ed.].

"rubies" [ὑάκινθος], and "tortoiseshell" [from the Maldives]; and at Masalia, or Masulipatam, "a great quantity of the finest muslins." The imports also at each of these Indian emporia include exports from other parts of the East Indies, as all sorts of Indian cottons, and clothing, and specie, gems, and aromatic gum resins at Barbarike, "brass" and "tin," "lead," "gems," "glass" and *στύραξ*, *et cetera*, at Barugaza and at Barake. The imports from Egypt and Babylonia appear to have been chiefly of "gold and silver plate," "brass vessels," and "ornaments of brass for the legs," "arms and wrought armour," "graven images," "purple cloth," "sashes of gaily shot colours," and other "richly coloured and figured cloths," and "wine." The Indian *sosni*, or quilted coverlet, decorated with conventional representations of the lotus lily, probably takes its name from Susa, or Shushan [so called from *shushan*, or *shushanah*, "lily"], the capital of Elam, at the head of the Persian Gulf, whence it was originally exported to Barbarike, Barugaza, Barake, and Masalia.

This is none other than the trade of the Iliad and Odyssey with the East in Carian "red stained ivories" and "ivory curiously carved," "glittering arms" and "armour," "copper" and "silver vessels," and "parcel-gilt images of the gods," "radiant zones," "necklaces," "pendants" and "bracelets," "dazzling white" and "flowered veils," "richly embroidered vestments," and "saffron" and "purple mantles," and "purple robes intertissued with gold," "rich tapestries of inwoven gold," and "carpets stiff with gold," and wines and incense. It is, indeed, the trade of all antiquity in—

> "Wrought gold and silver, gems, full many a bale
> Of scarlet cloth, and fine silk, fit to veil
> The perfect limbs of dreaded Goddesses;
> Spices fresh gathered from the outland trees,
> And arms well wrought, and precious scarce known wine,
> And carven images well nigh divine."[1]

The New and Complete Guide to the East India Trade, published in 1775 by Robert Stevens, a merchant of Bombay, to whom the students of the history of commerce will always be under the

[1] WILLIAM MORRIS, *Life and Death of Jason*, xiv., 731-36.

deepest obligations, conclusively demonstrates that this ancient trade in—

> "Phœnician scarlet, spice, and Indian gold,
> Deep dyeing earths, and woad, and cinnabar,
> Wrought arms and vessels, and all things that are
> Desired much by dwellers in all lands."[1]

continued essentially the same, in spite of the diversion of its route round the Cape of Good Hope, down to the last century, when the East India Company had attained to the plenitude of their commercial prosperity and power in India; and to the close of their monopoly of the trade with India in 1813, and with China in 1833. Notwithstanding, also, the changes that are being effected by steam carriage and steam machinery in the economic conditions of the East, this trade, in all its traditionary particulars, and picturesque local associations, remains to the present day, in every polytechnical and commercial centre of India, such as Ahmedabad, Baraoch, or Bombay, the characteristic local trade of

> "The merchant town's fair market place,
> Where over many a changing face
> The pigeons of the temple flit,
> And still the outland merchants sit
> Like kings above their merchandise,
> Lying to foolish men and wise."[2]

It was to secure the monopoly of this vast and opulent commerce that Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia and Persia each in turn sought to gain the political control of Judæa, Edom, and Phœnicia; that Alexander the Great, as the crown of all his conquests, founded Alexandria; that the Seleucidæ founded Seleucia in succession to Babylon, and the Parthian Arsacidæ Ctesiphon, the two towns forming the *al-Modayn* of the Persian Sassanidæ; and that the Saracen Arabs founded Bussora A.D. 675, and Baghdad A.D. 762, cities that rapidly rivalled the then still living fame of Nineveh and Babylon. During the supremacy of the Phœnicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Byzantines, and Saracens in the Mediterranean Sea, they each in turn flourished on the trade with India; and as the Saracenic power declined, Genoa

[1] WILLIAM MORRIS, *Life and Death of Jason*, vi., 326-29.
[2] *Ibid.*, xii., 369-74.

and Venice became enriched by it; and the Christian states of southern Europe all enjoyed such unbroken prosperity through it that at last the light of civilisation dawned upon the distant nations along the Rhine and the Danube, and on the Baltic Sea, and German Ocean. It was then that the Ottoman Turks began to enter on their career of devastation and anarchy; in succession subjugating Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, and blocking up, one after the other, all the overland routes of the commerce between the East and the West. But the European people of the Mediterranean Sea, who had become dependent on the trade with the East, and without it could not provide for the cost of their high state of civilization and improved organization, at once began to seek out, round the continent of Africa, the sea way to India; the tradition of which had been preserved in the countries of the Mediterranean from the time of the Carthaginians. The history of modern Europe really begins with the quest and invention of India in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by the Portuguese; and it continues to the present day to be influenced by the rivalry of the different powers of Europe for a share, or, if possible, the monopoly, of the commerce of the Indies. The so-called "Eastern Question," the solution of which has been the chief problem before the diplomatists of Europe for the last hundred years, is simply the expression of the more or less latent rivalry of the seven great powers of Europe for the unquestioned command of the great commerce of the East, centering, as its keystone, in India. Whether at Constantinople and Cairo, or Candahar and Cabul, or in China, it is simply the question of how to obtain the control of the trade, navigation, and commerce of the Indian Ocean, for the purpose of exchanging, on the most favoured terms, the manufactures of Europe against the spices, perfumes, dyes, tans, oils and oil seeds, fibres, drugs, cereal and pulse grains, and woods, and other tropical productions of India, Farther India, the Indian Archipelago, and China and East Africa.

Da Gama's discovery changed the face of Europe from the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic Ocean; bringing Portugal, Holland, and England successively into the forefront of the line

of human advancement; and in the course of three hundred years made the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland the common emporium of the whole sea-borne merchandise of the world. The first English attempts to reach India were by the "North West Passage," and subsequently through Russia. The first Englishman who actually visited India was Thomas Stephens, of New College, Oxford, afterwards Rector of the Jesuits' College at Goa, whose letters to his father roused great enthusiasm in England for direct trade with India. But the papers of the *St. Philip*, a Portuguese vessel captured by Drake in 1587, afforded so much information as to the profits of the Indian trade, that they are considered to have at last fixed the determination of the English to establish direct communication with India. Then the destruction of "the Invincible Armada" in 1588 gave them great confidence in their own navy, and in their ability to cope with the Spanish and Portuguese on the high seas; and from this date the merchants of London, like those of Holland, began to earnestly devise measures for supplanting the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean. The Dutch were later than the English in attempting to get to the East, but, owing to their long established indirect trade with India through Lisbon, they succeeded in getting there before us, and it was on their raising the price of Indian pepper against us, from 3*s* to 6*s* and 8*s* a pound, that a meeting was held in London at Founder's Hall, with the Lord Mayor, Sir Stephen Soame, in the chair, on the 22nd of September, 1599, when it was agreed to form the Association which, on the 31st of December in the following year, was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth under the title of "The Governour & Company of the Merchants of London trading into the East Indies." They prosecuted their twelve "Separate Voyages," A.D. 1601–12, and the "Joint Stock Voyages," undertaken between 1613 and 1620, with such discretion, energy, and success, that at once the effect was felt on the now rapidly declining overland trade between the East and West; and the latter year, 1620, is fixed in the history of commerce as the date when, through the general lowering in the prices of Indian commodities, the trade between India and Europe, by the old routes through the Red Sea and Egypt, and the

Persian Gulf and Euphrates Valley, sank at last into irremediable decay. What of it survived was very much monopolised by the French. Thus, in *The Present State of Egypt*, published by F. Vansleb in 1678, it is instructive to read of the port of Alexandria:—"The Trade of the *French Merchants* of this City is the greatest that they have in all the Eastern Parts, for there is no place in *Turkie* where so many *French* ships come as into this Haven. From the beginning of the year 1672 to the month of *June* there were no less than nineteen *French* ships that came hither, and in the month of *June* I reckoned fourteen. This is a considerable number, but not to be compared to the number of Vessels that visited the Haven heretofore, for Monsieur *Lucasole*, that did the Office of Chancellor of the *French* nation, told me that he remembered there had been at *Alexandria* in one Year ninety-four *French* vessels." Vansleb gives the following list of the exports and imports of Egypt at this time.

EXPORTS.

Gums.—Benjoin, bdellion, arabic, adragant [tragacanth] lack, turick [*i.e.* of Tor, a seaport of Arabia, near the Isthmus of Suez], myrrh of Ethiopia, frankincense in tears, and storax.

Juices.—Aloe cicotrin, aloe epatick, opium, indigo named Serquis [Sarkhej, near Ahmadabad, Western India, *see* footnote 2, page 287], indigo of Bagdat, indigo of Balluder [Valabhi, Ballhara of Arabs, near Bhavanagar in Kathiawar, Western India, *see* footnote 4, page 287], cassanad, sugars in great loaves, sugar candy, sugar soltani, sorbet [sherbet].

Woods.—Sandal, citron, turbit, ebene, brasil.

Rinds. Cinamon of Conchi [*i.e.* Kanchi, now Conjeveram, in southern India], cinnamon of Malabari, cinnamon of Zeilani [Ceylon].

Fruits and Seeds. Cassia [*i.e. Cassia Fistula*], coco of Levant [kermes, also called, in the mediæval trade of the Levant, cochineal], coriander, coffee, dates, mirabolans kebus [*i.e.* Chebulic, or of Cabul], mirabolans Balludri, mirabolans citrin, nutmegs, nuts to vomit [nux vomica], cardamoms, ben [nut of *Moringa aptera*], tamarinds, coloquinte, pepper, cloves.

Herbs. Flax, flax or hemp of Menuf, flax or hemp of

Squinanti, black flax, hemp of Fium, hemp of Forsett, hemp of Oleb [Aleppo], hemp of the Besantins, sené [senna].

Flowers. Spikenard, saffron of Nambrosia, saffron of Said, cotton in *ramo* [? in pod], cotton in thread, ordinary cotton.

Roots. Hermodats [hermodactyl], sine [Radix Chinæ ("lignum sanctum"), *i.e.* of *Smilax China*], ginger, cretonart [zedoary, *see* footnote 2, page 200], rhubarb, salsepareille [root of *Smilax officinalis* and *S. medica*].

Teeth. Elephants. *Wool.*

Feathers. Austrich of the first and second sort, of the tail, of the back, of the "sharp," of the wings.

Fish. Green lizards, pearl shells, salt-fish. *Mommies.*

Salts. Ammoniac, nitre, rock alum.

Linen. Blue of Alexandria and Menuf, great blue of Inhab, little blue of Cairo, Alexandria and Col, painted, battanones, magrabines ["Westerns," *i.e.* for "Europe"], messaline [Mosuli, *i.e.* muslin, "messelawny" of other seventeenth century writers], lizarde, cambrasines [cambrics].

Stuffs. Of Cairo, Damietta, and Alexandria, girdles of Rosetta, ordinary girdles, fine handkerchiefs, ordinary handkerchiefs, still commoner ones.

Bladders. Musk.

Carpets. Fine and coarse.

Imports.

Minerals. Agarick [native carbonate of lime], white arsenic, yellow arsenic, archifu [? litmus], orpiment, antimony, quicksilver, vitriol, vermillion, cinabar, salsepareille [sal-prunella, *i.e.* nitre], fine cine [crude potash].

Flowers and Herbs. Nardum celticum, spikenard.

Metals. Copper thread, beaten brass, white iron [tin], steel of Venice, lead, pewter.

Seeds. Cochenelle [*i.e.* kermes].

Paper.

Silks. Satin of Florence.

Clothes of London, of Bucioche [ ], of the Holy Bridge of Rome, of Holland fashion, scarlet caps of Marseilles, other caps, caps of perfect make.

Corrals. Of Messina, Taraille, corrals wrought of Cairo, white tartre, red tartre of Brasil, rock alum.[1]

The establishment of the East India Company was, indeed, the first step in the extraordinary social and political development of England during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was the Company's possession of India, the tacit command its possession gives us of the trade with the East, that enabled us to successfully resist the European coalition organized against us at the beginning of the present century by Napoleon the Great; and the continued possession of India will be our chief stay in sustaining the manufacturing and mercantile preponderance of this country in the crushing commercial competition with which we have now everywhere to contend. As Lord Palmerston clearly foresaw, the opening of the Suez Canal has already seriously sapped our position of virtually exclusive proprietorship in the East. It has again thrown the East wide open to the countries of the Mediterranean Sea, and the normal increase of the trade of India, since this most glorious enterprise was accomplished, has been chiefly to their profit, our trade with that country having ever since remained nearly stationary. Whenever, also, the great powers of Europe shall have the courage of their

[1] The chief articles of exchange in the mediæval trade between the East and the West were: aloes; alum; amber; balm [*Balsamodendron Opobalsamum* and *B. Gileadense*]; brazil wood; camphor; canella [cinnamom and cassia]; cardamoms; cassia [*Cassia Fistula* (Dryden's "cassie sweet to smell," a well known perfume, is distilled from the flowers of *Acacia Farnesiana*)]; cloves; cochineal [*i.e.* "kermes," the Arabic *kirmij* "insect," the *κόκκος βαφική* of Dioscorides, the female *Coccos Ilicis* found on the *Quercus coccifera* or "Kermes Oak" of Asia Minor, and not the cochineal, afterwards imported from Mexico, which is the female *Coccus Cacti*, found on the *Opuntia cochinilifera*, the "Nepal" of Mexico]; coral [the best being of Merz-el-Kharez near Cape Bon, and th second class of Messina, *et cetera*]; costus; cotton; frankincense; galangal; galls; ginger; glass of Venice, Hebron, Damascus and Irak-Arabi [compare the *iraga* of Spain]; gold and silver thread [chiefly of Cyprus, Venice, Milan, Lucca, Genoa, and Paris]; gum tragacanth; gum-lac; indigo; ivory [chiefly from Africa]; ladanum; linen of Cyprus; mace; madder; mastic; mummy; musk; myrobalans; pearls; precious stones [(1) Egyptian emeralds, distinguished as *bahri* ("maritime") for the riverine *rajahs* and *sultans* of the Indian Ocean, and *magrabi* ("westerns") for the prelates and kings of Europe, (2) Persian turquoises and balas rubies, and (3) Indian diamonds, rubies (Ceylon), sapphires, topazes, cats-eyes, amethysts, garnets, *et cetera*]; pepper; long pepper; rhubarb; saffron; scammony; silk; sugar; textile fabrics [(1) "cloth of pall," *i.e.* velvet, of Venice, Pisa and Genoa, (2) baudekin, baldacchino, "cloth of tissue" or "cloth of gold"! originally of Baldac, or Baghdad, and damask,

humanity and enforce orderly government on Turkey and Persia, such as we have established in India, a still larger proportion of the trade with the East Indies will return to its old overland routes, and by the Euphrates Valley, as well as the Suez Canal; our only share in the profits of which will be derived from its accommodation at such British possessions in the line of its transit, as Aden, Cyprus, Malta, and Gibraltar, and, haply, Egypt. While it went by the Cape of Good Hope, there was no difficulty in our overcoming any competition for it. We enjoyed a forward position of unique advantage on the direct line of the ocean highway to the East; and in vain, therefore, did the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French attempt to resist our supplanting them in the trade which has now been going by it for four hundred years. But in relation to the ancient overland thoroughfares between the East and the West, to which we are now rapidly reverting, most of the nations of Europe have the natural advantage of us. They are nearer to them than we are, and several of them are now simultaneously entering into competition with us for the commerce which must in each succeeding year more and more follow these reviving routes. Russia not only extends in an unbroken expanse from the North Sea to the Pacific Ocean, but

a richly diapered silk, originally of Damascus, (3) tartarium, tartaryn, ? or "cloth of Tars," a rich scarlet stuff, originally of Central Asia and China, (4) "zetani" (satin), originally of Zeytun in China, (5) camlet, originally of the white wool of the camels of North China, (6) siklaton (Persian *saqlatun*, Mahratti *saklut*, and English "scarlet") or cyclas, originally a gold brocade of Baghdad, Tauris, and Almiera, (7) camoca, *i.e.* kinkob (Persian *kimkha*) or gold brocade of Herat, Nishapur, Baghdad, Damascus, Beyrout, Alexandria and Famagosta, (8) sendal, or cendal, originally from India, *see* footnote 2, page xxvi. (9) samite, (10) taffeta of Tauris and Sultanieh, (11) fustian of Fostat, a suburb of Cairo, (12) buckram, originally from Bokhara, (13) cymars, scarfs of fine linen or lawn, "cloth of lake," in Florio, "zimarra" is "*an irish rugge, or such course garment*," (14) blatty, *see* page 79, or "purple," originally made at Tyre, and afterwards at Byzantium, but later the term was applied to any richly coloured, or wrought, stuff of any place of manufacture, (15) sarcenet, a slender silk, originally made by the Saracens in Spain, (16) gauze, a fine tiffany-like silk, or bombasin, originally of Gaza, (17) bordalisander, striped silks of Alexandria and Syria, and (18) carpets, always at this time of Persia]; tutia [oxide of zinc]; and zedoary. These were the principal items of the trade between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean; and the gryphons, basilisks, lions, peacocks and elephants, decorating the richer stuffs enumerated, and which were provided chiefly for the use of the Catholic Roman and schismatic Greek Churches, demonstrate, as clearly as their commercial denominations, their oriental origin.

is rapidly advancing into immediate contact with India, and stretching out eagerly across Persia to the Indian Ocean. Austria is becoming sensible of the value to her, as to all the Danubian States, of the old overland routes from the Black Sea, through Asia Minor, Armenia, and the Euphrates Valley, to the Persian Gulf. Germany and Holland, France and Belgium, and Greece and Italy are fully alive to the opportunity the Suez Canal has given their manufactures in anticipating our own in the free markets of India and the Indian Ocean. At every point, whether in Egypt, in Syria, in Mesopotamia, in Persia, or in Afghanistan, along all these primeval overland routes to the Indies our path is closed by rival manufacturing powers. We may be sure, also, that so soon as Turkestan has been completely brought under the dominion of Russia, the old caravan roads between Eastern Asia [Scythia trans-Imaum] and Persia and Central Europe will be reopened, and take off some portion, at least, of the trade with China, now almost entirely sea-borne. It was this overland trade with China which, down to the time of the disastrous Turkish conquests made Central Asia and Northern Persia rich and populous.[1] Already our carrying trade in the Mediterranean seems to be passing away from us. The demand for tonnage in Bombay for Liverpool by the Suez Canal is steadily decreasing; and, since the opening of the canal, Liverpool has ceased to be the great emporium of Europe for Indian cotton. The bulk of the Bombay crop now goes to Havre, Barcelona, Marseilles, Genoa, Trieste, and Odessa. The cotton, and other products exported from India to the Mediterranean,

[1] The Chinese, who, according to Professor Terrien de Lacouperie, appear to have received the first elements of their civilization from Chaldæa, through immigrants from the south of the Caspian Sea, B.C. 2647-2282, repeatedly record the arrival among them, from B.C. 2205 downward, of overland trading parties from the West; and that this overland intercourse between Europe and "Far Cathay" was, until it was broken up by the Turks, safe, regular and intimate, is proved by the fact that a new coinage, of the type of that established in Lydia B.C. 750-700, was, in little over one hundred years, introduced into China. Persian coins also circulated in northern China down to the latest years of the Sassanian dynasty. On the other hand, the introduction of the Median quince tree [*Citrus Medica*] into southern China, by sea, B.C. 660, and the regular importation of Roman imperial coins into all the southern parts of China between A.D. 14 and 284, indicate the early and continuous extension to that country of the ancient trade between the East and West across the Indian Ocean.

are still chiefly carried in English bottoms, though they are not consigned to English merchants; but the time must come when they will be carried in French, Italian, Spanish, Greek, Austrian and Russian ships, loading at Karachi, Bombay and Calcutta. It is quite true that the increase of our trade with the United States of America has, leaving out of view the effects of the recent and probably temporary MacKinley tariff, more than compensated for the want of any increase in our Indian trade since the opening the Suez Canal, but it is not prudent to rely altogether on our trade with America, North or South. It is of barely more than a hundred years' growth, and affords therefore insufficient evidence for forecasting its future development; whereas we have a history of four thousand years on which to base with some confidence any anticipation of the probable effects of the loss of the Indian trade on the United Kingdom. But apart from this consideration, India, and the countries it commercially commands, will always be the best market for British manufactures. Broadly speaking, the temperate countries of the world are more and more becoming dominant manufacturing powers, and the tropical countries mere agricultural territories, in direct industrial subjection, if not political subordination, to the temperate countries with which they are commercially linked. This is why the United States of America offer us no reasonable hope of any adequate extension of our future commerce with them;[1] and why the development of our trade with India, and the countries of the Indian Ocean generally, in progressive propor-

[1] The future of the United States as a great self-contained, consolidated, empire, and not a merely magnified plantation, absolutely depends on their fostering their manufactures to the highest degree of perfection and productiveness, not only for their own consumption, but to command the trade with tropical North, Central, and South America, the control of which is as vital for the United States as is that of the trade with India to us. This is the true justification of the MacKinley tariff; and it is the true explanation of the Chicago Exhibition, which is nothing more nor less than a prodigious appliance for advertising, and most successfully as will be found, the manufactures of the United States before the emotional people of tropical America, to the corresponding detriment of the United Kingdom and Germany. When their national manufactures have been firmly established, and the trade with tropical America secured, and there is a surplus of production to be disposed of elsewhere, it will be the proper time for the United States to adopt a policy of free trade; and then the Old World, East and West, must beware, for with those who perish in that wasting competition it will be "Væ Victis," with a vengeance on't!

tion to the need for employing our rapidly increasing population in profitable manufactures, is of the most vital consequence to us. Every manufacturing state in Europe is beginning to feel the necessity for securing the markets of the East for its manufactures; and we in England are absolutely dependent on the freedom of those markets, not only for the maintenance of our industrial supremacy, but for the continuance of our very existence as an independent people. Large countries like France, Germany, and Russia, can be economically self-sustaining, but a small country like England can with difficulty support a rapidly increasing and energetic population, such as our own, except on imported food, for which it can pay profitably only by exporting its manufactures. We have warnings, in short, of every kind, historical, political, industrial, and social, that these islands are passing through a severe crisis in their fate. The time has evidently come when we can no longer neglect to make the best of every natural advantage we possess, and to diligently make up for every disadvantage with which we may be weighted. It is the sum of unobserved, unconsidered deficiencies and negligencies which brings about the deadliest forms of failure, and in these days of close international competition a serious catastrophe suffered by any one of the leading powers of the world could only with the greatest difficulty be retrieved, if at all. It is remarkable what a difference the slightest natural advantage makes in even the most artificial conditions of human society, and in the ordinary retail business of shopkeepers. In most northern cities every street has what those living in it call a "right side," and a "wrong side," the rents differing between the two sides so much as from 25 to 30 per cent. I have never met with anyone who could explain it, except that it had always been so. It will, however, be invariably found that the "right side" of the street is that on which the sun shines from the south and west, making a brighter show of the shop windows, and therefore attracting the greater number of people, and of casual buyers, to them. But every nation is a shop, and the oceans and the rivers are the high streets and the bye-ways of the nations; and when the busy traffic that always has subsisted, and always will subsist, between the East and the West went overland, the nations

situated along the Euphrates, the Nile, and the Mediterranean, made the first, and the whole profit of it. Then after it was diverted round the Cape, the nations fronting the Atlantic, and particularly England, which fronts at once India, Europe, and America, monopolized it, while the Mediterranean nations had, as it were, to put up their shutters and retire from business for nearly three hundred years. And now that this trade is gradually returning to its original overland routes, our disadvantage in relation to them is at once beginning to be seen, and would be still more clearly seen but for our immense present dealings with the Americas. Nevertheless, the Eastern trade is the great trunk trade current of the Old World, and France, with her unique advantage of having a frontage on both the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, if she ever seriously enters into the trade with the East Indies, will compete with us on almost equal terms round the Cape of Good Hope, and on more than equal terms in the Mediterranean, where her recent acquisition of Tunis, the corner-stone of her Algerian shop frontage, and the modern representative of Carthage, gives her a commanding commercial position throughout northern Africa: to be neutralized only by our exercising a perpetual protectorate over Egypt.

The greatest danger, however, threatening the future of these islands is that arising rather from the moral deterioration of our populations than any political weaknesses in our statesmen. Nothing short of some great physical convulsion can deprive them of the supreme advantage they enjoy of being placed at the very centre of the four continents of the globe, and across the direct track between the Americas and Northern Europe; and also in their coal and iron mines. The happy qualities of the dominant Norman and Anglo-Saxon races, especially their energy, steadfastness, and integrity, are also advantages on our side not to be despised. We may be tolerably sure, therefore, that we are, after all, very much the masters of our own destinies; and that, happen what will, honest and intelligent workmanship will always preserve for us the command of the markets of the world. The first essential is the honesty to do whatsoever our hands find to do with all our will and might. If our manufacturers, and their factory hands, and our artisans generally, would only

observe this rule in their relations with each other, and with their customers, and resolutely act on it, in spite of every temptation to ignore it, we might rely upon still being able to undersell every other country in all of our special manufactures, and with full profit both to the labour and the capital expended on them. It is certainly not the trade unions, nor the competition of foreigners, nor even the strikes, that are really injuring British trade, but emphatically the dishonesty of our manufacturers in wilfully supplying inferior goods and the dishonesty of our workmen in scamping both their work and time. After honesty, the second essential is intelligence, if indeed it is not the first; for dishonesty is nearly always the result of the want of intelligence. Respectable and trustworthy Englishmen have always had a good reputation among manufacturers on the Continent, but as workmen only. As men of business, and for general usefulness or superintendence, they are far inferior to the Germans, Austrians, French, and even the Swiss. These defects, which are not inherent but rather the results of defective popular education and culture, we must overcome, if, with the rise of temperate, honest, cautious, thrifty, laborious, and informed industrial and artistic populations in France, Austria, Germany and Italy, we are still to retain our traditional pre-eminence as manufacturers. As the more barbarous tribes of the tropics begin, with the prosperity their export trade in food stuffs and the raw materials for manufacture required by Europe and the United States of America is bringing them, to feel the desire to be provided with the comforts and appliances of a more civilized life, an almost limitless market will be gradually opened up in Africa, and throughout all the countries round the Indian Ocean, for European manufacturers. It is at present virtually our own, and our future command of it is endangered not so much by any political catastrophe that may befall us in the immediate future, as by the inartistic character, and too often inferior quality, of our manufactures, as compared with those of the continental Europe and the United States of America. The semi-savage, and the barbarous populations of Africa and the Indian Archipelago, possess, in common, at once a keen determination to have full worth for their money, and an instinctive taste for ornament, particularly that of bright, but harmonious colouring,

such as is found in the textile fabrics of India. In short, what they want are the enduring and brilliantly dyed goods still made in India and Persia, but which these countries will never be able to supply beyond their own wants, and the limited demand for them by cultivated persons in Europe and America. We can never supplant the sumptuary handicrafts of India. The demand for them in India, and elsewhere, can only be supplied by India, and any attempt to compete with the native production of them with machine-made imitations can only end in unqualified failure. But as the modern European type of civilization extends along the coasts of Africa, and among all the islands of the Indian Archipelago, and, as unhappily it may, into ancient India, an insatiable demand will gradually spring up for ordinary dyed calicoes, and silks, and woollens, which only machinery will ever be able to adequately supply. That market we may legitimately claim for our own; and our future commercial and political position in the world entirely depends on our securing it; while what is principally required to make it and keep it ours is that the cotton, woollen, and silken stuffs we provide for it should be of full measure, durable, free from sizeing, which is an abomination to all Hindus, and coloured with fast natural dyes. And a people cannot determinately give themselves up to manufacturing piece goods which fade in the sun, and stream with size in the rain, and to fabricating "shoddy" cloth, and "Brummagem" hardwares, without running the risk of gradually becoming dishonest and false in all the undertakings and institutions that constitute their national life, and individually, also, rotten to the core. The arts are the final expression of the whole moral and material condition of a people. Judged, then, by our art manufactures, what is the forecast we may form of the commercial and political future of the people of this country? That these considerations are at last being widely appreciated by our manufacturers is indicated by the growing attention given by them in recent years to the industrial arts of India. Once before, in the middle of the last century, the study of them, in connection with the trade, then at its zenith, of the East India Company, gave the stimulus to our manufactures in which their present extraordinary development

originated; and there is every hope of the renewed interest in them at the present time having as beneficial an effect in reviving the artistic excellence, and, perhaps, in still further promoting the productiveness, of our national manufactures.

The entries in the present volume, at pages 255, 337, 340, 406, and 410, of opium are among the earliest notices of the modern commerce in this drug with India; and it will probably come as a surprise on some of my readers to find that there is no mention in the history of the ancient trade between the East and West of a product now so intimately associated, as a universal dietetic indulgence, with the health and pleasure of the people of the Indian Archipelago and China, and so important, as the source of a practically illimitable external revenue, to the prosperity and contentment of the people of India. There is, however, nothing exceptional in this significant circumstance when we remember that the habitual use of tea, coffee and tobacco has been similarly spread, within the last four hundred years, from China, Arabia and America, respectively, over the whole civilized world, and simply owing to their satisfying a natural craving of the human appetite; this also being the explanation of the extraordinary development of opium eating, drinking, and smoking throughout southern and eastern Asia, immediately after the introduction of the drug, by the Mahomedan Arabs, from the countries of the Mediterranean Sea into those of the Indian Ocean. It has always been accepted that the word opium is the Greek word *ὄπιον*, the diminutive of *ὀπός*, juice [as in *ὀποβάλσαμον*, the juice (balm) of the balsam trees], and there is not a Western or Eastern name for opium that is not a variant of this Greek word *ὄπιον*. It has, indeed, been suggested that the Sanskrit word *ahipana*, or *apana*, is an indigenous, and the original Indian name for opium; and inasmuch as Pliny mentions [xx., 76-80] a spurious opium-yielding poppy, called *aphron* ["foam," as in Aphrodite], that the Greek word opium may have been formed from the Sanskrit *ahipana*, and, in ignorance of its true etymology, fathered on *ὀπός*. But the word *ahipana* does not occur anywhere until it appears in a Sanskrit dictionary published at Calcutta about seventy years ago; and obviously it is the Sanskritized Arabic variant of *ὄπιον*, namely, *afiun*. The Greeks and Romans knew poppies

[*μήκων,* Homer's "Iliad," viii., 306], and opiate preparations from poppies [*μηκώνιον,* Hippocrates, B.C. 407-39], from the earliest ages of their history, and the *φάρμακον νηπευθές,* the praises of which, as a "grief-assuaging drug," are so rapturously sung in the Odyssey [iv., 220-1], was probably the primitive form of the Egyptian true opium ["opium Thebaicum"] of a later date. But it is very doubtful whether the first poppy known to them was the *Papaver somniferum,* from which alone true opium has ever been prepared; and it is more probable that the original opiate poppy, and the original opiate poppies everywhere, were certain species of red poppy, resembling *P. Rhœas,* which, from East to West, dye in blood red the midsummer plains of middle Asia and Europe. I believe one of these red poppies of middle Asia to be the original source of some primitive indigenous opiate preparation in China and India, as distinguished from the true opium introduced into these countries from Egypt, and Asia Minor, and Persia, through the intermediation of the Mahomedan Arabs, trading in the Indian Ocean during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. The earliest form of opium expressly described by any Western writer is the *μηκώνιον* of Theophrastus [ix., 8, 2], which was an inspissated extract of the whole plant; and it is clear from Pliny that this "meconium," and similar opiate extracts, were made from a red poppy, as a spurious opium still is in the Himalayas and in China, as well as from the true opium poppy, *P. somniferum,* with which the Romans had already become acquainted when Pliny wrote [A.D. 24-79]. Dioscorides [A.D. 77] is the first to distinguish the true opium prepared from the *κώδεια,* or capsule of *P. somniferum,* from meconium, and down to the fifteenth century A.D. "meconium" was always distinguished from true opium, the "opium Thebaicum" of the time; and the difference between them was discriminated by the Abbé Raynal so late as 1770. The earliest Western notice of Indian opium is in the letter of Giovanni da Empoli in the *Archivo Storico Italiano* of 1511, in which he mentions the capture of "8 Guzzarate ships" laden with "*arfiun,*" "for so they call *opio thebaico,*" and other merchandise, worth 300,000 ducats. Barbosa, in 1516, states that the Chinese junks, on their return voyages from the Indian Archipelago, loaded

at Malacca with "much *anfiam*, which we call opium," from Cambay, and, also, that it was imported into Calicut from both Cambay and Aden. Pyres, in his letter, written from Cochin, to King Emanuel of Portugal, in 1516, enumerates the opium of Egypt, and Cambay, and Cous [*i.e.* Kuch Bahar] in Bengal, adding "that the kings and lords eat of it, and even the common people." Garcia ab Horto, in 1563, explains that the "*amfiao* of Cambaia comes for the most part from one territory called Malvi" [Malwa]. Linschoten, in 1598, informs us that "*amfion*, so-called by the Portingales, is by the Arabians, Mores, and Indians, called Affion, in Latin *opio*, or opium," and that "it cometh out of Cairo in Egypt, and out of Aden . . . but most part out of Cambaia, and from Deccan." John Chamberlain and Richard Hakluyt, in the reports furnished by them, in 1599, for the guidance of the London East India Company, both include opium among the rich merchandise of the East Indies. Tavernier, in 1676, writes:—"Opium comes from Burhanpur . . . between Surat and Agra. The Dutch go there and exchange their pepper for it." Schewitzer, between 1675 and 1683, records the slaughter of "the flower of of our [Dutch] officers and 150 private soldiers" by a party of Javanese under the influence of opium, and the assassination of a Dutch sentinel at Batavia by Javanese under the same excitement. Kæmpfer, in 1688, remarks that the Javanese imported their opium from Bengal and the Coromandel Coast of India, and used it mixed with tobacco. Thomas Woolley, writing from Vizagapatam to the United East India Company in 1711, enlarges on the prophylactic uses of opium to the vegetarian people of India.[1] In the same year Lockyer tells us that the price of opium at Calicut was "160 *fanhams* per candy," and the Emperor of China's customs on opium from "1 mace to 3 tales per pecul." Valentijn, in 1726, observes "that Java alone consumes monthly 350 packs of opium, each being 136 *catis*, though the [Dutch] East India Company make 145 *catis* of it." In the same year Hamilton notes:—"The chiefs of Calecut for many years have vended between 500 and 1000 chests of *Bengal* ophium yearly up in the inland

[1] His letter was published, from the India Office records, in the *Times* of July 27th, 1886.

countries, where it is much used." The Abbé Raynal, in 1770, indignantly protests that the most considerable branch of the commerce of Bengal was in the manufacture and export of opium; that it was prepared both in the form of opium and meconium, and mostly in Bahar; and that "an excessive fondness for opium prevails in all the countries to the East of India." He continues:—"In vain have the laws of China condemned to the flames every vessel that imports, and every house that receives it; the consumption is not the less considerable. It is still greater at Malacca, Borneo, the Moluccas, Java, Macassar, Sumatra, and all the islands of this immense Archipelago." In connection with the reference made by Raynal to "meconium," it is interesting to note that Robert Stevens [of Bombay], in 1775, describes opium as "produced in Bengal, about Patna, being made of Poppy-Leaves," and that Hove, who was in Bombay about the same period [1787], says that opium was then extracted from the stalks of the *Papaver somniferum;* and that the Mogols "chew opium constantly," and "make it their common beverage." These quotations sufficiently dispose of the familiar allegation, meant by those who advance it to be opprobious to the British administration of India, that the opium trade of India was first established by Warren Hastings, the Governor General of Fort William from October 20th, 1774 to February 8th, 1785. The fact is that the state monopoly of opium in India was organized throughout Hindustan and Central India [Malwa, *et cetera*] by the Mo[n]gol Emperors of Delhi, from whom we inherited it as one of their sources of revenue. The Board of Supervisors, sent out to India in 1769, received instructions to encourage the export of yarn, silk, and opium; but owing to the ship they sailed in foundering at sea, it was not until 1773 that the United East India Company undertook the supervision of the opium monopoly in Bengal and Behar; and their first regular exports of the drug were not commenced before 1796. In the following year they restricted the cultivation of the poppy to Behar and Benares, and discontinued it in Bengal.

The Chinese knew the poppy plant before the eighth century A.D.; and Dr. Edkins, in his scholarly and exhaustive *Historical*

Note on the Poppy in China, expresses the opinion that it was probably introduced with the rose, jasmine, and *henna* tree, by the Arabians, about the date of the death, A.D. 632, of the Prophet Mahomed, whose uncle died not long afterwards in China. Notwithstanding Dr. Edkins's high authority as a Sinologist, I believe that either the true *P. somniferum*, or some closely allied opiate *Papaver*, has been immemorially known to the Chinese; but be this as it may, all agree that about the ninth century A.D. the true opium poppy was cultivated in Szechuen, the eastmost province of the Chinese Empire. In the eleventh century A.D. it is noted as "found everywhere," and its narcotic properties are recognized as having been known by the thirteenth century. During the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Chinese trade with eastern and southern India was as active as that of the Mahomedan Arabs and the Portuguese throughout the Indian Ocean; and Barbosa's statement, in 1516, that the Chinese junks, on their return to Canton and Amoy, always loaded at Malacca with Cambay opium has already been quoted. Moreover, it is now known that the Chinese had begun to manufacture opium for themselves for at least a century before Barbosa was, with his cousin Magellan, at the siege of Malacca; and that, in 1523, official instructions were issued for the more careful preparation of opium in China, which was, in 1589, protected by a duty placed on imported opium. Opium smoking Dr. Edkins considers to have been introduced into China with tobacco smoking, about the beginning of the seventeenth century. I would venture to conjecturally associate the introduction of this absolutely harmless use of opium with the smoking of hemp by the Scythian races of Central Asia from the most primitive times of their history. Still the fact remains that it was not until the seventeenth century, and almost contemporaneously with our own royal *Counterblast against Tobacco*, that the last of the Ming Emperors issued his famous edicts against tobacco[1] and opium smoking. His pietistic efforts, how-

[1] At this time the tobacco and opium were mixed together with arsenic for smoking, as is still done in Java, and elsewhere in the Indian Archipelago, forming a preparation altogether distinct from "the smokeable extract" of opium now used in China and Western India.

ever, had no effect on a practice that had now become, and has ever since remained, one of the most characteristic national habits of the Chinese. Fresh edicts were issued against the practice in 1790, and the importation of the foreign drug was altogether forbidden in 1800. But, as the Abbé Raynal observed in 1770, these measures never for a moment put down the practice of opium smoking, nor the cultivation of the opium poppy in China ;[1] where, at the present time, nearly four times more opium is produced than is imported from abroad. In short, Indian opium is, as it always has been, the luxury of the rich in China, just as champagne is in Europe and America; the only difference betwixt them being that, while the daily use of champagne, or other wines and spirits, malt liquors, *et cetera*, may prove deleterious, the smoking of the pure extract of Indian monopoly opium can, in itself, never be injurious to health, not even when indulged in, so far as the time and money wasted on it are concerned, to so-called "excess."

As to the effects of the habitual eating or drinking of opium my personal testimony is this. During the fifteen years of my later residence in Western India, I paid the closest attention to the subject ; and I had every kind of experience in relation to it, having at different times been in medical charge of the Southern Mahratta Irregular Horse, the 8th Madras Cavalry, the 3rd Bombay Native Infantry, a Battery of Artillery, the jail and civil station of Sholapore, and the steam frigate *Ajdaha*. Subsequently I was attached, for the remainder of my service, to the Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Hospital, and was in succession professor of Anatomy and Physiology, and of Botany and Materia Medica, at Grant Medical College. I was also a justice of the peace and visitor to the jails of Bombay, and the year I was sheriff I regularly visited the jails. Besides this, I was probably more intimately familiar with all classes of the native population of the city than any

[1] Nor, indeed, the importation, by smuggling, of Indian opium; out of which disorderly trading arose the so-stigmatized "Opium War" of 1841. But it was not any desire to force opium on the Chinese that brought on the war, but the wanton destruction, by the Chinese Commissioner Lin, of two millions sterling worth of Indian opium, the property of British merchants, at the very time we were negotiating with his Government for the regulation of the trade in the drug with China.

other European of my generation, while as an ever active journalist, I was mixed up in almost every discussion of this sort, during my time in Bombay. And, in all the experience, as here precisely detailed, and capable therefore of being checked at every point, I thus had of the indigenous life of Western India, I never once met with a single native suffering, or who ever had suffered, from the habitual use of opium; and, excepting cases of accidental or wilful poisoning by opium, I never knew of a single instance of death from its use. I have, moreover, never yet met with anyone who, in his own experience, has known of a case of death, or of injury to health, from the habitual eating or drinking of opium, as practised by the people of any part of India proper. So far as I can remember, in the printed tables used in Indian civil and military hospitals, there is no standing column for the "opium habit" nor for "deaths from opium." On the strength of my personal experience therefore I should be prepared to defy anyone to bring forward from their personal experience a single authentic record of death, or shortened life, from habitual opium eating or drinking in India. If anyone can, let him; for the means of verifying his or her statement, are always, within the current generation, accessible in India. On the contrary, so far as my experience goes, the healthiest populations of western India, are those distinguished for their, so stigmatized, excessive use of opium. I refer to the people of Gujerat generally, and more particularly to the people of the Kaira district, and also of the neighbouring district of Broach. This is true also, as is universally acknowledged, of the people of Rajputana and the Punjab. A good deal has recently been said in vague general terms of the evil effects of opium eating in increasing crime and insanity in Bengal; but Deputy Inspector-General Mouatt, one of the highest authorities on the criminal and medical statistics of India, has pointed out in reply,[1] that among the 302,374 native prisoners brought under his observation while Official Visitor of Lunatic Asylums and Inspector-General of Prisons, Bengal, in not a single case was the crime for which they had been condemned, or any disease from which they suffered, due to opium;

[1] *See* the *Times* of June 13th, and also, for Mr. F. Wyer's letter, of November 18th, 1892.

and that of the countless number of lunatics inspected by him in the same period, in no case was their insanity attributable, so far as he remembered, to the use of this drug. Much, also, has been made of certain statements in Sir Charles Aitchison's "Report on the Use of Opium in Burmah"; but in the appended "Note" Sir Charles Bernard states that neither in the gaols, nor in the opium shops, nor in the hospitals, nor in the streets, nor in the villages, save in Minbyin, did he come across actual tangible evidence of any ill effects of the prevailing opium habit. Again, in the *Report on the Administration of the Northern Shan States for the year* 1891-92, Mr. J. G. Scott, C.I.E., writes:—"The absurdity of the clamour against opium cultivation, and opium smoking, is nowhere more conspicuous than in Ko Kang. Everyone in Ko Kang smokes opium habitually, and at all hours. Burma and the Shan country are free enough from weaklings and deformed persons ['the Saturday-nights children' of this country], but in all Ko Kang, . . . I saw none who were not creditable, and few who were not stalwart human beings; they are athletic; they will carry the heaviest loads up the longest ascents without a halt, if they have an opium pipe at the top; they are energetic; they will travel several days' journey to sell a few loads of produce, and to buy some petty lengths of cloth, and they smoke opium all the way; they are intelligent and resourceful, as their methods of cultivation and their various farm devices show; and they know when to stop short of excess even in opium. Their women are buxom, and faithful, and fruitful, and all smoke opium."

As for opium smoking, I am satisfied, from my own experience of it, that it is as innocuous as smoking hay, straw, or stubble. It has not even the potency, although it has far more of the psychical charm, of the mildest tobacco smoking; that is as judged by my own use of it. I have, therefore, always presumed that the morphia in "the smokeable extract of opium" [*chaudu*] is all decomposed in the flame of the lamp at which it is lighted before the smoke from it reaches the lungs. But, be this as it may, we find in China, as in India, that nowhere are the native populations so robust, industrious, and thriving, as in the principal opium producing and opium consuming provinces of the empire. It is

enough to refer on this point to the report by Mr. W. Donald Spence, our Acting-Consul at Ichang, published in the Parliamentary Paper, No. 3, of 1882, p. 35.

Of course I know the *in terrorem* cases to be seen in the opium dens in Bombay, and elsewhere in the East. I well knew the Bombay den, and its keeper, and his customers, who were never more than a dozen at the most. But who were they? The dregs of the lowest outcasts of the greatest emporium of trade in the Old World outside London, and the sink of all the roving vagabondage of the Indian Ocean; and as for the real causes of their sufferings, I will only here say that, so far as I could ever ascertain, they had nothing to do with the opium-pipe, which seemed to be only the last palliative of their "distempered torment," until they were enfranchised of it by death. I hold the recipe of the *chaudu* sold in the Colbhat den in Bombay, and it is difficult to understand how, when decomposed in the flame of the opium lamp, the stuff could have the slightest physiological consequences on its smokers, other than the hypnotic effect of the fascinating act of smoking.

Opium, in brief, is one of the greatest gifts of Providence to the people of the tropics; and not simply as a soothing adjuvant to the digestion of a vegetarian diet, such as that used by the Hindus, and a prophylactic against malaria, through its specific action on the perspiration, the only secretion it stimulates, but, above all, because its use, like that of tea, coffee and tobacco, anticipates and allays the natural thirst of mankind for alcoholic stimulants, which certainly cannot be safely indulged in by the emotional people of southern Asia and Africa, except with the greatest circumspection and carefulness. Opium, furthermore, is one of the most economical of stimulants. The English drink bill for 1891 was calculated by Mr. Dawson Burns, in the *Times* of February 17th, 1892, at £140,000,000. Sir John Hart calculates the Chinese annual opium bill at £25,000,000; and were we in this country to substitute opium for wine and spirits, *et cetera*, our proportionate bill would be only £3,150,000, as against £140,000,000.

I am not entitled to discuss the administrative and economical sides of the question; but, surely, those who hold that

the habitual use of opium is harmful, should be the last to object to the state monopoly of the drug in India. I, on the contrary, holding that its habitual consumption is conducive to the health, wealth, and happiness of the inhabitants of the tropics, and more especially of those who are vegetarians, would freely throw the manufacture of it open to private enterprise, and raise as high a duty on its export as it could with safety bear in the intertropical competition with ardent spirits to which this drug seems predestined. And within thirty years the whole imperial, provincial, and feudatory expenditure of India might, in this way, be met out of the yearly increasing opium revenue, while the country itself would be left practically untaxed.[1]

Before parting with the volume, I would offer some explanation of its ornamentation; of which the most important feature is the Colophon. This device originally marked the last page of a book, and contained the place and year of its publication, but was ultimately transferred, with these particulars, to the title page, where, chiefly through want of sufficient space, the Colophon gradually dwindled to a mere trademark, of the baldest, and, too often, most disfiguring kind. In the present volume it has been replaced in its proper position at the end of the book, its central geometrical elements only being repeated on the title page, and here in their consonant colours, on the very spot assigned in the highest usage to some personal badge, or to the arms, of the writer or editor of a work. Whoever may be the author of a book, its finisher is, after all, the much abused publisher, without whom it could not be brought to its fateful issue; and as the word "Colophon" is derived from the circumstance of the cavalry of Colophon, one of the twelve cities of the Ionian league, having always been kept in reserve

[1] See also my letters in the *Times* of December 6th, 1881, and January 20th, 1882; Sir Rutherford Alcock's lecture on "The Opium Trade," in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* for January 20th, 1882; The *Truth about Opium*, by W. H. Brereton, 1882, second edition, 1883; *All about Opium*, by H. H. Sultzberger, 1884; The *Vindication of England's Policy with regard to the Opium Trade*, by C. R. Haines, 1884; Mr. George H. M. Batten's lecture on "The Opium Question" in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* for April 1st, 1892; the article on Opium in the *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, by Dr. George Watt, C.I.E.; and the *Times* articles on "Indian Affairs" of May 5th and August 10th, 1891, and March 21st and June 13th, 1892.

by the allies to make the last charge and decide the battle [whence the Greek proverb, "He put the Colophon to it," τὸν Κολοφῶνα επέδηκεν], it is doubly appropriate, in etymology as in ritual, that the publisher's distinctive device should be imprinted at large on, or opposite to, the last page of a book; and that, proportionately to its use and significance, the utmost art should be lavished on its colophon, or "finishing touch." The printer and binder are also each entitled to their personal stamp, and should take a pride in contributing it, draughted by the best designers of their time, to the consecration of every book of good faith in the preparation of which they have had a helping hand. They are, for the most part, men of substance, and can well afford to publicly prove in this reverential form that they not only know their trade, but love their art. In the present instance, Mr. George C. Haité, twelfth President of the brotherhood of "the Sette of Odd Volumes," founded by Mr. Bernard Quaritch in 1880, has taken the general plan and delineation of his design from the colophon of a **Catholicon** of the year 1497, in my possession; developing its full significance by collating it with similar symbolical figures in Indian art; and adapting it to Mr. Quaritch's family history. The specific charm of Indian, as of all ancient Asiatic, art is that, whether in the vague amplitude of the metaphorical descriptions of the theologised astrology of the Revelation of St. John the Divine, or the definite epitome of such traditionary decorative types as the "knop and flower pattern," and the "cone pattern," it is everywhere the conscious reflection of the whole universe of things seen and unseen, the sanctified cypher, as it were, of the visible creation of forces and phenomena, and of their invisible, inscrutable Creator, the one God of all human faith, and love, and adoration. Thus it has, from the earliest times, in the ultimate types of its poetical and pictorial imagery, portrayed the cosmos as a virgin mother, a suffering and redeeming god-man, a holy mountain, a four-square heavenly city, and a garden enclosed, with its Paradisaical tree planted by the four-parted waters of eternal life.[1] The first Paradise, and

[1] See the chapter on "The Knop and Flower Pattern" in my *Handbook to the British Indian Section of the Paris Universal Exposition of* 1878, and *Industrial Arts of*

the first Tree of Life, were of direct physiological origination [compare κῆπος and "hortus"], and the most obvious exponents of the generative and reproductive principles of nature; the second Paradise was geographical, and its characteristic tree was ever its worshipful Tree of Life, as the date palm in Chaldæa, and the ash tree of the Norse nations in "Asgard" [the country about the Sea of Azov]; while the final, transcendental Paradise was the green earth itself, or, at least, its northern hemisphere, "the mountain of the Lord," rising above the 7 [or 9] hells of the southern hemisphere, and the final, consummate Tree of Life, the 7 [or 9] planets simulated as a date palm, or some other tree, deep-rooted in the earth, and carrying its 7- or 9-branched head into the highest heavens, and guarded by the mystical cherubim ["the Two Witnesses"], all encircled, or ensquared, by the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and their twenty-four deacons, the "flammantia mœnia mundi." It may be said that nearly all the traditional devices in decorative design are derived from this sublime Chaldæan presentment of the Tree of Life; and throughout their infinite permutations, they in Indian art retain, "void of all prophanation," their original sacramental significance, and still utter forth their hallowing voice of archaic praise: "Alleluia! for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth! Alleluia! Salvation, Glory, Honour, Power unto the Lord our God!" In the colophon designed for Mr. Quaritch, the earth is indicated by a circle divided through its horizontal diameter into the nether world of night and winter, destruction and death, and the upper world of day and summer, light and life and glory; and the planetary tree by the Papal Cross, as the emblem of the historical continuity of the development of religious doctrine and ritual in the formulated Christianity of the Catholic Roman Church. The geometrical structure of the striking type thus obtained symbolizes the creative forces of nature with the ingenuousness

India, 1881; my article on "The Christmas Tree" in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1882, and on "The Empire of the Hittites in the History of Art" in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1888; also my remarks on "The Breastplate of Aaron" in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* for March 18th, 1887; and my article on "The Collections of Indian Art in Marlborough House and at Sandringham Hall," in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* for October, 1891, and January, 1892.

of the corresponding *lingam-yoni* symbol of the Hindus, and I have emphasized this in transferring a reduction of it to the title-page by colouring it red in its active and blue in its passive element. The zodiac is conventionally denoted by the oak sprays, bearing between them twelve acorns and twenty-four leaves; and these sprays refer again to Mr. Quaritch personally.

The head and tail pieces used throughout the reproduction of "the Register of Letters, &c.," and for the Index, and the Table of Contents, have been selected from the ordinary stock of the printers; but those used for the Introduction are from pen and ink drawings by Mr. Foster; the head-piece representing the arms of the London or "Old" East India Company, of the United or "New" Company, and of the United Kingdom, and the tail-piece the shield suggested by me for the Indian window designed by Mr. Clement Heaton for the Imperial Institute. It is a variant of the Hindu and Buddhistic astronomical amulet known as the *nava-ratna* or "nine gems," that is, counting the waxing, full, and waning moon as three, of the nine planets. "These 7 are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth:"—

The Moon whose "disposicion"

> "Upon the londe of Alemaigne
> Is set and eke upon Britaigne";

Mercury, whose "disposicion"

> "Is most in Borgone and in Fraunce";

Venus,

> "The climate of whose lechery
> Is most comune in Lumbardy";

the Sun, who wherein

> "Of all this erth he regneth most
> As for wisdom it is Grece";

Mars, who is

> "Upon the Haly Londe so cast,
> That there is no pees stedefast";

Jupiter, the "Prince of Peace,"

> "And fortunate to marchandry";

wherefore,

> "In Egipte of his offices
> He regneth most in speciall,
> For there he lustes over al
> Of all that to this life befalleth";

and, lastly, Saturn,

> "His climate is in Orient,"

where

> "Of chapmenhode he found the wey,
> And eke to coigne the money
> Of sundry metal."[1]

It was half seriously asked some weeks ago, in a London evening journal, whether the destinies of the nations were indeed swayed by the stars? The answer is not to be sought only in cosmical physics. It is because the Chaldæans worshipped, above all other gods, the Moon-God Sin, who gives his name to "the secret top" of Sinai, that to this day the principal currencies of southern and eastern Asia are of his sacred metal, silver; and because the Phœnicians, and Assyro-Babylonians, and other Semitic nations of interior Asia, worshipped, as their supreme god, the Sun-God Baal-Samem, or Bel, that their currencies were further enriched by the introduction of his metal, gold;[2] and few things have disturbed the commerce

[1] GOWER, *Confessio Amantis.*

[2] The six ingots of silver, found by Schliemann among the ruins of Hissarlik, go to prove that the light Chaldæo-Hittite silver mina ["measure," *i.e.* "standard," compare "month," "moon," and Hindustani *mand*] of 8656 grs., "the mina of Karkemish," was already circulating in the Troad during the fifteenth century B.C.: and it was by this overland route that the silver shekel [172·9 grs.] of Mesopotamia was at last carried across the Hellespont into Europe, and there originated, at a reduced standard [150 grs.], the silver stater ["standard"] of Thrace. Similarly the light Assyro-Babylonian gold shekel or stater [130 grs.], carried into Greece from Samos, originated the Euboic silver stater [125 to 135 grs.], and later the Athenian and Corinthian silver staters. The Æginetan stater [180 to 194 grs.] was derived from the old heavy silver mina

between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea, and the East and West generally, more than the fluctuations in the ratios of value between these two currencies. Nor have these perturbations ever been more felt, or with greater effect on the fate of empires than in the present day; when silver is turned to dross, and gold to a rod for our backs, and the modern prophets of Deus Lunus and Deus Sol have none of them availed anything to set the old balance between the two metals true again.

The vignette facing the Introduction is a presentment, compiled from more or less reliable data, of the *Red Dragon*, proceeding on one of her prosperous voyages into the East Indies,—

"With all her bravery on and tackle trim,
Sails filled, and streamers waving.
Courted by all the winds that held them play,
An amber scent[1] of odorous perfume
Her harbinger."

[15,600 grs. divided into 60 shekels of 260 grs.] of Mesopotamia, as modified by the Phœnicians [11,500 grs. divided into 50 shekels of 230 grs.], and carried by them from Sidon and Tyre direct, by sea, to Ægina; and the Macedonian [224 grs.] from the gold [and electrum] staters of Anterior Asia, carried by the Phœnicians from Miletus to the southern parts of Thrace. How early Indian gold entered into these coinages is shewn by the gryphon stamped on the gold staters of Panticapæum, in the Tauric Chersonese, of the fourth century B.C. The output of gold became so enormous about this time that in Sicily its value, relatively to silver, fell from 15 to 1 *circa* B.C. 375, to 12 to 1 *circa* B.C. 315. In Macedonia king Philip [B.C. 359-336] endeavoured by means of a bimetallic standard to keep up the silver value of gold, but it was all in vain; and when Alexander the Great obtained possession of the treasury of Darius [B.C. 331], although he still continued the Macedonian gold currency, the coins in that metal were really reduced to the status of tokens. The Persian daric [*daraga*, "a degree," or sexagesimal unit, and compare δραχμή, the word, in its Hebrew forms of *adarkon* and *darkemon*, being translated "dram" in the authorized English version of Ezra viii. 27, ii. 69, &c.] was also, like the Euboic stater, derived from the shekel [130 grs.] or $\frac{1}{60}$th of the light Assyro-Babylonian mina [7800 grs.]; and this is the mina referred to in Daniel v. 25-28:—"*Mene, mene, tekel upharsin*"; the correct translation of the passage being:—"The mina (of this invoice) is the mina of the standard [*tekel*, compare 'talent,' 'Altas,' and the Hindustani *tola*] of the Parsis [or Persians]." But the exact interpretation of the obsolete cuneiform trade formula had been forgotten when "the Book of Daniel," which was really directed against Antiochus Epiphanes, under the mask of Nebuchadnezzar III., was written B.C. 171-168.

[1] MILTON, *Samson Agonistes*. "An amber scent" here has reference to ambergris. See note 3, page xxxv.

Mr. Haité has been hampered in his treatment of the subject by my insisting on his turning this illustration into a rebus, for the special amusement of the brotherhood of the Sette of Odd Volumes. If this has in any way detracted from its artistic merit, the default is wholly mine.

The stamp on the cover is of the full blazon of the arms of the London, or "Old," East India Company, copied from one of the contemporary books of the Company. It does not exactly correspond with the few impressions of the Company's seals that have survived "the tooth of time," or the draughts of the arms on some of the Company's charters; and, unfortunately, the original illuminated blazon of the arms furnished by the Heralds' College has been lost. In the *Calendar of State Papers* (*East Indies and Persia*), 1630-1634, just published by Mr. Noel Sainsbury, under the Court Minutes for November 26th, 1630, it is recorded that on the Company bestowing a hundred marks toward glazing the East window of the church of St. Katherine Cree, the parishioners resolved to set up the Company's arms in the window, "for a memorial of their love to so religious a work." But this window has also disappeared in the Philistine rage of the past and passing generations of Englishmen for church restoration; and I have, therefore, had nothing more authentic to guide me in the cutting of this brass block than the rare impressions of a similar block used by the "Old" East India Company on the backs of their leather-bound records in the seventeenth century. But there can be little doubt of its general accuracy.

In conclusion, I desire to convey, through these pages, the expression of my warmest thanks to all those who have aided me in the preparation of the present volume, three of whom I must particularize by name. I can never sufficiently acknowledge my dues to Mr. Frederic C. Danvers for the lively interest he has taken in the work, the progress of which he has done everything in his power to facilitate. Indeed, I could never have brought it to so speedy a completion without his cordial co-operation. I am under the deepest obligation to Mr. William Foster, of the India Office, who made the necessary transcript from the original MS. of "the Register of Letters, &c." and further relieved me of the trouble of seeing the work through the press.

I am also indebted to his intimate knowledge, both of the India Office Records and the history of the parishes of London, for some of the most interesting and valuable biographical foot-notes in the volume, as also for the notes identifying and dating the various documents, and for the quotations from the records elucidating and illustrating their contents. And, above all, I feel grateful to him for the keen personal solicitude he has shown in promoting in every way in his power the successful completion of the volume, of which he has proved a most loyal and efficient co-editor. Neither can I too highly express my appreciation of the generosity shown by Mr. Quaritch in undertaking the publication of the volume. It can never pay him, in the way of trade profits; and he has done it altogether for love, and the honour of England. It is only to be hoped that others of the publishing agents of the Secretary of State for India in Council may emulate his example, and occasionally bring out a volume of the "Old Records" of the India Office, uniform in size and typography, *et cetera*, with the volumes published by Mr. Henry Stevens and Mr. Quaritch, until the whole of them for the seventeenth century, or at least for the period between 1599 and 1623, have been reproduced in print.

If, also, the Spaniards have taken a just pride in celebrating the fourth centenary of the discovery of the Americas by Columbus, and the Portuguese are to follow them by celebrating the fourth centenary of the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope by Da Gama, is it too much to suggest that Englishmen should also begin to bestir itself for the celebration of the third centenary of the "Old" East India Company's "First Voyage" in 1601? Nothing else that could be devised would give so great a stimulus to the elucidation of the early history of the Company, and to the popular appreciation of the abiding debt of this country to them.

The discovery of the seaway to India round the south extended continent of Africa was in reality a far more courageous emprise than that of the Americas; for all the way across the Atlantic Ocean Columbus was in the northern hemisphere, and therefore in the guardianship of the same heavens familiar to him from his infancy. But the Portuguese and the Dutch and English who first adventured after them

down into the southern hemisphere, and round past the utmost horn of Africa, were still haunted, all through the fifteenth, sixteenth, and even seventeenth centuries, by the old superstition that they were descending into Hades; and they have left behind them repeated expression of the ghostly terrors they experienced as, in sailing ever southward, they night after night found their old heavens passing away, and that they were entering not only into unknown seas and lands, but among the alien stars of new heavens they had taken no thought of, and which perplexed and confounded all their spiritual bearings. Even to this day every passenger who sails by the Cape of Good Hope to Australia experiences something of this sensation, as of the very foundations of the world being out of course. In one of the old seventeenth-century Italian maps recently reproduced at Berlin in connection with the fourth centenary of the discovery of Columbus, the whole southern hemisphere beyond Africa is marked Patala, its Sanskrit designation, signifying Hell [literally, the "Wide"-place, or "Patent"-office]. Who also has not felt the strange gladness on returning into the Mediterranean from the Indian Ocean, of again seeing in all the glory of their ancient place and brilliancy, the Northern Star, and the constellation of the Great Bear, Benetnaksh, Mizar and Alioth, Megrez, Phad, Merak, and Dubhe, the heavenly heptarchy that first gave its sacredness to the number 7? Christopher Schewitzer, of the Dutch East India Company's ship *Asia*, trading in the Indian Ocean between 1675 and 1680, writes in his diary under date of July 23rd, 1680:—"At night: we saw again the Northern Star to our Great Joy: till then we had only the Southern Cross, which is a constellation of four stars which stand in this * * * * order." And Surgeon Christopher Fryke, of the Dutch East India Company, in the narrative of his voyage between 1680 and 1686, to Batavia and back, writes:—"When we came more and more in sight of the North Star, we began to be very cheerful, and fell a Singing of the Hymn,

Hoe Schoon light ons de Morgen-Star."

Citations like these go to the heart of heart of Englishmen, and

should move us to hold in perpetual honour those middle-class citizens of London, who, nearly three hundred years ago, laid in the far-off Indian Ocean the first foundations of the now world-wide British Empire.

When I began to edit the present volume, it was my intention to undertake the self-imposed task of editing all the Court Books of the "Old" East India Company, following the volume published by Mr. Henry Stevens, down to 1623. But after sixty, every year adds rapidly to one's incapacity for the incessant labour of minute verification required for the proper discharge of so burdensome a duty. This has become painfully clear to me during the past twelve months; and for the future it is my purpose to allow nothing to interfere with the advancement, and, I pray God, the completion, upon my last tide, of the long delayed enlarged edition of my book on *The Industrial Arts of India*.

GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

Savage Club,
December 21*st*, 1892.

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The
Register of Letters &c.

THE

REGISTER OF LETTERS, &c.

OF THE

GOVERNOR & COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF LONDON

TRADING INTO THE EAST INDIES.

VPPON[1] complainte made the ꝉꝉꝭ by [the] new authorized Companie of m^r^chauntꝭ preparinge to trade to the East Indies that certen ꝑsons wch heeretofore ꝑmysed and assured by their subscripc͠ons when the saide voyadge was first proiected to advanc[e] certen somes of money for the ꝑceedinge in the same vpon confidence & assurance whereof the p^r^parac͠on for the said voyadge hath been vndertaken and advanced to a full redines, and yet neverthelesse that the said ꝑsons would since vpon some vndue p^r^tentes retract their former ꝑmyses in that behalfe Whereof would ensue y^t^ by the want of their ꝑmysed contribuc͠ons the voyadge must breake. Their Lo^ps^: vppon due Considerac͠on

An order taken by the lles: for such as haue promised & sett downe their Contribucons & not brought the said contribucons to the Trer.

[1] At a Court held on the 9th Jan. 1600/1 it was ordered "that a present information "and complaint shalbe made to the Ll of the Councell of suche as have disapointed "the preparation of the voyage that they may be called before ther Lordshippes to "receave suche order as to ther honors shalbe thought meet." As the result of this application, the above order was issued, which was "read to the gen^r^alty" at the next meeting of the Company and entered at length on the minutes.

how greatelie it doth importe ye hono^{r} of the realme and thestate of the present affaires thereof that the said voyadge should not be hindred or ou^{r}throwne by any such default and indirect meanes, and Considering alsoe how weake allegacõns of excuse haue been made by the ꝑsons refusers it hath been therefore this day ordered by their Lo^{ps} that notwth-standinge the p^{r}tences of the foresaid ꝑsons they shall wthout further delaie and namelie by Saterday next furnish their ꝑmysed Contribucõns or otherwyse that order shalbe taken by the ltꝭ wth such as shall refuse the same to Committ them t[o] prison vntill they Conforme themselues & make satisfaccõn accordinge to their subscripcõns. the xjth of Ianuarie 1600.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God Queene of England &c To o^{r} trustie and welbeloued Iames Lancaster[1] Esqier Greeting. Whereas diuers of o^{r} loueing subiectꝭ haue been peticioners vnto vs for o^{r} Royall assent to be graunted vnto them that they att their owne adventures Costs and chardges aswell for the hono^{r} of this o^{r} Realme of England, as for the increase & advancem^{te} of Trade and m^{r}chandize wthin the same, might Adventure and sett forth certeine voyages to the East Indies wth a Convenient nomber of shipps & pinnaces by way of traffique and m^{r}chandizeinge: Wee gratiouslie

Capt Lancaster his Comission gen^{r}all of the ffleete to the East Indies from the Queene.

[1] The name of James Lancaster is familiar as that of the successful leader of the Company's first venture to the Indies. Of his early life little is known. He is said to have been a native of Basingstoke, and to have been at one time in Portugal as a soldier, and afterwards as a merchant. In 1591 he took part in Captain Raymond's ill-fated expedition to the East Indies, of which he was one of the few survivors. He was next engaged in an enterprize to the coast of Brazil, where an attack was made on the Portuguese settlement of Pernambuco. He took an active part in the formation of the East India Company, and was one of the original directors, or "committees" as they were then called. Of the voyage now undertaken, as also of his two previous voyages, a full account is given in Mr. C. R. Markham's *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster* (Hakluyt Society, 1877). On his return, Lancaster was knighted by King James; and thenceforward he appears as an active and trusted member of the Company, whose advice was constantly sought and listened to with the utmost deference. He died in June, 1618.

inclininge to their humble peticõn in that behalfe and favoringe soe good a desier & honorable enterprize. Haue been pleased to giue lycence vnto o^r said Subiectę to ꝑceede in the said voiadgę, & for the better inabling them to establish a trade into & from the said East Indies Haue by o^r ł̄res Pattentę vnder o^r greate seale of England beareing date at Westminster the last daie of december last past incorporated o^r said Subiectę by the name of the Gou^rno^r & Companie of the m^rchauntę of London trading into the East Indies, & in the same ł̄res Pattentę haue geven them the sole trade of theast Indies for the terme of XV^teen yeares wth diuers priuiledges & ymunnities mencioned in the said ł̄res Pattentę, as therein y^t doth & may appeare. And whereas by vertue of o^r said lycence & ł̄res Pattentę soe by vs graunted to them, they haue prepared & furnished seu^rall shipps wth a Convenient nomber of m^rchauntę Mariners and other o^r said subiectę to be vsed and ymployed in the said voyadge & haue chosen you to be the principall Gou^rno^r or generall of all the said m^rchauntę Mariners and other o^r said Subiectę wch are or shall be shipped in any of the said shipps. Wee gratiouslie favoring the said enterprize & approueing & allowinge of their choise of yo^u to the said Gou^rnmente, being desirous to furnish you wth all fitt and Convenient power & authoritie to rule and Gou^rne all and everie o^r subiects ymployed in this voyadge by a due obedience to be by them yealded unto yo^u, in the observinge & executing of all good orders & constitucõns as you shall thinke Convenient to ordaine & appointe for the furtheraunce of the said voiadge, to the ho: of vs and o^r Realme & for the advauncment of the said trade we doe hereby straightlie chardge and Comaund all & eu^ry ꝑson and ꝑsons ymployed vsed or shipped or wch shall be ymployed vsed or shipped in this voiadge in the said ffower shipps, or any of them, to giue all due obedience & respect vnto yo^u, during the said voiadge, & to beare themselues one towardes another in all good order and quietnes for any occasion that should breed mutinie, quarrells or discention amongst them to the hindraunce of the good successe wch is to be hoped for through Gods providence of the said intended voyadge & in default of such dutie & obedience to be ꝑformed towardes you, & for the Correccõn & quenchinge of all such mutenie quarrells or dissencõns that shall or may

growe or be mooued by the disorder evill disposicõn or ꝑversnes of any of the said ꝑsons. Wee doe heareby authorize you, to Chastice Correct & ponish all offenders, & transgressors in that behalfe according to the quallitie of their offenceꝭ, wth such ponishmenteꝭ as are comonlie vsed in all or Armes by Sea when the offences are not Capitall, & for capitall Offences as wilfull murder wch is hatefull in the sight of God, or any notable muteny wch is one offence that may tend to the ouerthrowe of the said voyadge the same beinge trulie and iustlie proued against any the ꝑson or ꝑsons aforesaid. Wee doe hereby giue you full power and aucthoritie to vse & putt in execucõn or law called Marshall lawe in that behalfe. And theis or ƚres shall be therein yor sufficient warrant & dischardge for the doing and Executing of all & singuler the premisses. In witnes whereof we haue caused or ƚres to be made Patenteꝭ, Witnes or selfe at Westminster the xxiiijth of Ianuarie in the xliijth yeare of or Reigne.[1]

WHEAREAS[2] we the Gournor and Companie of the mrchaunteꝭ of London tradinge into the East Indies haue chosen you mr Lancaster for the cheefe Gournor or genrall to gouerne or rule all such marchaunteꝭ, Mariners, officers & other her Maties subiecteꝭ wch are ymployed by vs or are or shall be shipped in any of the ffower shipps by vs prepared and set forth for this present intended voiadge towardes the East Indies And whereas the Queenes most excellent maty approueing and allowinge of or choise of you to the said Gournment and favoring the said enterprize hath by her gratious ƚres Patenteꝭ vnder the greate seale of England the better to inable you to keepe yor wholle Companie in good agrement one towardes another and in obedience and due respect towardes you, geaven you authoritie to

The Comission to Capteine Lancaster Gournor and in succession to others.

[1] 1601.

[2] This Commission "conceaved by the Comitties" was read at a General Court, on the 10th Feb. 160$^{0}/_{1}$, and was "well lykd of and agreed to be written in fowre "severall partes and vnto everie part the Comon seale of the Companie to be added "to thend that in everie ship one of the said Comissions may be kepte in the handeꝭ "of the principall mrchauntes of everie ship." (*Court Minutes.*)

chastice and correct such offences as shall aryse in the said voiadge accordinge as in the said t̃res Patentę att lardge appeareth wch t̃res Patentę extendinge onelie to the generall gouernm^{te} of yor wholle Companie shipped in the said shipps, for their Civill behavio^{r} whilest the are abroade in the said voiadge and not unto the managinge & ordering of the trade of m^{r}chandize for wch the voyadge is principallie appointed and sett forth. Wee therfore by theis o^{r} present t̃res or Comission under o^{r} comon seale for the orderinge and disposeinge of all such m^{r}chandize, gould, pearle Iewells and other Comodities wch are to be bought bartered procured exchandged or otherwyse obtened in this present voyadge doe for yor direcc̄on and remembrance in that behalfe sett downe theis clawses ordenances and decrees heerafter followinge: declaringe heerby o^{r} purpose and intenc̄on how we appointe and ordeine that the traffique of this present voiadge shall be ordered and caried: wch ordenances and decrees wee will and requier you to observe and keepe, and doe giue yo^{u} power and aucthoritie to see the same executed and putt in vse accordinglie viz

We doe ordeine and decree that all the preparac̄ons of moneys m^{r}chandizes and other provision for the said voyadge and all Comodities moneys Iewells and other marchandize retourned in the said voiadge shall be holden reputed and accompted and be carried managed ordered and handled as one entire Accompt and comen stocke of adventure wherein noe private traffique barter exchandge or m^{r}chandizeing shall be vsed practized or admitted by any ꝑticuler Gou^{r}no^{r} Capten marchaunte Agent ffacto^{r} m^{r} Marriner officer or other ꝑson whatsoever imployed in the said voiadge or ꝑmitted to goe in the same upon peine of the losse & forfecture to the vse of the generall Companie and adventurers in this voyadge of all somes of moneys Iewells wares goodes or m^{r}chandizes wch shall be found in the said shipps or ells were carried forth or retourned home by any private or ꝑticuler man and not conteyned and brought into the generall and Comon accompte & ioynt adventure of the said voyadge.

AND to thend this preiudice of private traffique may the better be avoided We doe ordeine and appointe that due Inquisic̄on be made in all and euery ye severall shipps of the said voyadge and elswheare by search of all such Chestę, Boxes,

Packe͡, Packette͡, Bookes, writinge͡ and other meanes whereby discouery may be made of the breach of this present ordenance.

AND we doe in like manner ordeine and decree for the avoideinge of all vnfaithfullnes, and deceipte to be vsed in the said voyadge in the defraudinge of the gen^rall adventure wch is p^rpared and set forth att the greate Coste͡ and chardge͡ of such as repose their trust and confidence in the officers and mynistors imployed in the said voyadge that what ꝑson soever shall be found vnfaithfull and vniust in the said voyadge by imbecillinge or wth drawinge of any the goodes wares m^rchandizes Iewells or other Cōmodities whatsoeuer either belonging to the adventure sent out or being ꝑcell of the retourne of the same wch was, is, or shall be either p^rpared bought or belongeing to the Comon or generall stocke or adventure that such ꝑson shall be barred & excluded to demaunde of the Gou^rno^r & Companie of the said merchaunte͡ of London tradeing into the East Indies any accompte reckoninge or payment of any wage͡ salarye contract or interteinement for his ymployment in the voyadge Wherevnto he was or otherwyse might haue beene interessed yf such offence had not been Comitted. And further that euery such ꝑson soe offendinge shall be ꝑsecuted by the said Gouerno^r and Companie of merchaunte͡ of London tradinge to theast Indies accordinge to the qualitie of their offence in that behalfe by the lawes and statutes of this Realme.

AND furthermore we doe ordeine that yf vppon deliu^ry of her ma^ties l̄res to the Princes of those places where o^r shipps shall arrive you shall be peaceablie received and enterteyned as marchaunte͡ to Comerce and traffique wth the people of those Countries or places, and be secured and warranted heareafter to frequent and visite those places. Then we doe ordeine and decree that you shall select out of the youngest sorte of o^r ffacto^rs and others intertayned by vs or voluntarilie suffered to goe in the voyadge such and soe many of the aptest and towardest of them as you shall thinke meete and as shall haue best approved them selues fit for such an ymployment to recide and abide in those places where you shalbe soe peaceablie received yf yo^u may be ꝑmitted therevnto, takeinge sufficient and carefull order for the defrayinge and supplyinge of their chardges untill those places shall be hereafter

visited wth another ffleete sent from hence, and leaueing wth them such advise and direccõn for their better informacon how to Carrie themselues in those places as by yor good discrecõn wth the advise of such as you shall conferr thereof shall be thought meete & as time and experience of those places shall direct you.

AND forasmuch as the daies of mans lyfe are lymitted and the Certentie thereof for their Continuance and end onelie knowne vnto god Wee the said Gou^{r}no^{r} and Companie of marchauntꝭ of London tradinge to theast Indies doe heereby ordeine and prouide that yf yt shall happen you the said Iames Lancaster to dep̄te this mortall lyfe before the retourne of the said shipps then from and after the decease of you the said Iames Lancaster we doe by this o^{r} present Comission vnder o^{r} Comon seale constitute and appointe yo^{u} m^{r} Iohn Middleton[1] to be the cheefe Gou^{r}no^{r} or generall of the said m^{r}chauntꝭ marino^{rs} Officers and other her ma^{ties} subjectꝭ by vs ymployed or otherwyse shipped in the said voyadge willing and requiring you and geving you like power and aucthoritie to putt in execucõn the said ordenancꝭ and decrees conc^{r}ninge the orderinge and disposeinge of the traffique and m^{r}chandizeinge of the said voyadge as we haue donne to the said Iames Lancaster and yf yt shall happen by Godes appointment that both you the said Iames Lancaster and Iohn Middleton shall decease in the said voyadge then we ordeine and appointe the Principall and gen^{r}all gouernm^{te} of the wholle Companie their in ymployed or shipped in this present voyadge unto you m^{r} Wittm Brund[2] being alsoe one of o^{r} ffower principall merchauntꝭ whome we haue chosen and interteined for the orderinge and disposeing of the marchandizes and traffique of the said voyadge requieringe you yf you shall fortune to surviue the said Iames Lancaster and Iohn Middleton to observe and keepe the same o^{r} ordenancꝭ and decrees before mencioned ordened and appointed by vs for the traffique and marchandizeing of the said viadge geueing you the like authoritie to execute the same as is formerlie

[1] Brother to Sir Henry and David Middleton. He commanded the *Hector* in this voyage, and died at Bantam in the spring of 1603.

[2] Commander of the *Assention.* Accidentally killed on the outward voyage at the Bay of Antongil in Madagascar by the guns of the *Dragon* whilst a salute was being fired.

hearein geven to the said Iames Lancast[er] & Iohn Middleton or eyther of them & yf you the said Wiƚƚm Brund shall fortune to decease in the said voyadge then we doe appointe the imediate succession and execucõn of the said chardge and gou^{r}nm^{te} afore said vnto you m^{r} Iohn Havarde one other of o^{r} said Principall m^{r}chaunteꝭ requiringe you to see o^{r} ordenanceꝭ and decrees to be kept and ꝑformed geving vnto you the same power and aucthoritie as we haue hereby geven to the said Iames Lancaster Iohn Middleton & Wiƚƚiam Brund or any of them.

AND yf yt should fortune that all the said seuerall ꝑsons ymployed by vs as o^{r} Principall m^{r}chaunteꝭ in this present voyadge to decease Then we ordeine the wholle gou^{r}nm^{t} and chardge before mencioned to be vndertaken by one of you foure wch are of the second sorte of marchaunteꝭ or facto^{rs} by vs ymployed in the said voyadge the same to be taken and executed successiuelie one after another as any of you shall happen to decease after the said chardge by the true meaninge hereof shall be cast vpon you wch chardge we doe ordeine shall succeede in this manner vizt ffirst to o^{r} second merchant shipped in the Redd Dragon next to o^{r} second merchaunte or ffacto^{r} shipped in the Hecto^{r}, thirdlie to o^{r} second m^{r}chante or facto^{r} shipped in the Assencõn, and lastlie to o^{r} second m^{r}chante or ffacto^{r} shipped in the Suzan.

AND we doe further ordeine that as we haue appointed a succession o^{r} principall merchaunte and Gouerno^{r} of the wholle Companie imployed or shipped in this voiadge soe we doe order and decree that vppon whomsoeu^{r} the said gou^{r}nment in succession shall fall by the decease of any the ꝑsons before named that he shall or may shipp or imbarke himselfe in the Admirall of o^{r} ffleete & inioye and receave such place Cabbin easment and Comaundm^{t} therein as o^{r} said generall and principall Gouerno^{r} formerlie didd.

AND lastlie wheareas her ma^{ty} by her Comission vnder the greate seale hath onelie appointed the generall Gouernment of all her subiecteꝭ ymployed in ye said voiadge vnto the said Iames Lancaster wthout any appointeinge of succescõn by like warrant to any that is ymployed in the said voiadge and that yt lyeth not in vs to giue any warrant for the correccõn of offences by penall

Lawes to be executed vpon the bodies of any her maties subiectℯ we doe in that behalfe as to men haueing reason and discrecõn and to men that feare god offer vnto yor good consideracõns the beneficte of order and peaceable agreemte in matters and enterprises vndertaken for a Comon good, Reposeing in you or seuerall marchauntℯ and all you or seuerall Officers appointed and interteyned in this voiadge a spetiall hope trust and Confidence that you will accorde & agree together and ioyne in freindshipp & amytie to doe & execute yor vttermoste endevors for the benefitt of the voyadge wthout contencõn, discorde or emulacõn to be vsed amongst you guideinge yor selues therein by that genrall regiment and Sea gournmte wch or English ffleetℯ doe use when they sorte them selues together haueing a spetiall and due respect to him that is yor Principall or Cape mrchaunte. And soe we Comend you and yor travels to godℯ ꝑvidence who guide you wth his feare and defend you from all daungers.

From the Councell to their loueinge freindes Alderman Banninge:[2] Alder:

AFTER[1] or heartie Comendacõns: wheareas vppon or ɫres heertofore written vnto you touchinge her maties likeinge of yor intencõn to sett forth a voyadge to the East Indies, & alsoe of her gratious allowance and assent to the proiect of Articles and Condicõns required for the ꝑformance of the same wth an assurance ꝑmysed you that the said voyadge shall receue no stay or interupcõn, there hath beene sett downe as we are

[1] This is evidently the letter from the Lords of the Council, bearing date the 26th October, 1600, which was read at a General Courte on the 30th of that month, and in which "besides the warraunt of incoragemt geaven to the Companie to "proceade It was notid unto them that the action vndertaken by them was a publike "action and not to be dallied wthall and therfore did require that the names of such "as did ether wthdrawe themselfes or practise to wthdrawe others from proceading "thein shuld be certefyed to ther Lorshipes that they might examine the reason of "ther discoragemt."

[2] Paul Bannyng, Alderman, was prominent among the promoters of the Company, and was one of the original committees named in the Charter. One of the ships employed in the *First Voyage*—the *Susan*—was purchased from him; and from 1600 to 1602 he acted with Alderman Holliday as treasurer to the Company.

Holliday:[1] Ald: Smyth[2] & the rest of the Adventurers in the voiadge intended to theast Indies for going forward wth the voyadg wthout feare of any lett.

geven to vnderstand soe many ꝑticular somes of aduenture vnder the handes of divers Contributors as are thought a Convenient ꝑporc͠on or stocke to be sett forth for yor first voiadge & there vppon a ꝑporc͠on hath beene made of shippinge victualls & other necessaries, wherein greate somes of money haue been disburced. Notwthstanding all wch, as we are informed there is some stay made amonge yor selues of the ꝑceedinge in this Action vpon some reporte spred amongest yor selues, that the voyadge shall not be ꝑmitted to goe forward, wherein we wish you to be better advised & not to be soe easilie drawne to make a doubt of her Maties assent and assurance soe late by vs Certified vnto you, wch cannot be done without dishonor to her matie or iniurie to vs, from whom you recd yor warrant to proceede: Lett yt therefore suffice that there is noe iuste cause whie you should make any doubt of going forward in yor intended voyadge: But rather that you should therein vse all expedic͠on and possible speede to advance the same, knowing that otherwyse you may much preiudice yor selues by yor

[1] Sir Leonard Holliday or Haliday, Alderman, was Sheriff in 1595-96, and Lord Mayor in 1605-06. From 1600 to 1602 he was one of the treasurers of the Company, and he was nominated in the Charter as one of the first committees. In 1603 he was knighted by King James I. Six years later, he was put in nomination for the post of governor of the Company, but failed to secure election. He died 9th Jan. 1611/12.

[2] Sir Thomas Smyth, the first Governor of the Company, was the second son of Thomas Smith or Smyth, of Westenhanger, in Kent, for many years one of the Farmers of the Customs. Thomas succeeded his father in this post, and became one of the leading citizens of the metropolis. He was an active member, and for some time Governor, of the Muscovy Company, and in 1604 was sent on an embassy to that country. He was also at various periods Treasurer for the Virginian Plantations, and Governor of the French, Levant, and Sommer-Island Companies, and of the Company of Merchants Discoverers of the North-West Passage. He is, however, best remembered for his long and prominent connection with the East India Company, of which he may be described as virtually the founder. He was named Governor in the Charter (1600), but early in the new year his fortunes underwent a temporary eclipse, and he had to resign the chair to Alderman Watts. He had been accused of participation in Essex's rash rebellion, and for a time he and his wife were held prisoners in the Tower. He succeeded in clearing himself from the charge, but it was not till the Queen's death that the Company ventured to place him again in the position of Governor. Henceforward he reigned supreme, being re-elected year after year, sometimes in spite of his protests. At last, in 1621, he insisted on giving up his post, much to the regret of the Company, and of all interested in maritime discovery or enterprise. He died 4th September, 1625.

staggeringe and delaies, and yf yo^{u} shall finde any knowne ympediment or practise vsed by any, that shall either wthdrawe him selfe, or practise to wthdrawe others from Contributinge that wch hath been once by him or them sett downe and agreed vppon to adventure: wee wish you to advertice vs thereof that we may receiue some good reason by aunsweare from them, that may iustlie mooue them to haue lesse desier now, then they formerlie had to ꝑceed in the said voiadge, for that we hold it to be a publicke Accõn not to be dallied withall att mens private pleasures: And thus we bidd you farewell.

AFTER[1] MY hartie Comendacõns wheareas by the sufferaunce & assent of her ma^{tie} for the ho: of this Realme and the good of the Comon wealth a voyadge is p^{r}paring by c^{r}teine m^{r}chauntꝭ of London towardes the East Indies, And for the victualling of the ships ymployed in the said voiadge wth Biskett, meale & wheate & other victuall the said m^{r}chauntꝭ haue appointed one Captaine Baker & Robert Pope to make ꝑvisions as they best cann wthin the seu^{r}all Counties of Somerset Dorset & Devon & to shipp their provisions frome porte to porte to be brought together to the Portꝭ of Darthmouth or Plymouth to be taken abourde their shipps as the shall come to the said Portꝭ or either of them Theis are therefore to requier you to ꝑmitt and suffer the said Capt: Baker and Robt Pope & either of them, or the berer hereof in their behalfꝭ from tyme to time vntill the said shipps be gon on their voyadge, to lade into any shipp or vessell lieing in any the Portꝭ

A warrant from the lo: Threr for passadge of victuals from porte to porte for provision of the India ships.

[1] For the providing of bread or any other necessaries "there is appointed to "goe to Dartmowthe & Plymowthe, Thomas Baker and Robarte Pope to Ioyne wth "capteine Iohn Davies ffor providing all things there." (*Court Minutes*, 4th Oct. 1600.) A commission to this effect is entered on the minutes of the 16th idem. Later on (11th Nov. 1600) we find committees appointed "to make suyte to the Lord treasurer "for a lycence to transport provisions in the west countrey according to a letter "of Mr In^{o} Sandy," and the present document is, no doubt, the result of this application.

wthin the said seurall Counties, any Biskett meale or wheate provided for the said voiadge & to passe the same from porte to porte vppon Bondes taken of them to retourne dew Certificate of the arrivall of the same at such portꝭ in the said seurall Counties for wch the same shall be entred, by them or in their names. And in soe doeing this shall be vnto you sufficient dischardge ffrom Sackvile howse the 12th of Nouember 1600.

Yor loueing ffreind[1]

To my verie loueing ffreindꝭ her maties Officers of the Portes & Creekꝭ wthin the seurall Counties of Somrset Dorsett & devon and eury of them to whome this doth or may Concerne.

VPPON[2] Complainte made this day to their llꝭ by the Comitties of the East India Companie that the debtꝭ of the present voyadge now by them sett forth amounteing to seaven thowsand poundes aboue the contribucõns sett downe by the adventurors are not paied the same growinge by reason of the backwardnes and froward disposicõns of divers ꝑsons that shew them selues remisse and vnwilling to furnish their promised contribucõns and alsoe their porcõns of their supplies wch since att their generall meetingꝭ att seurall tymes haue been agreed on to yeald aboue their adventures a rate of iiijs in the pound for the cleireing of the said debt. Their Lops vppon due Considracõn how much yt importeth the honor of the state that soe publique an accõn should not receave scandall and shamefull imputacõn Haue this day ordered that forasmuche as the said debt in all or in parte is proportionablie due to be satisfied by eury Contributor of the voyadge. That

The Councells second order for better paymte of adventures & supplies.

[1] Unsigned but evidently from Lord Buckhurst.—*See* p. 28.

[2] This "order from the LL of her Maes most honorable privie Councell" of the 10th April, 1601, was read at a General Court held on the following day. It resulted, as stated on page 18, in the names of three persons being "presented to the LL;" one of these made his peace with the Company, but the remaining two were disfranchised and others admitted in their places.

therefore the said Companie and every adventuro^{r} thereof shall wthout further deley not onelie ꝑforme and satisfie their full contribucõns agreed vpon promysed and set downe under their handꝭ But alsoe their proportionable supplies according to their agrementꝭ at their generall Courtꝭ or otherwyse yf any ꝑson or ꝑsons shall refuse to conforme them selues therevnto that then the Gou^{r}no^{r} deputie and Comitties of the said Companie or any fower of them shall by vertue of this their Lo^{ps} order streightlie inioyne and Comaund the said ꝑsons to make their imediate apparance before their Lo: to thend their Lo^{ps} may ꝑceede to the punishinge of their contempt by refusinge to accomplish their owne agrem^{t} & promyse soe much imparteing the publicke as their obstinacie & ꝑversnes shall deserve. *And to that end* direccõn is geven to a messenger of her ma^{ties} Chamber to attend the said Gouerno^{r} and Companie to bringe the said ꝑties before their llꝭ: .

A Warrant for the Coyning[1] of money for the East India voyadge.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God &c To o^{r} Trustie and welbeloued Thomas Knevet Esquier warden of o^{r} Mynte, Richard Martin Knight, & Richard Martyn his sonne m^{rs} and workers of o^{r} Moneys wthin o^{r} Tower of London and ells wheare within o^{r} Realme of England, & to Richard Rogerbe Comptroller Thomas Denham provost of o^{r} Mynte wthin o^{r} said Tower of London & to all other the Officers & Mynisters of o^{r} said Mynte wthin o^{r} said Tower of London to whome it shall apꝑteine & to every of them greetinge. ffor asmuch as

[1] The following is the account of this coinage given in Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain* (London, 1817):—

"By virtue of a Commission dated January 11, in the same year (43 Eliz.), "Money was made of a kind unknown to the British Mint either before or since "her time, for it was by law exportable, and intended for the use of the East "India Company. It bore on one side the Queen's arms, and on the other a "portcullis; and was called either Indian Money, from the purpose for which it "was struck, or Portcullis Money, from the device impressed upon it. The "weight of it was regulated according to the respective weights of the Spanish

we by the advyse of o^{r} Councell for c^{r}taine causes and Consideracõns vs moueinge Haue fullie resolved and determined to cause to be now newlie made stricken and Coyned wthin o^{r} said Mynte c^{r}teine money & Coyne out of Bullion plate and forreine sylver, to be made stricken and Coyned wth y^{e} ꝑcullies on thone syde, & o^{r} Armes of England on thother syde at c^{r}taine values and ratę by vs appointed therefore & heerafter in theis presentę expressed or mencioned wch money and coyne is principallie by vs intended to be for thuse traffique and trade of c^{r}teine o^{r} marchauntę latelie by vs incorporated by the name of Gou^{r}no^{r} & Companie of m^{r}chauntę of London trading into the East Indies & the same money to be made of the ffines of Eleaven ouncę twoe penny weight of fine sylver & eighteene penny weight of allay in the pound w^{t} of Troy as is specified in certaine Indentures beareing date the 30th day of Ianuarie in the 25th yeare of o^{r} reigne, conc^{r}ning makeing and coyning of certeine other o^{r} moneys of gold and siluer ꝑticulerlie mencioned in the

"Piastre, or piece of eight Reas, and the half, the quarter, and half-quarter of "the same, though they are now usually called the Crown, Half-Crown, Shilling and "Sixpence. Some Coinage of this sort was necessary; for the Queen, when she first "incorporated the East India Company, would not permit them to transport the King "of Spain's Silver Coins to the East Indies, though she was frequently solicited by "the merchants. The reason which they assigned to induce her to grant this per- "mission, determined her to strike Coins for the particular purpose of circulation "in Asia. They represented to her Majesty, that her Silver Coin and Stamp were "not known in the East Indies, which they supposed would induce her to grant them "a license to send thither what Silver they pleased. The Queen and her Privy "Council replied, that, for the very reason alledged, it was her fixed and unalter- "able resolution not to permit them to send the Coin of the King of Spain, or of "any foreign Prince, to India; and that no Silver should be exported by her "merchants, but only such as should be coined with her effigies and picture on the "one side, and the portcullis on the other, of the just weight and fineness of the "Spanish pieces of eight, and pieces of four Rials. Her prudent reason for this "was, that her name and effigies might be hereafter respected by the Asiatics, and "she be known as great a Prince as the King of Spain."

Ruding notes that "notwithstanding this determination, the pieces have only "her arms on the Obverse;" and he further quotes a passage from Malynes' *Lex Mercatoria* to the effect that "of these pieces were coined in the Tower of London for "a trial (in January 1600 [? 1601]) some six thousand Pounds, which could not be "made current in the East Indies because the Spanish pieces of eight Royals had "been before that time counterfeited by other nations, which made the East Indians "to doubt of our Coin, although without cause."

same Indentures, wch Indentures are made betweene vs on the one ptie, & the said Richard Martyn: now Knight by the name of Richard Martyn Cittizen and Alderman of London, then Warden & mr & worker of or said moneys on the other pte, as in the same Indentures plainelie is expressed and contayned. And that alsoe the said money soe newlie to be made stricken & coyned by force of theis presents, keepe in nomber a hundred and Nyne Testerns in the pound weight Troy aforesaid to be Coyned into Testerns of eight, Testerns of ffower, Testerns of twoe and single Testerns. And because or said printe & moneys aforesaid by vs and or Councell now as aforesaid intended to be newlie made strocken & Coyned for the intents and purposes aforesaid, cannott continuallie be made according to the right standerd in as much as some tyme in default of the said mrs or workers their deputie or deputies yt may be made to stronge or too feble by too much or too little in fines or in both We pondering & Consideringe the same, will therefore & straightlie Comaund you and every of you, or said Officers of or Mynte to whome yt shall appteine. That when the said moneys vppon the assay before the deliuerie thereof be founde too stronge or too ffeble, all onelie in weight, or all onelie in fines or in both by two penny weight, in the weight of one pound Troy aforesaid, after the ould Computacon of Twentie penny weight in the ounce & noe more, the wch two penny weight in that one, or two penny weight in that other, or two penny weight in both, shall be called remedie for the said mrs. That then such moneys be deliuered for good, soe always as the same default happen by casualtie and otherwyse not. But yf default be found in the said moneys in weight or in fines or in both over the said two penny wt in the pounde weight aforesaid. That then the deliuraunce of the said moneys soe Coyned & stricken cease & that money to be challenged lesse then the good, & at the Costs of the said mrs to be new molten & reforged, till yt be putt to printe as money deliurable.

AND WE will That or said Warden in respect of the said moneys soe newlie to be made stricken and Coyned as aforesaid shall receiue & take for vs, aswell of or owne Bullion as of the Bullion of any other pson or psons whatsoeuer of everie pound weight of Troy soe made and Coyned Two and Twentie pence

starlinge by nomber out of wch xxij^{d} the said m^{rs} shall receiue for their workmanship & for all other manner of wastꝭ, provisions & other necessaries in & aboute the making of the said moneys xiiij^{d} by Tale, & soe shall remaine vnto vs vpon euery pounde weight soe Coyned viij^{d}, out of wch the said warden, Controller & other Officers of o^{r} said Mynte shall receiue their ffees by the hand of o^{r} said Warden, wch o^{r} will & pleasure is shall be paied in manner & forme as in the said mencioned Indentures beareing date the said xxxth day of Ianuarie in the said xxvth yeare of o^{r} Reigne & a scedule to the said Indenture annexed is lymitted & appointed, & that for the same o^{r} warden shall be chardged and accomptable to vs & o^{r} heires & Successo^{rs} in such manner as he is & ought to be, for that wch is or ought to be cominge to vs by force of the said Indenture bearing date the said xxxth daye of Ianuarie in the said xxvth year of o^{r} Reigne of or for the Coynadge of the sylver moneys made & Coyned by vertue of the said Indentures. And o^{r} will & pleasure is & we doe straightlie commaund & chardge you & eu^{r}y of you o^{r} said Officers of o^{r} Mynte to whome yt shall apꝑtaine That from tyme to tyme you cause to be well and trulie entred & recorded in one Lieger & melting booke all such Bullion of Silver as from tyme to tyme shall be brought into the saied Minte to be Coyned by force of theis p^{r}sentꝭ, wch entrie shall comprehend the weight & ffines of the same Bullion, the ꝑties name that brought yt in, & what day, & to be assayed tried & pixed & the rateing & the melting thereof don ou^{r}seene & vouched as by the said former Indenture bearing date the said xxxth of Ianuarie in the xxvth yeare of o^{r} Reigne is limitted & appointed to be don for the moneys of sylver therein mencioned. And that aswell we o^{r} selues, as alsoe the Gou^{r}no^{r} & Companie of m^{r}chauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies shall haue & inioye all & all manner such & as ample liƀties benefittꝭ & Advantages to all intentꝭ & purposes for and concerning the said fower new moneys of sylver soe newlie to be made strocken & Coyned by force of theis presentꝭ and eu^{r}y of them respectiuelie, rateablelie & ꝑportionablie as we or they should might or ought to haue by the intent & true meaninge of the said former Indentures for the moneys of sylver therein mencioned. And that the said wardens, M^{rs}, & all and euery of

o^r^ said Officers of o^r^ said Mynte shall in all thinge doe & pforme & cause to be don and pformed for & concerning the said ffower moneys soe newlie to be made stricken & Coyned by force of theis presente as well towarde vs as towarde euery of o^r^ said m^r^chaunte, all & all manner matters & thinge whatsoeuer, wch ought to be any way don or pformed by them or any of them, by their or any of their meanes by vertue of the said former Indenture for or concerning the moneys of Sylver therein mencioned & according to the true intent & meaneing of the same Indentures.

AND inasmuch as o^r^ pleasure is, that diligent expedicōn be had & don in that behalfe: We Will & Comaund you & eu^r^y of you to whome yt shall appertaine that from henceforth wth all diligence from tyme to tyme vntill such tyme as we declare vnto you the said Warden, m^rs^, woorkers Comptrollers & other Officers & Ministers of o^r^ Mynte o^r^ pleasure in writeing to the contrarie you doe make stricke Coyne and printe, or cause to be made, stricken Coyned & printed, into the said moneys soe newlie to be made stricken & Coyned by force of theis presente. All such Bullion plate sylver in masse or otherwyse as shall be deliuered vnto yor hande according to the true intent and meaning of theis presente by a pticular Warrant to be signed by vs, or directed or subscribed wth the names of three of o^r^ privie Councello^rs^ for the tyme being att the least whereof the Lord Threr̄ for the tyme being to be one.

AND THE same moneys soe made stricken & Coyned to deliuer or cause to be deliuered to the Gou^r^no^r^ and Companie of m^r^chaunte of London trading into the East Indies that shall bringe in the same their Attornes & deputies in such Convenient tyme & in such manner and forme as by the said Indentures for the moneys therein expressed is lymitted & appointed. And theis o^r^ ł̄res Pattente wth the said warrant soe signed or directed as aforesaid for yor workeinge of o^r^ moneys in manner & forme aboue specified shall be aswell to you o^r^ said warden m^rs^ and workers of our said moneys, as alsoe to all & singuler other o^r^ Officers in o^r^ said Mynte yor deputie or deputies sufficient warrant & cleare dischardge in this behalfe, any Couenante, graunt, article, clause, or agreem^t^ had made or exspressed in the said Indentures beareinge date the xxx^th^ day of Ianuarie in the xxv^th^ yeare of o^r^ reigne

betweene vs on thone ꝑte, & the said Richard Martyn knight on thother parte, or any other Acte, Statute, Ordinance or ꝑmyse had or made to the Contrarie heareof in any manner of wyse notwthstandinge. In Witnes wheareof &c:

WHEAREAS[1] you the severall ꝑsons herevnder named haue beene divers tymes required to bringe in yor promysed Contribuc̃ons towardes the settinge forth of the East India voyadge, and haue not yett donne the same, we doe eftsoones requier you to giue yor direct aunsweare whether you will bringe into one of the Thrērs of the Companie yor said Contribuc̃ons or not (yf not) then accordinge to your warrant of the lr̃e of her Maties privie Councell to vs in that behalfe geaven[2] we require you to repaire to the Courte and yeald to their Lo^{ps} a reason of yor refusall, and yf you will assent to paie yor Contribuc̃ons then to repaire to me the Gouerno^{r} of ye Companie and to giue yor worde for the present payment of the same dated the 22th of April 1601.

A warrante.

Richard Champion[3] — Robert Pennington
Hugh Hamersley[4] — Richard Hearne

[1] "It is ordered at this Assemblie that a Warraunt shalbe sent to the persons "heervnder named that have hetherto denyed to bringe in ther Contributions, "subscribed under the hand of the Governo^{r} and 4 of the Comitties wch warraunt "shalbe shewed vnto them by a Pursevant to thend that vppon ther refusall to pay "they may be carried before the LL: or els vppon ther assent to pay they may be "appointed to come to Mr Governo^{r} to geave ther Wordes to pay the same to the "Threr the teno^{r} of wch warraunt doeth followe in these words videlt: . . . . ." (*Court Minutes*, 22nd April, 1601). This measure seems to have had the desired effect, for only in three cases was it found necessary to "convent" the defaulters before the Council. One of these, Hugh Hamersley, made his peace with the Company and paid in his subscription; the other two, John Bate and Robert Bowyer, were disfranchised.

[2] *See* page 12.

[3] These are the names of the persons to whom the warrant was addressed.

[4] Afterwards became a prominent member of the Company, serving as a "committee" for a considerable number of years; and was nominated, but unsuccessfully, for the post of governor on the death of Sir William Haliday in 1624. He was Sheriff in 1619, and Lord Mayor in 1628; and was for some time governor of the Levant Company.

Wittm Kellett
Wittm Barrett
Barth: Huggett[1]
Peter Helinge
Wittm Palmer
Robert Myldmay
John Bate
Robert Bowyer

ELIZABETH[2] by the grace of God Queene of England ffraunce & Ireland defendo^r^ of the faith &c: To the greate and mightie kinge of

A letter to the kinges of the East Indies.

Whearas almightie God in his infinite and vnsearchable wisedome and gratious providence hath soe disposed of his blessinge and of the good thinge of this world created and ordayned for thuse of man, that the same how ever they be brought forth & doe either originallie growe and are gathered, or otherwyse Composed & made some in [one] Countrie and some in another: yet are they by the Industrie of man directed by the hand of God dispersed and sent out into all the partes of the world, that his wonderfull bountie in his Creatures may appeare vnto all Nac͠ons, his Maiestie haueing soe ordaned that noe one place should inioye (as the Natiue Comodities thereof) all thinge apꝑtayninge to mans vse, but that one Countrie should haue need of another, & out of the aboundance of the ffruite wch some region enioyeth the necessities or wante of another should be supplied: By wch meanes men of seu^r^all &

[1] Consul at Aleppo *circa* 1611-14. In a letter to the Company in August, 1613, he expresses his desire to do them service, "being a freeman of their charter though no adventurer" (*O. C.* 109).

[2] On the 4th Dec. 1600, it was ordered that "m^r^ Staper Capten Lancaster m^r^ Tho. "Allabaster and Richard Wright shall conferre together touching suche lres as shalbe "solicited from her ma^ie^ to suche princes and Potentates as are in the places of the "Este wher trade shalbe sought;" and on the 12th Feb. 1601, a warrant was passed for the payment to "Mr Wm Segar one of the herraults for the wryting of her ma^es^ Lres "to the kinges of the East Indies the some of xiij^li^ vj^s^ viij^d^ and xij^d^ for a boxe bought "by him to putt in the same lres." From another entry we learn that there were six of these letters taken out in the first voyage. They seem to have been in identical terms, with a blank left for the factors to fill in the name of the particular king to whom the letter was to be delivered. It will be seen that the text now given differs slightly from that printed in Bruce's *Annals*, vol. I, pp. 147-150, but the variations are of no importance.

ffar remote Countries haue comerce and traffique one wth another, & by their interchandge of Comodities are lincked together in amitie & freindshipp.

THIS CONSIDEration most noble kinge, together wth the ho: reporte of yor matie for the well entertayninge of Straungers that visitt yor Country in loue & peace wth lawfull traffique of Marchandize, haue moued vs to giue licence to diuers or Subiectꝭ who haue beene stirred vpp wth a desier by a longe and daungerous Navigacõn to finde out & visitt yor Territories & dominions being famous in theis ꝑtꝭ of the world for honorable mrchandizeing, & to Offer you Comerce and traffique in buying bartering and enterchandgeing of Comodities wth yor people according to the Course of mrchauntꝭ wch Commerce and enterchandging, yf yor [matie] shall accept of & shall receiue & entertayne or marchauntꝭ wth favor according to the hope that gaue them encouragmt to attempt soe long and daungerous a voiadge you shall finde them a people in their dealing & Conversacõn of that Iustice & Ciuillitie that you shall not mislike of their repaire to yor dominions, & vpon furder Conference & inquisicõn had wth them both of the kindꝭ of their mrchandize brought in their shipps and of other necessarie Com̃odities wch or dominions may afford: yt may appeare to yor Matie that by their meanes you may be furnished in their next retourne into yor portꝭ in better sorte then you haue beene heretofore supplied, either by the Spaniard or Portugall, who of all other Nacõns in the partꝭ of Europe haue onelie hitherto frequented yor Countrie wth trade of mrchandize & haue been the onelie ympedimtꝭ both to or subiectꝭ and diuers other Marchauntꝭ in the partꝭ of Europe that they haue not hitherto visited yor Countrie wth trade, whilest the said Portugalls prtended them selues to be the souereigne Lordꝭ & Princꝭ of all yor Territories, & gaue yt out that the held yor Nacõn & people as Subiectꝭ to them: & in their stiles and Titles doe write them selues kingꝭ of the East Indies.

AND yf yor matie shall in yor princelie ffavor accept wth good likeing this repaire of or mrchauntꝭ vnto yor Countries, resorting thither in peaceable traffique & shall intertaine this their first voyadge as an introduccõn to a furder Continuance of League and freindshipp betweene yor matie & vs & of Comerce & entercourse betweene yor subiectꝭ & ours We haue geven Order to this

or principall Marchaunt (yf yor Matie should be pleased therewth) to leaue in yor Countrie some such of or said Marchaunteꝭ as he shall make choice of to recide in yor dominions vnder yor princelie & saffe ꝑteccōn vntill the retourne of another ffleete, wch we shall send vnto you, who may in the meane tyme learne the languadge of yor Countrie & applie their behavier as yt may best sorte to so Converce wth yor maties subiecteꝭ to thend that Amitie and freindshipp being intertayned and begunn, the same may the better be Contynued when or People shalbe instructed how to direct themselues according to the ffashions of yor Countrie.

AND because in the Consideracōn of the entertayning of Amytie & freindshipp in the establishinge of entercorse to be contynued betweene vs there may be required on yor mateꝭ behalfe such promyse or capitulacōn to be ꝑformed by vs, wch we cannot in theis or ƚres take knowledge of, We therefore pray yor Matie to giue eare therein to this bearer and to giue him Creditt in whatsoeur he shall ꝑmyse or vndertake in or name concerning or Amitie & entercourse wch promyse we for or ꝑteꝭ in the worde of a Prince will see ꝑformed & will be redie gratefullie to requite any loue kindnes, or fauor that or Subiecteꝭ shall receiue at yor Mateꝭ handeꝭ. Praying yor matie for or better satisfaccōn of yor kinde acceptaunce of this or loue & amitie Offered yor highnes you would by this bearer giue testimonie thereof by yor princelie ƚres directed vnto vs, wch shall giue vs greate & wonderfull Contente And thus &c.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT[1] indented [and] made betweene the Gournor and Companie of mrchaunteꝭ of London trading to the East Indies on the one ꝑte and George Waymouth of in the Countie of marriner on the other ꝑte the daie of Aprill 1602.

[1] George Waymouth was despatched by the Company in May 1602, to discover a passage to India "by the way of the Norwest." The voyage ended in ignominious failure, the vessels returning after having got no further than the south of Greenland. See *The Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies*, Preface, pp. xvi.-xxii.

WHEAREAS the said Gou^{r}no^{r} and Companie of the m^{r}chauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies vpon greate deliberacōn had & taken of the longe & tedious course wch hath been hitherto houlden by all such as doe trade or sayle from theis ꝑtꝭ of the world into the East Indies alonge the Coaste of Europe and Africa by the Cape of Bona Esperansa and of the greate Aduentures wch are borne in soe longe a voyadge by many kindes of daungers offered therein & beinge moued wth greate hope that there is a possibilitie of discou^{r}y of a neerer passadge into the said East Indies by Seas by the way of the Norwest yf the same were vndertaken by a man of knowledge in Navigacōn and of a resolucōn to put in executōn all possibilitie of industrie & valo^{r} of the atteyninge of soe inestimable benefitt to his natiue Countrie & his owne ꝑpetuall hono^{r} Haue to that end enterteyned the saide George Waymouth aman in their opinion qualified & ffitt to vndertake and attempt the ꝑformance of this discouerie vnto whome they haue deliu^{r}ed beforehand the some of One hundred poundꝭ to furnish himselfe wth Conveient instrum^{t}ꝭ of Navigacōn accordinge to his owne choyse & vnto whose direccōn the haue comitted two shipps the one called the Discou^{r}y the other the Godspeede being manned victualled prepared and ffurnished wth all thingꝭ necessarie and convenient for such a voyadge and theirin bestowed and supplied all kindꝭ of provisions according to his owne desier, whereby both the said George Waymouth and his Companie are prouided of victualls apparell and furniture for the space of 16 monnethes and haue alsoe Laden abourd the said shippes a Convenient ꝑporcōn of seu^{r}all kindꝭ of m^{r}chandize. In Consideracōn whereof yt is agreed betweene the said ꝑties to theis present in manner & forme following on the other side.

The Covenantes agreed vpon viz.

THE said George Waymouth doth promyse couenante and agree to and with the said Gou^{r}no^{r} and Company of the m^{r}chauntꝭ of London tradinge into the East Indies that he and his Companie shall and will be redie by the daye of next ensueing the date hereof to departe from the porte of London and as wynd and weather

Capteine Way: & his Comp: to sayle towardes ffretam Davis & soe forward by the Norwest to the kingdomes of Cataya or China or the backeside of America.

will ꝑmitt shall & will directlie sayle towardꝭ the Coaste of Groineland into that ꝑte of the Seas wch is discribed in sundry generall Mapps by the name of ffretam Davis and shall passe on forwarde in those Seas by the Norwest or as he shall finde the passadge best to lye towardꝭ the partꝭ or kingdomes of Cataya or China or the backe side of America w^th^out geueing ouer the proceedinge on his Course soe longe as he shall finde those Seas or any ꝑte thereof navigable and any possibilitie to make way or passadge thorough them And shall not him selfe retourne or voluntary suffer any of his Companie to retourne backe againe vnto or towardꝭ the Coast of England for any lett or ympedim^te^ whatsoeuer vntill he and they haue bestowed one yeare att the least from the tyme of their deꝑture hence in going forward seeking sounding and attemptinge the ꝑforme of this intended viage.

not to retourne of one whole yeare att the least.

AND further the said George Waymouth doth promyse graunte and agree to and wth the said Gou^r^no^r^ and Company that he the said George Waymouth shall and will not onelie well enterteine & intreate: but alsoe quietlie ꝑmitt and suffer such marchauntꝭ or Pursars as the said Gouerno^r^ & Companie shall place or appointe to goe in the said shipps or either of them, to keepe a register and accompt of all such goodes wares m^r^chandizes ꝑvision and furniture as are shipped and Laden in any the said shipps how the same is bestowed bartered chandged spent or otherwyse disposed & alsoe to keepe an Accompte of all other thingꝭ that shall be bought bartered exchandged or receiued in Lewe of any thinge that shall be sold or made away & alsoe to make notꝭ Iournalls & observac̃ons in writeing of their Continuall ꝑceedingꝭ in the said viadge vntill their retourne for England for the direcc̃on & helpe of posteritie that shall be occasioned or willinge heereafter to make a new attempt vpon the same discouery. And further that he the said George Waymouth shall w^th^in 10 daies after his retourne into England whether he doe ꝑforme the said discou^r^y or not w^th^out concealem^t^ of any thinge wch he hath discou^r^ed in the viadge deliuer a declarac̃on in writinge vnder his hand vnto the

Tolleracon of such as ye Companie shall appointe to keepe Registers of the goodes &observacons of their proceedinges in the voyadge.

A Iournall of their proceedinges to be deliu^r^ed to the Com-

panie by the Capt: wthin 10 daies after his retourne.

Gou^r^no^r^ of the said Companie, or his deputie conteyneinge a reporte of all & eu^r^y his ꝑceedingꝭ in the viadge worthie of note or memory for the good of the Companie and for the helpe of such as shall be disposed heereafter to proceed in the same passadge, and shall be redie from tyme to tyme duringe the space of 40 daies after his arriuall & retourne to London vpon warninge and somons geven him in that behalfe to come before the Gou^r^no^r^ & deputie of the said Company for the tyme being & the Comitties & such others of the Company as yt shall please the Gou^r^no^r^ & dep: to call vnto them & shall trulie relate vnto them such thingꝭ as passed in the said viadge whereof they or any of them shall desier to be enformed wth out denyall or refusall in that behalfe & shall not discouer the secreetꝭ or course of his ꝑceedingꝭ in the vyadge to any other ꝑson or ꝑsons whatsoeu^r^ then to the said Gou^r^no^r^ deputie & Comitties.

Not to discouer his proceedinges in the voyadge otherwyse then to the Gou^r^no^r^ & Company.

AND the said Gou^r^no^r^ and Companie of the m^r^chauntꝭ of London trading to the East Indies for them and their Successo^rs^ doe in consideracõn of the premisses promyse couenant and agree to & wth the said Georg Waymouth to satisfie & pay vnto the said George Waymouth or his Assignes w^th^in ffortie daies after his retourne into England and after sufficient proofe and testimoniall by him made that he hath passed thorough the North west passadge into the East Indies and arriued at any porte w^th^in the dominions of the kingdomes of Cataya, China[1], or Japan the some of ffiue hundred poundꝭ of lawfull English money w^th^out fraude or Coven.[2]

500^li^ graunted to the said Cap: after proofe he hath discoured the said passadge.

AND lastlie the said George Waymouth doth promyse and agree that vnles in this intended viadge he shall discou^r^ & passe thorough the same Northwest passadge & shall make sufficient proofe and giue good testimoniall that he hath passed through the same passadge and arriued in some parte of the East Indies in

The said Capt doth disable him selfe from all demaundes for his sallary & paines takinge yf he discou^r^ not.

[1] It will be noted that China and "Cataya" are spoken of as separate countries. See *Report on the Old Records of the India Office* (W. H. Allen & Co., 1891), page 168.

[2] Fraud or deceit,—strictly an act of conspiracy between two or more persons to defraud others.

the dominions or kingdomes of Cataya China or one of them that then neyther he the said George Waymouth nor his Assignes shall or will demaund or requier of the said Gou^r^no^r^ or Company or any of them any Salary wagℓ or rewarde for his viadge or travell in the discou^r^y of the said passadge in reguarde the said viadge was vndertaken by the said Gou^r^no^r^ & Company ꝑtelie by his ꝑswac̃on and vpon his resoluc̃on to adventure his travell & lyfe therein for the good of his Countrie to wch his resoluc̃on the said Companie were content to add the Aduenture of the setting forth of the viadge to their greate chardge. In Witnes &c:

AFTER my hartiest Comendac̃ons: where[as] this inclosed petic̃on[1] hath beene exhibited to the kingℓ ma^tie^, his highnes finding that yt was a cause meerlie apꝑteyninge to the Courte of Admiraltie referred the same vnto me to take order therein accordinglie, and forasmuch as there is an attachm^t^ made out of the said Courte of Admiraltie vpon c^r^teyne goodℓ in yor handℓ att the suite of the peticioners who exhibited the said petic̃on. Theis are therefore to praie & requier you to make staie of the said attached goodℓ in yor handℓ vntill such time as the cause shall be examined by me accordinge to his ma^ties^ Comaundm^t^ or that you shall receiue further order from me touchinge the same Whereof requireing you not to faile I hartilie bid you ffarewell from the Courte of Wilton this 27th of October 1603.

A lre from m^r^ Doctor Cæsar to the Comp:

yor verie loueing ffreind
Julius Cæsar.[2]

[1] Not entered; but its contents may be gathered from the Company's answer on the next page.

[2] Mr., afterwards Sir, Julius Cæsar, the son of a doctor of Italian extraction, who had settled in London, and had risen to notice as a Court physician, was appointed in 1583 judge of the Admiralty Court. Five years later he was admitted master of the chancery in ordinary, and in 1591 Elizabeth conferred on him the post of master

The Answeare to Doctor^{r} Cæsars l̄re.

RIGHT wo^{ll} It maie please yo^{u} to be aduerticed that we receiued a l̄re from yor wo^{p}: wherein was inclosed a peticõn exhibited to his ma^{tie} by the m^{r} and Company of the Suzan one of the shipps latelie retourned from the East Indies, wherein the peticioners haue vntrulie sugested to his ma^{tie} that the East India ffleete weare Ioinctlie and in one coniunction & l̄re of Marte vnder the greate seale of England aswell for Civill gouernm^{t} as Reprisall bound for the East Indies, whereas indeede the same ffleete weare whollie and altogether set [out] for the discou^{r}y and trade of Marchandize and to that end weare furnished wth diuers Natiue commodities of the Realme and other provisions fitt to procure and settle a trade in those ꝑtꝭ and all the Marriners wch were ymployed in the said voyadge weare hired and intertayned for wagꝭ by the Monneth as is vsuall in all m^{r}chauntꝭ voyagꝭ. All wch shipps were at the dispoticõn & direccõn of their Generall then Mr Iames Lancaster and sithence graced by his ma^{tie} of a knight, who according to his Comission as generall Agent & directo^{r} of this voyadge and intended trade did vpon his arrivall in the East Indies dispose and appointe the m^{r} & Companie of the Suzan to goe in trade of m^{r}chandize to a place called Pryamon[1] in the said Indies & frome thence to retourne directlie for England The Gen^{r}all himselfe purposinge wth the other two shipps to visitt other partes of the said Indies and haueing notice of a Portugall Gallion that laye in the waye to those places which he intended to

of requests. He was knighted by James I. on the 20th May, 1603. In 1606 he was made chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer, and in the following year was sworn of the Privy Council. Seven years later, he succeeded to the post of master of the rolls, for which he had long been waiting; and the rest of his life is one unbroken record of active state employment. He died 18th April, 1636, and was buried in the church of Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, where his monument may yet be seen. His legal knowledge appears to have been hardly adequate to the important posts he was called upon to fill, and this point did not escape the notice of his enemies; but even they were forced to admit the excellence of his private character. His charity was unbounded, and during his early career his generosity to impecunious suitors in his court was carried to an extent that threatened seriously to embarrass his own resources. He was Cecil's right-hand man at a time of great difficulty in regard to the national finances, and his whole career seems to have been that of a useful public servant.

[1] Priaman, a town on the west coast of Sumatra, north of Padang.

visitt as all the Marrinors of his owne shipp, & of the other two shipps in Companie wth him were hired by the monneth to ꝑforme a Marchauntꝭ voyadge and weare not to attempt any enterprize of reprisall vnlesse they were spetiallie compounded wthall did then make a contract wth all the Marriners of the Redd Dragon, the Hector and the Assencõn what shares the should haue in such prize as should be taken by them then in Consortshipp together, and afterwardes ꝑceedinge in their voyadge did meete wth the said Gallion and did surprize her accordinglie.[1] By reson of wch Contract the said Generall since his arrivall in England did satisfie and paie all the Marriners of the said 3 shipps present in that service such shares and allowances as by Composicõn was agreed vpon betweene them together wth the monnethlie wagꝭ accordinge to their Continuance in the voyadge, wch monnethlie wagꝭ the said mr & Marrinors of the Suzan according to the tyme of their being in the voyadge haue likewyse receiued, and being not present at the said service or enterprize for wch a speciall Composicõn & Consortshipp was made weare not to ꝑtake in the said Composicõn. And this we hope shall suffice to satisfie yor wop: yt theis men complaine wthout cause, and clayme an interest in that whereto ye[2] haue noe color of right haueing alredie recd their wagꝭ according to agreemt for the wholl tyme of their ymploymt in the said voyadge.

AFTER MY very hartie Comendacõns Wheareas I am aduerticed by the Officers of the porte of London that there was entred in the name of you and the Company to the quantitie of 1030000 pound weight of pepꝑ wch was latelie taken out of those shipps come from the East Indies[3]

[1] See Markham's *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster* (Hakluyt Society, 1877), p. 91.

[2] They.

[3] The pepper referred to is evidently that brought home by the ships of the *First Voyage*. The loss of the second Court Book prevents us from following in detail the course of events.

The L: Threrers lre to Sr Thom: Smyth Gournor & the Comp: the 5 of Nouem: 1603.

wherein you weare Adventurers and haue (as is affirmed) howsed and laid vpp accordinglie, fforasmuch as noe ꝑte or ꝑcell of the said pepꝑ is to be sold before his maties greate Masse of pepꝑ now remayneing att Leaden Hall be first vttered and sold according to his maties good plesure in that behalfe signified & expressed in my late ɫres sent vnto the said Officers. I am therefore to will and requier you vppon yor dutie and Allegeaunce to his matie to Certifie me forthwth ye seurall names of them who weare in any sorte owners or interessed ꝑties in the said pepꝑ soe taken out & entered as aforesaid, and alsoe where the same doth now remayne to thend the sale thereof may be stayed and prevented till his highnes pepꝑ be first vented & disposed of as apꝑteyneth, ffor you are to knowe that his matie maie by vertue of his princelie prrogatiue as his highnes hath beene advised by the learned Iudgę of this Land & his owne counsell in the lawe iustlie staie the vent & vtterance of all other pepꝑ vntill his owne be first sold & vttered & for yor better satisfacо̄n in this pointe yf you will reteyne and bringe yor Councell to Winchester at the begininge of this terme you & the both shall be heard, and his maties Councell indifferentlie by the Iudgę, & then I doubt not you will be well satisfied of his Maties lawfull power and prerogatiue in this behalfe Soe not doubtinge of yor dew reguarde to be had herevnto I bidd you hartelie farewell. frome my howse att Horselie this 5 of Nouember 1603.

Yor loueing ffreind

T: Buckhurst.[1]

OUR HUMBLE duties remembred. It may please yor Lop: to be aduerticed that we haue accordinge to yor ɫre here inclosed a note of the names of all such of or Comp: as haue receiued into their handę any of the pepꝑ wch is retourned in or shipps from the East Indies and doe humblie herewth informe yor lop: That we vpon the comeing home

[1] Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, afterwards Earl of Dorset, Lord Treasurer, 1599 to 1608.

The Companies aunsweare to ye L. Thrers lre ye vijth of Nouember 1603.

of o^r shipps being to paie vnto the Marriners retourned in this vyadge for soe much dew vnto them the some of 30000 [ ] and haueing noe meanes by the vente of o^r Comodities retourned to rayse any moneys towardes the paym^te thereof by reason of the present contagion & mortalitie in the Cittie[1] After we had made tryall of makinge[2] vpp of moneys vppon the Creditt of men of best estatꝭ in the Cittie and could not obteyne yt at any rate weare driven to agree to devide the pepꝑ amongst o^r selues thereby to furnish every man wth some meanes to bringe in money towardes paym^t of this greate some dew to the said Marrino^rs and towardes the setting out of o^r shipps againe to fetch home a good ꝑte of goodes lefte in the Indies & such ffacto^rs and Marriners as are left behinde in the Country W^ch meanes yf it shalbe crossed by any restrainte that the Adventurers cannot vtter their pepꝑ allotted vnto them after three yeares forbeareing of their moneys in this vyage herevpon will ffollowe the Clamo^r of Marrino^rs for not paym^te of their wagꝭ a Cessinge and giueing ouer of a new voyadge to be sett forth, the losse of all the goodꝭ wch remayne in the East Indies to be fetcht home, and a losse of the liues of agreate nomber of o^r ffacto^rs & Marriners left there with the princes of those ꝑtꝭ, wth whome they be left as pledgꝭ for the retourne of o^r shipps thither againe this yeare: We are right Hono: easilie ꝑswaded w^thout Contradiccōn that his ma^tie by his princelie prerogatiue may staie the vent & vtteraunce of o^r pepꝑ retourned but yf his ma^tie shall vse his prerogatiue in this case o^r trade standing in such extremitie, herevpon will likewyse ensue an vtter desisting & giueing ouer of a trade verie chardgable begonne verie likelie to haue proued beneficiall to o^r Countrey & kingdome and disgrace fullie geven over wth the losse of the liues of soe many of his Maties subiectꝭ, wch otherwyse might be made men of spetiall vse in this Comon wealth, haueing gaiened soe greate experience in trade & Navigacōn. Besides yf the said Adventurers shall not be ꝑmitted to make sale of the said pepꝑ the Companie shall be depriued of meanes to paie his ma^tie the custome of the said goodꝭ wch cometh to 5000 [ ] or their about whereof yt may please yor Lo^p: to

[1] The plague was then raging in London (see page 39).

[2] A mistake for "taking"?

haue Consideracōn and to afford vs the ffurtheraunce in o^r^ busines after this greate discontinuance of traffique in this Cittie wch may enable vs to doe service to his ma^tie^ and Comon wealth in o^r^ places and callyngę. And thus humblie releyinge vpon yor Lo^ps^ good favo^r^ towardes vs Wee take o^r^ leaue of yor good Lo^p^: London the vij^th^ of Nouember 1603.

HAUING ꝑvsed yor ɫres I imꝑted the effect thereof vnto my Lordes And as it is iust and convenient that all resonable reguarde be had towardes you, who wth soe greate chardge and adventure doe advaunce his ma^ties^ Customes & vente the Comodities of the Realme and speciallie that such paym^t^ę as are of necessitie to be made by you should wth yor owne be satisfied (yf neither yor present store of money nor yor Credit be able otherwyse to dischardge the same wch seemeth somewhat straunge to be soe [ )], evensoe I doubt not but as you are wyse men and faithfull Subiectę to the Crowne and state, soe you will not be soe ꝑciall to yor priuate [good] as altogether to forgett the publicke wch alwaies liueth in the ꝑson of o^r^ kinge and Sou^r^eigne, and whose onelie prosperitie is the publicke wealth and benefitt of vs all. I maye not deny that many inconveniencę & clamo^rs^ are like enough to follow yf yor Marriners should be vnsatisfied and an iniury to the kinge yf that his Customes should rest unpaied, but that there is noe way to satisfie the one and to paie the other but by this port sale of pepꝑ soe ill for the kinge and (of all other the worst waye for yor selues [ )], that see I not any reason to beleeue but on the other side you alsoe must confesse that yf yor pepꝑ haue his sale before the kingę be vnterred[1] it will soe greatlie impeach his ma^ties^ markett, as either his must abide a longe time vnsold, or being presentlie offered will ryse to his extreame losse. And what hugh paym^t^ę the kinge hath now to make (whereof a good portion might by agood sale ofhis highnes pepꝑ be dischardged) & what Clamo^rs^ & Complaintę are daylie are made by

A lre from the L Threr to the Company.

[1] A mistake for "uttered"?

those to whome moneys are dewe & wch by reason of this generall Contagion (his ma^{ties} Renteꝭ Customes, debtꝭ ffifteenes & subsidies being not paied) cannot possibly by his ma^{tie} be dischardged of all wch Clamo^{rs} and inconvenienceꝭ thus falling likewyse vpon theis affaires ofhis ma^{tie} you must yf you will be indifferent[1] haue sence and feelinge of theis distasters of the kinge as of yor owne Wherefore to conclude the matter beinge of such importaunce both towardꝭ his ma^{tie} and yor selues and the kingꝭ highnes in his most gratious & respectiue goodnes towardes his subiectꝭ being resolute to doe noe mann wronge, & most desireous to releiue his owne estate in a dew co^{r}se of right & Iustice, and yet wth as little losse as may be effected for you, I am vpon theis groundꝭ wished by my Lordꝭ first to requier you to staie sale of yor pepꝑ vntill such order therein may be taken as may be both wthout preiudice to his ma^{tie}, and to yor good satisfaccōn besides. And next that since the effectinge hereof requiereth a speedie resolucōn, that therefore you doe forthwth send hither to Winchester nowe while the lodꝭ: in respect of theis arraignem^{t}ꝭ doe tarry heare a couple of discreete ꝑsons, or moe yf you soe thinke good who may be both authorised and instructed by you to debate deale and conclude for and on yor behalfe, wth such of the Lordes as by his ma^{tie} shall be likewyse aucthorised therevnto. And soe eftsoones prayinge you to doe y^{t} wth all speede possible for that the llꝭ come hither the 14th daie & heere tarrie the 15 · 16 · 17 · 18 & on the Satterdaie being the 19 retourne to the Courte & on the 21 · 22 · remayne att Winchester againe. Soe as wthin the Compasse of this tyme theis ꝑsons insteucted & authorized must come. And soe I end wth all hartie well wishinge vnto you *Winchester.*[2]

[1] Impartial, just; as in the prayer in the English Church Liturgy, "that they "may truly and *indifferently* minister justice."

[2] There is no signature, but the reply shows that Lord Buckhurst was the writer, and also supplies the date,

RIGHT Hon: and my verie good Lo: vpon the receipte of yor hono^{rs} ƚre of the xiijth present, I caused a meeteing of soe many of the m^{r}chauntꝭ Comitties & traders into the East Indies as weare p^{r}sent to be found wthin the Cittie & ymꝑted vnto them yor hono^{rs} pleasure wth the sight of yor ƚre but not being able at the present to finde soe many as might giue warrauntꝭ for the sending of such men wth Comission to Winchester as yt pleaseth yor Lo: to Comaund to giue their attendaunce vpon you and the rest of the Lordꝭ did determyne wth all speede to send into the Country being nigh vnto the Cittie for such Comitties as are absent to make their repaier. and soe we are most humbly to craue yor hono^{r} ffavo^{r} to ꝑdon vs till we should be able to meete together and then p^{r}sent order shall be taken for that such men may be sent as yt pleaseth yor Lo^{p}: to wryte for wch shall be wthin the appoynted tyme lymitted in yor Hono^{rs} ƚre all the Aduenturers relying vpon yor Lo^{ps} good favo^{r} towardꝭ them And soe I humblie take my leaue of yor good Lo^{p}: London the 15th of Nouember 1603.

The Comp: aunswere to the L. ThrerS lre.

yor Lo^{ps} most humble
att Comaund *Th: Bramley.*[1]

[1] Mr. Thomas Bramley was at this time Deputy Governor of the Company, having been chosen to succeed Mr. William Romney (see page 46) in that post on the 26th January, 1603.

The following extract from the *Calendar of State Papers, E. Indies*, 1513-1616, p. 139, continues the story :—

"1603, 18 Nov. London. Thos. Alabaster to Sec. Cecil. Mr Bramley and Mr Chambers sent by the East India Company to Court, through a letter from the Lord Treasurer, about liberty for sale of their pepper, which it seemed he would stay, unless they would buy the King's, or it were otherwise sold; the Company will give in their reasons. Intreats his favour towards them; the extreme scarcity of money prevents them buying it." (*Extract from Domestic Corresp., Jac. I., Vol. IV., no.* 86, *Cal.*, p. 54.)

The correspondence is continued on page 42.

Sr IAMES Lancasters remembraunce left in the East Indies.[1]

FIRSTE as soone as I am gone you shall pcure from the m^rchaunte resident heare yor ladeing of such and soe much goode as they shall appointe you and by all meanes after you haue taken them in pcure such pvisions that they may be kept drie, for a little wett bringeth in theis goode much damadge. I doubt not you will be carefull in this pointe.

A Remembrance for Mr Keche m^r of the pinnace.

YO^r ladeing being rec^d you are to take in m^r Towerson[2] Thomas Tudd[3] Willm Chase[4] & Thius Dobson[5] and then sale directlie for the Iland of Banda not touching in any place by the waie wth out greate cause & wheresoeu^r you become trust none of the Indians for their bodies & soules be whollie treason and yt will be very daungerous to touch in any vnknowne place therefore avoied yt.

WHEN god shall send you to Banda & [you] haue deliu^red yor m^rchandizes yo^u maie laie vpp yor shipp and you and yor men

[1] Before leaving Bantam on the return voyage, Lancaster arranged that the pinnace should make a trading voyage to the Moluccas and endeavour to settle a factory there. Accordingly on the 6th March, 1602/3, the pinnace set sail, but after battling for nearly two months against contrary winds, was forced to return with its object unaccomplished.

[2] Became in 1605 chief at Bantam, and held that post till December, 1608, when he went home as captain of the *Dragon*. In 1611 he commanded the *Hector* in the *Eighth Voyage* under Saris, returning to England two years later. The following year he married the widow of Captain Hawkins, and shortly after was admitted a freeman of the Company gratis, in recognition of his long service. In 1615 he applied to be entertained for another voyage, but was refused. Two years later we find both him and his wife at Surat, having apparently been permitted to take passage in one of the ships of Captain Pring's fleet. He returned to England with Sir Thomas Roe in 1619, leaving his wife in India. In 1620 he was entertained as a principal factor for the Moluccas, and in the course of the voyage was placed in charge of the *Lesser James* until her arrival at Bantam. He was then sent to Amboyna to succeed George Muschamp as agent, and there, with nine of his fellow countrymen, he suffered torture and death at the hands of the Dutch in what is known as the Massacre of Amboyna, 27th Feb., 1622/3.

[3] Factor in the *First Voyage*; died at Bantam, 14th April, 1604.

[4] Factor in the *First Voyage*; died in 1603 while on the voyage to Banda in the pinnace.

[5] Died 17th July, 1603.

lie att the m^{r}chauntȩ howse & assist them in their busines all that you cann, but I thinke yt good to looke to yor shipp that she be not lost, but husband her soe that yf occasion should be proffered by any enymies a land you maie haue some helpe by her by the Sea.

AS my trust is in you, assist the m^{r}chauntȩ, and giue them all helpe for I haue placed you in the 4th place wth them. In this pointe be verie carefull as I hope you will be & hereby I doe acknowledge to haue Consorted wth you from the j of febr 1602. for as longe as you shall be in the m^{r}chauntȩ service for 8^{li} the monneth. Thus God send his blessinge upon yo^{u} in all yor affaires. in *Bantam* this 12 of ffebr 1602.

A Remembraunce for m^{r} Starkie Tho: Morgan & m^{r} Scott.[1]

AS sone as o^{r} shipps be dispatched from hence wth as much Convenient speede as may be made, I would haue you to dispatch the Pinnace for the Moloccos to the Iland of Banda & lade in her of all sortȩ of Comodities as you can learne to be vented there, onelie keepe yor narrowe & mallacoe ffardȩ: to furnish you here as yor most staple Comodities to trust vnto, you may lade in her some 60 ffardells, the most of blewes & checkered stuffȩ, some fine Pinthadoes, & some store of Corse, some of yor Sian rowles: but not many, & some white Cloth & some browne & some of yor stuffȩ, that be Checkered, in all theis thingȩ vse yor good Iudgm^{t}ȩ onelie lett them be well furnished.

ALSOE lade in her 500^{R} of 8 att the least for yt may chaunce they maie haue neede to vse some money.

THE next business that most importeth is yor dispatch of yor howse yf yo^{u} could sett forward the one in dispatching the other

[1] Morgan died 26th April, 1603, and Starkie on the 30th June following. Edmond Scott lived to come home with Sir Henry Middleton in the *Second Voyage*, and to write an interesting account of the early years of the English settlement at Bantam, which is printed in *Purchas*. In July, 1608, he was elected a committee, but was removed on the 28th March, 1609, "for his public abuse of William Harrison on the Exchange." Then followed a wrangle with the Company as to moneys due to him, which was referred to arbitration but apparently without satisfactorily disposing of the matter. In 1619 he was made an auditor of the Company, and this is the last notice that can be traced of him.

yt would doe very well, onelie haue this reguard in the building theis yt be as free from fire as chardge will make yt.

FFOR the sales of yor Comodities, you must vse yor owne discrec͞ons alwaies holdinge this in mynde the tyme of the comeing of o^{r} shipps and [procure] 20,000 baggꝭ of pepꝑ as neere as you cann to be in readynes agayst their comeing and asmuch money as will dispatch them here of chardgꝭ for this next accompte, I will not haue willinglie to be mingled wth any other, If yt please god to send me home I will wryte to you att lardge aboute this pointe for yt will ymport vs that are ymployed in this busines, myne opinion is to putt yor selues out of Comodities as soone as you cann & putt yor selues into pepꝑs for in soe doinge you may chaunce to benefitt the Company in the defraying yor chardgꝭ for they shall be at aboue 850^{li} the yeare chardge in theis partꝭ.

WHEN you haue bought any store of pepꝑ yf the Holland shipps come and the prise ryse you may take the benefitt & sell to the Companies most proffitt onelie haue a reguard not to be vnfurnished at the expectac͞on of o^{r} shippinge. You haue the benefitt of 2 harvestꝭ, I doubt not but you shall furnish the next shipps in good sorte.

ALSOE I doe appointe you m^{r} Wiłłm Starkey to be head & cheefe Commaunder ou^{r} all in this place but to take the Councell and advise of Thomas Morgan & m^{r} Scott in all matters that the Companie may be the better assured of all thingꝭ that passeth.

AND yf yt please god [to lay his hand] vpon you m^{r} Starkey & to take you out of this world I would haue you to giue ouer yor chardge & accomptꝭ to Tho: Morgan. And yf you Tho: Morgan die then to m^{r} Scott, & yf you m^{r} Scott then to whom you shall thinke moste meete, alwaies leaueing yor thingꝭ in the best manner you cann & the playnest.

FOR such wagꝭ as shall be due to men y^{t} be here you may allowe yt by the yeare, or halfe yeare as you see mens necessities allwaies haue reguard that you be not necessited for want of money lett not to haue 1000 R of 8 at the least att all tymes by you.

AND for the boyes lett them not waunt apparrell & necessaries that apꝑteyne vnto them for soe they shall doe yo^{u} better service Lett the Cookꝭ boye be bound for 7 yeares & to haue the ffreedome of London in his tyme accompte the 2 yeares y^{t} he hath served in o^{r} shippe.

THUS I end desiering you to meete together in the Morningę & eueningę in prayer, god whom yee serve shall the better blesse you in all yor affaires. Thus I wysh his blessing to be alwaies vpon you to p^{r}serue and keepe you & to putt his feare in yor hartę. *Amen.*

FORGET not to husband yor Comodities that there be nothinge spoyled nor come to decaye vnder yor handę.

A Remembraunce for Tho: Tudd, Gabriell Towerson, Wm Chasse, and Thom: Dobson.

ASSOONE as the Pynnace is laden by the m^{r}chauntę resident here in *Bantam* of such and soe many ffardells of Cloothes and Pynthados as they shall appointe yo^{u} shall imbarke yor selues in her & by the helpe of m^{r} Ketch & his Company saile directlie wth yor said goodę for Banda vnlesse you touch in some place necessarie for yor refreshing and make no longe stay and haue espetiall care of yor saffetie and how you putt any man a land in any place for the people in those partes their wholle bodyes and mindę be all treason & therefore open yor eyes in this behalfe.

AND when god shall send you to Banda take a howse or howses for yor busines as you shall thinke most ffitt for the Companies best proffitt and make sale of yor Comodities alwaies advaunceing the price the best you may.

IN yor provision you shall make in Nutmeggę and maces haue you agreate care to receiue such as be good, for the smallest & Rotten nuttmeggę be worth nothinge at home, soe that their ffraight and principall will be lost. of Maces the fayrest and best will be soonest sould and to best Rekoningę.

ALSOE be carefull to gett together all the Cloues you can and vse all diligence to ꝑcure some 60 or 80 Tonns att the least & the rest of Nutmeggę & maces. All theis thingę must be carefullie husbanded wch you must haue a spetiall reguard vnto.

I MAKE accompte the Companie will fraight some 2 shipps for that place of the burthen of 600 Tonns more or lesse & therefore haue a care to get their ladinge in tyme and aforehand, that yt may be redie by such tyme as the shipps be wth you wch I hope will be Michaellmas come tweluemonneth or before, Yt doth greatlie ymporte you to be carefull and ꝑcure ladinge, for this is yor whole busines there & therefore ar yo^{u} sent.

ALSOE I would haue you to agree together loueinglie like sober men, for yor owne discordes yf you suppress them not will be to the m^{r}chaunte greate losse and hindrance and to yor owne vndoing. Therefore Gou^{r}ne yor selues soe that there be noe brabbles amonge you for any cause.

I HAUE appointed m^{r} Ketch to be an assistant to you in you^{r} busines and vse him as one of yor selues ymploying him in yor busines as you shall haue most neede.

IF you send him to any place lett yt not be farr of & wthout daunger of enymies for I would not haue him farr from you whatsoeu^{r} should befall, neither will I haue y^{t} he putt himselfe in any daunger.

ALSOE I doe appointe Thomas Tudd to be cheef ffactor and principall and the rest to be at his Comaund in this busines, next him I appointe Gabriell Towerson, and next Gabr: Towerson *Wm Chasse*, & nex Wittm *Chasse, Tho: Dobson*, and you *Tho: Tudd* I would haue you to take councell of the rest in all this busines that eu^{r}y mans advise may be geven to the benefitt of the voyadge.

ALSOE my will is that yf yt please god to call you Thomas Tudd out of this world then Comitt the busines, and yor place to m^{r} Towerson and yf you Gabr: Towerson die Comitt yor place to Wm Chasse, & yf yt fortune you Wittm Chasse to die Comitt the ffactory to m^{r} Ketch m^{r} of the pinnace, and yf he doe chaunce to die lett him Comitt yt to Thomas Dobson.

ALSOE I haue geven order to the ffacto^{rs} heare to supplie you wth 500 royalls of 8 because we knowe not what neede you may haue, & haue a care to yor money & dispose yt not till greate occasion serue.

AND for the paying of yor Companie their wage, doe yt sparinglie & remitt soe much as you cann till their retourne, but when necessitie requireth rather doe yt in Comoditie then money yf you in yor discrecõns see such occasion.

I WOULD haue you to paie noe wage to *Thomas* the barber, and fitt him wth Clothes meete not to exceede in any thinge for he is an other mans prentise & seeketh onelie to wast his masters.

ALSOE I would haue you Tho: Tudd to keepe the Accompte of all such busines as shall passe.

p me[1] Tho: Tudd
p Ga: Towerson
p Wm Chasse.

LRES into the East Indies from the Company in December 1603.

Laus dei in London the 2 of decemb 1603.

To or loueing freind Mr Wm Starkie English mrchaunt Resident att Bantam.

AFTER or verie hartie Comendacons: yor seurall tres of the 10th of Nouember & the 16th of ffebruarie 1602 the one dated at Achem, the other att Bantam, we haue recd wth the Accompte therein mencioned, wheareby we doe pceaue the state of or busines left vnder yor chardge, whearein we pray God to blesse & prosp you, to thend wth all good success & saffe retourne that we may therewth Congratulate yor comeing into yor owne Country and more pticulerlie be informed of the state of the trade wth mutuall Conference wth you, then yt is possible we should be by the intercourse of or tres. At yor depture out of England you may remember the state of or Countrie was troubled in the Cause of the deceassed Earle of Essex since whose death and yor depture hence God hath taken away or late Queene, & although therein he visited this kingdome wth a Capitall triall, yet he left vs not thereby in any garboile[2] or trouble, but instantlie vpon the death of the Queene, wth sollempne pclamacon first in diuers places in London & afterwarde in the seurall Counties of the Realme was

[1] Lancaster's copy of these instructions (from which most probably the present copy was made), would have been signed in this way by the persons addressed, as an acknowledgment that they had made themselves acquainted with its contents.

[2] Tumult or uproar.

"Look here, and at thy sovereign leisure, read
The garboils she awaked."—(*Antony & Cleopatra*, Act I, Sc. 3.)

ꝑclamed kinge of England Iames the first before kinge of Scottꝭ wth soe generall a Consent that noe oppoticõn or question was once ꝑticularlie made to the Contrarie, & theirby this kingdome soe peaceablie established that this wonderfull blessinge of god upon vs, was Admired by all the neighbors kingdomes adioyneinge: Notwthstandinge since as tymes haue their chandgꝭ and as god doth many tymes humble his people lest they should forgett them selues in prosperitie, yt hath pleased him to chastice this kingdomes wth greate sicknes & mortalitie in diuers placꝭ thereof espetiallie in the Cittie of London where there hath died betweene the 7 of December 1602 & the first of december 1603 . 38138. people, wthin the Cittie of London & the liberties & subvrbes of the same, & as may appeare by the Bills of the weeklie reporte of people deceased their died in one weeke in the Cittie liberties & subvrbes 3385 ꝑsons by occasion of wch mortalitie trade hath vtterlie ceased wthin the Cittie for almost this halfe yeare, & mrchauntꝭ & all others of any estate and Accompt haue deꝑted into the Countrie: yet now god be thanked, doe resorte vnto the Cittie againe the Contagion being well seased, soe as the nomber that now die of al diseases in the Cittie & subvrbs are aboute 200 a weeke The wch sicknes and Contagion, as yt hath pleased God in some good measure to abate soe we beseech him for his mrcies sake vtterlie to take away & remoue in his good tyme. And touching or shipps they are all God be thanked retourned in saffetie, & their goodꝭ in good Condicõn, howsoeur the tyme & greate quantitie of goodꝭ of the same kinde brought from the Indies by the Hollenders yealdeth but slowe sale and vtteraunce of them. But we hope for better oportunities of sale when men may freelie and saffelie resorte to the Cittie. The meane while our trade being to be Continued & followed, we are preparing wth all speede or fower shipps to retourne againe to the Indies and to set forward in their voyadge, aboute 2 monnethes hence by godꝭ assistaunce at the furdest, therefore doe vse the oportunitie of this Conveyaunce[1] to pray you to ꝑforme all care and expedicõn that such lading as is or shall be prepared by the order of Sr Iames Lancaster our late generall left wth you att Bantam for the

[1] These letters were taken out by a Dutch fleet, which reached Bantam in December, 1604.

reladeing of o^r^ shipps homeward may be made redie that the shipps be not occasioned to staie for their ladeinge, and that you ꝑvse dilligentlie his instruccõn sent herew^th^, and that you will be carefull that the pepꝑ Cloues & Nuttmegge be well clensed of dust before the be laden abourd for the dustines of them beside the pesteringe and chardginge of the shipp wth vnproffitable dust, the Comoditie is disgraced by the vncleannes of yt, and we are desirous that reguard be had as farr as possible may be, that the pepꝑ be lardge and smooth & that the Nutmegge be clensed from Rumps, & that noe Comoditie be brought from soe longe avoyadge, that shall not be cleane & Comend yt selfe. And thus much together wth yor good care wherevpon we relie shall suffice for advise touching the p^r^paringe of the goode to be retourned. And as conc^r^ning yor ꝑticular mocõn wherein you referr yor selfe to o^r^ Conference wth m^r^ Wittms & Raph Allen, we purpose to take a tyme before the comeing away of o^r^ shipps to Confer wth them therein before the comeinge away of o^r^ shipps, who haue beene all this tyme of sicknes in the Countrie, & are not yett retourned to London. And thus for this time we forbeare any further to enlardge, onelie wishinge you both for yor owne ꝑticuler to haue a reguard to the climate wherein you liue & soe to haue a care of yor health, & to remember & admonish others that are wth you, to doe the like, & soe comend o^r^ selues & all you and yor busynes to the prouidence of God whoe guide you and yor accõns in his feare Amen.

To o^r^ loueinge freind m^r^ Tho: Morgan English marchaunt Resident att Bantam the 2 of December 1603.

AFTER o^r^ hartie Comendacõns. Yo^rs^ of the 17th of ffebruarie 1602 We haue rec^d^ o^r^ shipps being all retourned thanke be to God saffe & their goode in good Condicõn. The tyme heare by reason of agreat mortalitie & Contagion of the plaggue in diuers places of the Realme, & espetiallie in the Cittie of London hath beene verie vnsesonable for trade all marchaunte & others of any accompt haueing deꝑted the Cittie all the sommer in wch tyme there died betweene

the 17th of December 1602 & the 10th of December 1603[1] to the nomber of 38138 ꝑsons wthin the Cittie liberties and subvrbs thereof, But god be thanked the Contagion is very well seased, & there dieth not now of all diseases aboue 200 a weeke whereas there died in one weeke this sommer to the nomber of 3385 ꝑsons & neare the nomber of 3000 dyvers weekes togither. Beside this visitacon [God] tooke away vpon the 24th of March last or late Queene yet did he not leaue vs wthout a souereigne for even the same daie was proclamed or kinge Iames the first before kinge of Scotts whose proclamacon had noe one mouth that gaine said him, an entraunce and succession admired by all the kingdomes aboute vs, god blesse him & giue him a prosperous reigne our vs. The state of or trade being by Godes prouidence thus prosperouslie begunn, & we purposeing by Gods grace to retourne or 4 shipps back agayne for the fetching home of the rest of or goods & to Continue furder trade into the pts of the East Indies according to the ffactory begunn by or Generall Sr Iames Lancaster we haue thought yt meete to giue you to vnderstand that or shipps shall godwillinge be redie to departe hence att the furdest wthin theis 2 monnethes, & therefore we pray [you] according to the direccon and remembraunce left wth you by the said Sr Iames & now renued by him in his tres sent by this Conveyaunce, to prepare & make redie the goods appointed for their retourne, that the shipps be not occasioned to stay longe vpon their ladeinge. And for such goods as are prouided as pepp of the smoothest & lardgest sorte Cloues & Nutmeggs we pray you to haue acare to clense them & free them as much as ys possible from dust & the nutmuggs from Rumps that the Comodities wch shall be retourned be cleane, wch doth much Comend the sale of them, & besids yt doth free or shipps of an vnproffitable burthen wch would fill vpp the bulke that might bestowe in place there of Comoditie of value. You may conceiue our desier wch is yt or goods be laid abourde cleane & in good Condicon wherein we referr or selues to yor care thereof. And for yor mocon touching yor entertaynemte and Continuance in or ymploymt we would willinglie haue aunsweare[d] yor desier by theis or tres, but mr Kenton being by reason of the sicknes not

[1] These dates differ from those given in the preceding letter.

yett retourned or setled in the Cittie we could not haue tyme to Conferr wth him therein, but must referr you vntill the comeing of or shipps by wch we will advise what hath passed in or Conference in that matter And being desierous to giue you all good Contentmt, doe purpose to send you such provysion of Oile & wyne for yor health & Comforte as you haue writt for. Praying you to be carefull of yor selfe and to haue a reguard to the Quesines of that Clymate & aire. And soe wishing you all good successe in yor busynes we Comitt you to God.

A lre from the Lo: Threr the last of Nouember 1603.

AFTER[1] or hartie Comendacõns whereas there hath beene alredie proponed by me the L: Thrẽr in the behalfe of the kinge matie to you the Gourno r & Company of Aduenturers trading [into] the East Indies theis three thinge Ensuynge, first that although his matie by vertue of his princelie prrogatiue maye lawfullie restraine the sale of yor pepp latelie brought frome the East Indies vntill his owne Bulke & Masse of pepp now remaineing att Leaden Hall be first sold and vented, as by his maties learned Councell his highnes hath beene fullie resolved yet neurthelesse such is his maties gratious favor & inclinacõn towardes you, haueing respect to yor soe worthie Adventure made & greate Chardges susteyned in this last longe voyadge by you sett forth, soe much for the Honor of his matie & the publique good of the Realme as he is pleased to forbeare the vsinge of his prrogatiue for this tyme, & to omitt his owne proffitt to giue meanes of benefitt vnto you. Secondlie that there should be a ioynt sale of his maties pepp and a like quantitie of yors, & soe to be vttered & sold together equallie & not otherwyse. Thirdlie yf you should thereof mislike then you to buy his maties pepp at some reasonable rate to be agreed vpon. Now for as much as we vnderstand that like as you doe humblie and thankfullie acknowledge his maties greate favor towarde you, in not pressing his said prerogatiue

[1] For the previous correspondence see pp. 27-32.

vpon you. Soe you haueing considered of the two other offers, you doe wth all humblenes and thankefullnes embrace the second, namelie to conioyne in sale wth his highnes being not able as you pretend to proceede wth the latter, wch is to buy the whole, Theis are therefore to signifie vnto you that his Matie being informed of theis thingꝭ, is well pleased to allow of yor said choise namelie of a Ioynct sale aswell of his ma^{ties} peppꝑ as of yo^{rs} in a ꝑportionable quatitie together. And for the better accomplishing of the same aswell for the kingꝭ benefitt as yor owne behoofe, wee haue thought good to recomend the whole ordering and manageinge of this busines to yor good diligences, Cares, & discrecõns praying and requiring you to assemble yor selues together, & to Consider of some such Course for the Carriadge of the same as may produce good effect of some spedie & reasonable benefitt vnto both, ffor the ffurtheraunce of wch wee thinke y^{t} requisite first that there be an Inhibition gen^{r}all that noe peppꝑ should be brought into this kingdome, by either English or Straunger vntill the said peppꝑ proportionablie agreed vpon as is aforesaid to be sold be first vented, Secondlie y^{t} all such peppꝑ as is alredie brought in either by Straungers or English out of the lowe Countries or from the straightꝭ should be sequestred lykewyse from sale. Thirdlie that a present Survey be made of all such peppꝑ as you the Adventurers haue alreadie deliu^{r}ed or shall deliu^{r} vpon the diuident to ꝑticular Adventures of yor Company wth spetiall chardge that noe ꝑte thereof be sold vntill his ma^{ties} ꝑte And yo^{rs} ꝑportionablie be first vttered. Prouided alwayes that yt may be lawfull for any to transport peppꝑ out of this Realme at their pleasure. And yt seemeth alsoe most iust & reasonable that strict order be taken wth the Grocers that they buye noe peppꝑ but his ma^{ties} and yo^{rs} the same being whollsome & saleable peppꝑ & to that end that a present surveie be made of such store & quantitie as the said grocers now haue vpon their handꝭ. Theis pointꝭ we haue thought ffitt to remember vnto you & that we maye wthall speede be adu^{r}tised from you aswell of yor opinion in theis thingꝭ as of such other matters whatsoeu^{r} as you shall thinke requisite to be further added and deuised for the better accomplishinge of this service, whereof soe soone as we shall haue significacõn we shall p^{r}sentlie giue order for the speedie expedicõn thereof as

appꝑteyneth Soe we bid you hartelie farewell from the Courte att Wilton the the last of Nouemƀ. 1603.

Yo^r^ verie loueing freindę

Suffolke	Buckhurst	E Worcester
Cumƀland	Devonshire	W: Knollys
HHoward	Ro: Cecill	E Wotton
Stanhope	I ffortescue	I Popham

RIGHT hon: o^r^ duties most humblie remembred: we haue accordinge to yor Lo^s^: Commission to vs directed mett and Conferred together of some course to be taken touching the sale of his ma^ties^ pepꝑ & haue examined the meanes ꝑpounded by yor LL: [(]being pleased to forbeare to put in vre his ma^ties^ p^r^rogatiue) how the said meanes will sorte wth the sale of his ma^ties^ pepꝑ & vpholdinge of the Companie. W^ch^ we finde must eyther stand or fall by such a moderac̄on as is to be carried herein, and fallinge into Considerac̄on of the first offer of favo^r^ to the said Companie mencioned in yor l^ps^ Lres wch was that a ioynct sale of his ma^ties^ pepꝑ wth a like quantitie of the Companies pepꝑ should be vttered and sold to gether equallie & not otherwyse. Wee finde in the Examinac̄on of that Course theis ꝑticuler ympedim^t^ę followinge first agreate quantitie of the Companies pepꝑ alredy disposed into many handę by a gen^r^al diuident agreed vpon amongst them selues before yor ll: t̄res came to o^r^ handę, besidę other great quantities of pepꝑ brought out of the lowe Countries and both of them soe passed from hand to hand from the m^r^chaunt to the Grocer & from the Grocer to the Chapman in the Countrey that by this meanes there is sufficient pepꝑ alreadie deliu^r^ed out abroade in the Cittie and Countrie, to forbeare any fur̕ther sale for one yeare att the least, soe as the vent of his ma^ties^ pepꝑ by a ioynt retayling sale wth the remaynder of the Companies pepꝑ cann noe way advaunce any some of money in Convenient tyme to his ma^ties^ vse, worthie the attending the Event of this course. W^ch^ being soe then their resteth onelie the other meane wch is the sale of the kingę pepꝑ to the Com-

The Companies aunsweare to th: ll^s^ lre.

panie, wherein we they Comitties on the said Companies behalfe doe humblie informe yor ll that the said Companie haue vpon their hande alredie soe greate a masse of pepp, that allbeyt eu^{r}y Adventurer thereof hath free libtie for the bringing in of 100^{li} of money to take out vC^{li} worth of pepper vpon his stocke to set forth a new voyadge to the East Indies to fetch home the remaynder of their goode there yet in reguard there is noe present sale thereof there is such drawing backe in pformeinge of this supplie that the voyadg hath not that expedicon wch weare Convenient. Wherevpon we thinke that soe many pticuler men of soe diuers condicon will hardlie be drawen to ingage them selues for their seu^{r}all proporcons of their adventures to inlardg anie furder somes to buie a Comoditie that is like to lie soe longe vpon their hande. Vpon the Consideracon of wch difficultie, and the vnlikeliehood that the Generallitie of the Companie will be drawen to enterteyne this bargaine, we thought yt not meete to call the Companie together to propound this mocon vnto them, least yt should not onelie receiue a deniall, but being a matter putt into soe many distasted humo^{rs} would be hardlie receiued and spoken off. We therefore seing noe present course to be followed that would bringe forth either benefitt to his ma^{tie} or the Company, though[t] ffitt to shewe to yor hono^{rs} vpon what ympedim^{t}e we rest, desyreing to be furder directed herein. And we the Comitties for the Company doe humblie adu^{r}tise yor ll that yf the preparacon of the voyadge be any way crossed by vrging the gen^{r}alitie wth further supplies of chardge, or hindring them in the vtteringe of their pepp diuided & to be devided amongst them before the deptinge of the ffleete wch will be aboute the end of ffebruarie, the voyadge will whollie be ou^{r}throwne wch may by yor Lo^{ps} ffavo^r be vphoulded both to the benefitt of the kinge and the good of the Comon wealth by this small tolleracon & the shipps being once sent away the Company will be redie in all dutie to submitt them selues to any Course that shall seeme beneficiall to his ma^{tie} for the venting of his pepp. And thus humblie resting at yor ll Comaundem^t & service we take our leaue London the 8th of Decemb 1603.

Yo^r Lo^{ps} humble att Comaund

Wm Rider Thomas Smyth gou^{r}no^r

Tho: Middleton	Wm Romeny[1]
Samu: Saltonested	Tho: Bramley dep:
Jo: Wolstonholme[2]	Tho: Cordall.

IAMES by the grace of God kinge of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland defendo^{r} of the faith &c: To the greate and mightie kinge of Bantam, & of the dominions & territories adioyning greetinge. Whereas the right of inheritaunce & possession of theis o^{r} kingdomes of England ffraunce & Ireland by the decease of o^{r} late deare Sister of ffamous memory is discended vpon vs, & ioyned to o^{r} other principalities & kingdomes wch we form^{r}lie enioyed, we being established & setled in the possession thereof haue received into

A lre from his ma^{tie} to the kinge of Bantam in the East Indies by Sr Henrie Middleton.[3]

[1] William, afterwards Sir William, Romeny, or Romney, haberdasher, was one of the original adventurers, and in September, 1599, was appointed treasurer of the proposed voyage. He was named a committee in the patent, and at the beginning of 1601 was chosen Deputy Governor of the Company. Two years later, he resigned this post on being made an Alderman. He was Sheriff in 1603-4, and in July, 1603, was knighted by King James. By the end of 1606, he had become Governor of the Company, but the actual date of his appointment is not known. His tenure of the post ended in July, 1607, when Sir Thomas Smyth became Governor. Romeny was nominated again in 1609, but was not elected. He died 25th April, 1611.

[2] John, afterwards Sir John, Wolstenholme, born in 1562, was a farmer of the customs, and a well-known merchant, being especially active in the promotion of voyages to the North-West. His name occurs in 1612 as a committee in the charter of incorporation of the Company of Merchants of London, discoverers of the North-West Passage; and two years later he is mentioned as having, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Smyth, paid Wright, the mathematician, to deliver courses of lectures. He was an original member of the East India Company, and in 1619 was made a committee. In July, 1628, he was nominated for Governor, but excused himself. He died 25th Nov., 1639.

[3] Sir Henry Middleton, brother of David and John Middleton, was in the *First Voyage* a factor "of the second sort." At Acheen Lancaster made him captain of the *Susan*, and sent him to Priaman, whence he carried home a cargo of pepper. He commanded the *Second Voyage*, and was knighted on his return in 1606. Four years later, he took command of the *Trades Increase* as general of the *Sixth Voyage*, from which so much was hoped. Much time was wasted in the Red Sea, where, for a time, Middleton was a prisoner at Mocha; and even after he had escaped and had carried his ships to Surat, he returned to exact compensation for the ill-

or handℯ vpon the retourne of Sr Iames Lancaster & other of or subiectℯ from yor maties kingdomes & territories wth their shipps & marchandize, not onelie yor Princelie ꝉres directed and sent to or said deceased Sister, but alsoe yor kinde present wch did accompanie the same holding or selfe after her deaceased interressed therein by the right of or Crowne & Septer. Vpon the ꝑvsall of wch ꝉres we weare possessed wth noe small ioye, that yor matie had soe gratiouslie accepted the Comeing of or subiectℯ into yor dominions and kingdomes & soe fauorablie and Royallie delt wth them whilest they aboade & Contynued theare in traffique wth yor subiectℯ: Of all wch ffavors & other yor maties princelie ꝑceedingℯ wth them or said subiectℯ, Sr Iames Lancaster hath made vnto vs verie lardge & ample relac̃on. This Introducc̃on being made into a mutuall amitie & entercourse betweene yor matie & vs, we are desirous to Nourrish & Contynue the same by all good meanes and oportunities that may be thought vpon or conceiued on or ꝑte. And to that end we haue geven lycence to diurs of or subiectℯ to prepare & sett forth a new voyadge towardℯ yor Countries and kingdomes, amongest wch manie of them wch were in the former voyadge are desirous for the good & honorable vsadge they formerlie founde by yor princelie favor to visitt the same againe: others vpon their reporte are encouradged, notwthstanding the longe & daungerous Nauigac̃on to see the state & manner of behavior of people in Countries farr remote. Theis Considerac̃ons moueing both vs & or Subiectℯ to visitt yor maties Countries with lawfull & peaceable traffique of mrchandize, we doubt not but your matie will be well pleased therewth, & not onelie soe, but wth the Continuanc[e] of an entercourse from yeare to yeare of or mrchauntℯ wth their shipps & goodℯ into yor kingdomes; whome we dare be bold to Com̃end to

treatment previously received. After an ineffectual blockade of the Turkish ports, he was compelled to abandon his purpose, and sailed for Tecco, in Sumatra. Thence he proceeded to Bantam, from which port Downton was sent home with the *Peppercorn.* The *Trades Increase*, which had excited so much admiration at the time of her launch under royal auspices, was by this time worn out and leaky, and had to be beached at Bantam, where she was afterwards set on fire by the natives and completely destroyed. Middleton, who had remained at Bantam after Downton's departure, died there on 24th May, 1613, worn out and "hartesore" at the ill-success of his expedition.

yor matie for a people Civill and iust in their dealeing and trade & euery way as able to furnish yor matie & yor people wth all such Comodities wch this parte of the world doth yeald, or affordeth as any Nacõn or people whatsoeur wch heretofore haue made trade or traffique wth yor people. And because a Capitulacõn & establishing of Amitie, [and] entercourse to be contynued betweene yor matie and vs cannot convenientlie be ꝑformed by discourse of ƚres or seurall kingdomes being so farr distant & remote thone from the other. We therefore pray yor matie to giue eare therein to this bearer & to giue him Creditt in whatsoeur he shall vndertake or promyse in or name concerninge the same wch we promyse for or ꝑte in the wordꝭ of a prince shall be ꝑformed, and will be redie gratefullie to requite any loue kindnes or favor that or said Subiectꝭ shall receiue at yor maties handꝭ. And in token of or Princelie loue to yor matie, we send you by this bearer a remembraunce & kindnes, wch we pray you to accept as from one that wisheth vnto you all good successe, & happines. And soe Comend yor matie to the tuicõn of the most highe God.

Note that the kinge writeth him not brother. And that another ƚre was now alsoe written from the kinge to some other Prince in those ꝑtꝭ of The tenor of that formrlie from Queene Elizabeth.[1]

IAMES by the grace of God kinge of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland defendor of the faith &c: Trustie and welbeloued Henrie Middleton Esquier & to or trustie and welbeloued xpofer Colthurst[2] Gentleman greetinge. Wheareas diuers of or loueing subiectꝭ att their owne Adventures Costes and chardges aswell for the honor of this or Realme of England as for the encrease and advauncemt of trade & mrchandize

A Comission from his matie to Sr Henry Middleton

[1] See page 19.

[2] Commanded the *Hector* in the *Second Voyage*. At Bantam he was transferred to the *Assention*, in which he made a successful voyage to Banda, and subsequently returned to England in company with the *Dragon* and *Hector*.

wthin the same did heeretofore sett forth a voyadge to the East Indies wth c^{r}teyne shipps and Pynnacꝭ by way of marchandizeinge, by wch shipps & Pynnacꝭ they haueing discou^{r}ed and begun to settle a trade in some ꝑte of the said East Indies. And their shipps being retourned from thence laden wth sundrie marchandize brought from those partes they the said m^{r}chauntꝭ intendinge to frequent those Countries of the East Indies by Continuing the trade alredie discou^{r}ed and begon & endevo^{r}inge further discou^{r}y of trade of those partꝭ for the more ample vent of the Natiue Comodities of o^{r} kingdomes, & retourninge from the places of their discou^{r}y of such necessarie Comodities as shall be of spetiall vse & benefitt both to vs & o^{r} subiectꝭ are in hand to prepare and make redie their said shipps latelie retourned from the East Indies & and to sett them forth againe for a new voyadge. And wheareas the said m^{r}chauntꝭ haue chosen you the said Henrie Middleton to be principall Gou^{r}no^{r}, or Generall, and you the said x̄pofer Colthurst to be Leiuetenaunte Generall of all the m^{r}chauntꝭ Marriners and other o^{r} subiectꝭ wch are or shall be shipped in any of the said shipps. We gratiouslie favo^{r}ing their intended voyadge, & approueing & allowinge of their choyse of you to the said Gou^{r}nm^{tc} being desierous to furnish you, wth all ffitt & Convenient power & aucthoritie to rule & Gou^{r}ne all & eu^{r}y o^{r} subiectꝭ imployed in this voyadge by a due obedience to be by them yealded, vnto you in obserueing & executeinge of all such good orders & Constitucõns as you shall thinke Convenient to ordeine & appointe for the ffurtheraunce of the said voyadge to the hono^{r} of vs and o^{r} kingdomes, & for the advauncem^{t} of the said trade. We doe heereby straightlie chardge and Comaund all & eu^{r}y ꝑson & ꝑsons ymployed vsed or shipped in this voyadge, in any of the said ships, to giue all due obedience & respect vnto you dureing the said voyadge, & to beare them selues therein one towardes another in all good order & quietnes for avoideing any occasion that might breede Mutinie, quarrells or discention amongest them to the hindraunce of the good suckcess wch is to be hoped for by Godꝭ prouidence of the said intended voyadge, & in default of such dutie and obedience to be ꝑformed towardes you & for the correccõn & quenching of all such Mutenie quarrells or dissention, that shall or maye growe or be moued by the

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disorder, euill dispoticõn or ꝑversnes of any of the said ꝑsons. We doe heereby aucthorize you Henrie Middleton Gen^{r}all dureing the said voyadge or dureing soe longe tyme as you shall liue in the said voyadge. And in Case of yor decease wch God forbid, we doe then likewyse hereby aucthorize you the said Christopher Colthurst to chastice correct and ponnish all Offenders and Transgresso^{rs} in that behalfe according to the qualitie of their Offences wth such ponishm^{t} as are Comonlie vsed in all Armyes by Sea when the offences are not capitall. And for Capitall Offences as wilfull murder wch is hatefull in the sight of God, or mutenie wch is an offence that maie tend to the ou^{r}throue of the said voyadge, the same being trulie & iustlie proued agaynst any of the ꝑson or ꝑsons aforesaied. We doe hereby giue vnto you the said Henrie Middleton during all the tyme of the said voyadge, or dureing soe long tyme as you shall liue in the said voyadge. And in Case of yor decease we doe giue to you Christopher Colthurst full power and aucthoritie to vse and putt in execution o^{r} lawe called Martiall in that behalfe and theis o^{r} ťres shall be vnto you sufficient warrante and dischardge for the doing & executeinge of all & singuler the p^{r}misses. And forasmuch as at this present tyme wee are in Amitie wth all x̄ptian People & are vnwilling that any of o^{r} subiectꝭ should giue occasion of breach or hindraunce of that league or Amitie wch we hold wth any o^{r} Confederatꝭ ffreindꝭ or Allies and because we are not ignorant of the Emulacõn and Envie that doth accompany the discou^{r}y of Countries and trades, & of the quarrells and contencõns wch doe many tymes fall out betweene the subiectꝭ of diu^{r}s Princes y^{t} meete the one wth the other in fforraine and ffarr remote Countries, in the Course & ꝑsecuteinge of their discou^{r}ies, and being desirous y^{t} o^{r} subiectꝭ should forbeare to moue or begin any quarrell or contencõn vpon the subiectꝭ of o^{r} Confederatꝭ ffreindꝭ or Allies either in the ꝓceedinge or retourne vpon or from any of their voyagꝭ. Wee therefore doe hereby straightlie chardge & Comaund you Henrie Middleton & you x̄ptofor Colthurst, & all others vnder yor Gou^{r}nm^{t}, that neither in your voyadg outwarde or homeward nor in any Countrie Iland Porte or place where you shall abide or come during the tyme of yor being abroade out of o^{r} kingdomes or dominions where you

may meete wth any the subiectꝭ of the kinge of Spaine or of any other of or Confederatꝭ ffreindꝭ or Allies, their shipps vessells goodꝭ & mrchandize, you doe attempt or goe aboute to sett vpon take or surprise their ꝑsons shipps vessells goodꝭ or mrchandize or offer any iniurie or discourtesie vnto them, vnlesse you shall first by them theareuvnto iustlie be ꝑvoked or driuen in the iust defence of yor owne ꝑsons, yor shipps vessells goodꝭ or mrchandizes as you will Aunswere to the Contrarie at yor vttermost ꝑills. In witnes whereof we haue caused theis or ƚres to be made Pattentꝭ witnes orselfe att Westminster the 3 daie of March in the first yeare of or Reigne of England ffraunce & Ireland & of Scotland the Seaven & Thirteth.

A COMISSION sett downe by vs the Gourmor the Deputie & Comitties of the East India Companie to or loueing ffreindꝭ mr Henrie Middleton Generall of the mrchauntꝭ marrinors & others ymployed by vs in this present intended voyadge, being or second voyadge to the East Indies & to mr x̄ptofer Colthurst, mr Roger Style[1], mr Wiƚƚm Kealinge[2] & mrs or principall mrchauntꝭ and ffactors in the said voyadge, & eurr of them respectiuelie, as the direcc̄ons & instrucc̄ons of this or prsent Comission maye Concerne their seurall places of trust wherein the are ymployed the wch voyadge Almightie god in his mercie make prosperous.

WHEAREAS we haue vpon a spetiall conceite of yor

[1] Third factor on the *Assention* in the *First Voyage*. Commanded the same ship in the *Second Voyage*, until Bantam was reached, when he was removed to the *Hector*. He died shortly after, in March, 1605.

[2] Commanded the *Susan* in the *Second Voyage* as far as Bantam, when he was removed to the *Hector* (upon the death of Styles) for the homeward voyage. Upon his return he was placed in command of the ships of the *Third Voyage*, the *Dragon* being his flag-ship. In 1615 he commanded another voyage on account of the *First Joint Stock*, upon an agreement that he was to remain chief commander in the Indies for five years (*O. C.* 369). He returned to England about two years later, and in 1618 obtained the appointment of Captain of Cowes Castle. He died towards the end of 1620.

wysedome, discrecõn & good gou^{r}nm^{t}, made choyse of you m^{r} Henrie Middleton to be principall Gou^{r}no^{r} & Generall of o^{r} ffleete & haue submitted to yor Comaund the ꝑsons of all the marchauntꝭ Marriners & others ymployed in the seu^{r}all shipps thereof wch shipps we haue fitted and furnished wth all necessaries not onelie meete for the voyadge but such as you could require or wish to be supplied wth yor full Contentm^{t}.

1 The Compa: inducem^{t} to make choise of theis ꝑsons.

WEE therefore expect on yor parte, such a ꝑformaunce & carrying of this Gou^{r}nm^{te} Comitted to yor Chardge as may not onelie Confirme vs in that hope and good conceipt wch induced vs to the choyse of yo^{u} to this ymploym^{t} but may add vnto yor selfe an encrease & advancem^{t} of yor owne reputacõn, wch noe doubt you may effect, obserueing this moderacõn in yor said Gou^{r}nm^{te} soe to Comaund as you may be both loued and feared, not vsing aucthoritie to worke yor private respect or revenge but studieing and endevo^{r}inge to bringe this longe and Tedious voyadge to a ꝑfitable end, wth care of the saffetie, health & Comforte of yor people & vsing yor industrie to recompence soe greate a Chardge of ꝑvisions and other burthens and expences borne in this voyadge wth a ꝑfitable retourne to the gen^{r}all state of the Companie.

2 To vse the assistaunce of c^{r}taine nominated.

AND that you may the better ꝑceede in an vnfallable hope of agood yssue of yor endevo^{rs} we wish and exhorte you first to depend Confidentlie vpon Godes ꝑvidence, & next ꝑpound to yor selfe the good example of yor late p^{r}dicesso^{r} Sr Iames Lancaster in the carryinge of the former voyadge. And forasmuch as noe man is soe absolute in his Course and direccõns for the manageing of any occasions of ymportaunce, but he May therein receiue light & espetiall helpe and furtheraunce by Conference wth others, Therefore we haue for yor Assistaunce & helpe the better to vndergoe the Chardge of o^{r} busines made choyse of m^{r} x̄ptofer Colthurst, m^{r} Roger Style, m^{r} Wiłłm Keeleing, m^{r} Robert Browne[1] & m^{r} Edward Highlord,[2]

[1] Left at Bantam by Middleton as second in rank to Towerson. He appears to have returned to England at some date after March, 1610, and went out again in the *Seventh Voyage* with Captain Hippon. He died off Masulipatam, 8th Sept., 1611.

[2] Purser of the *Red Dragon* and afterwards of the *Assention* in the *First Voyage*.

as o^{r} principall m^{r}chauntꝭ ymployed in this voyadge to be readie wth their advice & aide to assist you in any thinge that may belonge to the same whome we pray and requier you not onelie to heare but loueinglie & kindlie to vse and respect soe as by yor kinde Conversac̄ōn mutuallie vsed & had the one wth the other there maye growe betweene yo^{u} in soe firme a vnitie as shall be subiect to noe Iarr or distaste wherein yf you linke together, all thingꝭ will passe wth felicitie and Contentm^{t} otherwyse yf there fall amongst you Envie emulac̄ōn or disagreem^{t} there is noe hope of good successe of the voyadge but apparant hazard to the ou^{r}-throw of the same. & this shall suffice for o^{r} generall advise vnto you for such a moderac̄ōn of gou^{r}nm^{te} to be ꝑformed on yor ꝑte as may breede a good affec̄c̄ōn towardes you in those that are submitted vnto yor Com̃aund.

3 Dalie prayer to be vsed by the wholle Companie.

AND to thend that the wholle Companie Comitted to yor chardg may ꝑforme that due obedience & respect vnto you wch is ffitt to be yealded to their Gou^{r}no^{r} or Generall, we doe herein ꝑpound vnto you the care of the due execution of that principall meane wch draweth all Christians to Conformitie and submission to such as are set ou^{r} them wch is the dayly invocac̄ōn & religious wo^{p}: & service of God, requiring you to take order that c^{r}teine houres & tymes in eu^{r}y day may be sett aparte for publique prayer & calling vpon the name of God, that like orders wth penalties to be seu^{r}elie published & sett vpp in eu^{r}y shipp agaynst the blasphemeing of the name of god, & all Idle and filthie Comunicac̄ōn: That all vnlawfull gameinge especialie dice play may be abolished as that wch ꝑcureth not onelie the blasphemeing of the name of God, but Envie and quarrellinge frome whence many tymes ꝑceedeth murders or att the least the impou^{r}ishinge and vndoinge of many of the poore vngou^{r}ned Marriners, who by the lib̃tie of dice playe loose their whole wages of the voyadge as yt is not vnknowne vnto you, by the practise of diuers in the last voyadge who to furnish them selues wth money in that vnthrifftie ymploym^{t} ingaged them selues to pay 3 for 1 vpon their retourne, & thus haueing wasted

He went out again in the succeeding expedition, and, while the ships were at Bantam, was promoted to the command of the *Susan*. This vessel foundered on her way home, and all on board perished.

their wagę by such vnthriftie meanes went aboute to laye a scandall vpon the Companie, alledgeing they were oppressed by necessitie in the voyadge to enter into those excessiue vsurious Contentę[1] to mayntayne their liues.

4 To keepe Comp: one with another.

YOU haueing thus sett an order to be obserued in eury shipp both for the service of God, & the Civill behavior of the Company amongest them selues, then for the better Assistaunce strength & Comfort that the whole ffleete may take one of another by keeping Company together through out the wholle voyadge vntill you come into the East Indies into the porte or Haven of Bantam, where you are to take order wth the mrs & Companie of eury shipp by the best observacõns & direccons wch you shall in yor Conference together agree vpon that you deꝑte not out of sight one of another soe longe as you may possiblie keepe together to thend that yf any of you should be any way distressed vpon any occasion you may be releued and Comforted by the Assistaunce of some of yor Consortę not being farr of. And yf you shall happen to be seꝑated by ffowle weather & cannot recouer the sight one of another in shorte tyme, yf yor separacõn or dispersinge happen to be before you come to Iland of May[2] then lett that Iland be the place of yor repaier or rendevous, that you may be drawen agayne together in Companie & there to staie one for an other 7 or 8 daies, & haueing made staie there soe longe & the Company missing, not being Come thither, then to deꝑte forwardes on the voyadge, leaueing some apparent marke behinde you that you haue beene at the said Iland, as by raysing some heape of Stones together, setting vpp of a stake or marke and leaueing there *some lre* in or neare the place wch may be found by them as shall come after, whereby they may knowe that the other shipp or shipps are past that place. And yf yor seperacõn be beyond the Iland of May then yor Rendevous to be att the Iland of St Lawrence. And yf

5 Warlike guard to be kept in watering or refreshing men &c:

you shall be occasioned to land in any place for fresh water, or to refresh yor men yt shall behoue you to keepe good order, & discipline by warlike guarde for the saffetie of your Companie least they should be surprized and fall into daunger by our much Confidence and

[1] Contracts?

[2] Maio, one of the Cape Verd Islands.

securitie & the saffetie of yor ꝑsons being ꝑvided for then yor wholle Companie to be admonished to behaue them selues peaceably & Civillie towardes the people of that place, where you refresh for the supplie of yor wanteꝭ, & that they be alsoe exhorted to a moderacōn in feeding of fruiteꝭ & fresh victualls of that soyle, the wch by their intemperate & vnmoderate dyet, may breede inconveniences formerlie found by experience to be the losse of many mens liues. And in such place or places of refreshing you shall doe well to giue spetiall order to some men chosen & appointed to that end, to make the genrall ꝑvision bot of ffresh victualls & fruite for the whole ffleete whereby an equall repartition thereof may be made for the Company of eury shipp and that eury one be not wth[out] lymitacōn, to victuall hymselfe according to his intemperate appetite, and this order to be taken ꝑhibiting eury ꝑson vpon payne of seveare ponishmte that they doe not raunge and straggle after fresh victualls and fruiteꝭ but by such order as shall be prscribed vnto them.

6 refreshing by landing not to be vsed vpon light occasion.

VPPON such oportunities of necessarie landinge of yor people for refreshinge, wch by noe meanes we would haue otherwyse to be vsed vpon light occasion for that yt will greatlie hinder the voyadge wee doe requier you to giue order vnto the preacher to prepare him selfe to preach to the people being Come together out of the seurall shipps, makeing his choyse of such ffitt argumtꝭ & places of scripture as may be most agreable to the tyme and occasion whereby the whole Company may be exhorted and taught the better to carrie themselues in the genrall busynes. And that the preacher may haue the more Comforte in his mynistrie. we pray you be carefull that all due respecteꝭ be geven him, not onelie by yor selfe but by the wholle Company that his doctrine & exhortacōns by Contempt or neglect of his mynistrie retourne not wthout proffitt. for the place of yor refreshinge we wish yt to be the Iland of St Lawrence, but not at Saldania in any wyse for the inconveniences of that Iland noted vnto vs by men of good experience, & their causion geven vs to be ware of the daunger of that place wherefore we requier you to shun this place as or expresse order & will herein.

YOUR refreshing place being left & all oportunities taken

7 To goe thence to Bantam & to dispose of busines.

for thadmonishing of yor people both to the service of God wthout wch noe enterprize cann be prosperous and to the Civill & orderlie carryinge of them selues in the voyadge, & in all service thereto belongeinge they[1] you are to shape yor Course directlie for Bantam aforesaid. Att wch porte as soone as you shall arriue & that you may Convenientlie drawe yor selues together in Conference wth mr Wiłłm Starkey [or] the agent wch you shall finde theare succeedinge him in the busines. Then we doe requier you as god hath guided & brought you to yor expected & appointed porte, where you may enter into the disposeing of yor busines, that then you being Come to the mrchaundizeing porte of the voyadge you doe ꝑceede therein as followeth. Viz.

8 To advice and Conferr of ye state of the place: vsadge & all other Circumstances.

WEE DOE will and require you mr Henrie Middleton or Gouorno r or Genrall of the whole voyadge, & you mr xptofer Colthurst, mr Roger Style, mr Wiłłm Kealinge, mr Robt Browne & mr Edward Highlorde or principall mrchaunte for the disposeing of the mrchandises & traffique of yor saide voyadge that you advise & Conferr together wth mr wm Starkey, or wth whome soeur standeth in the place of the Agent resident att Bantam of the state of the place & of the vsadge that or Agent and ffactors haue receiued since they were left theare & of all other Circumstaunces that may concerne the saffetie and benefitt of the trade, wch being found to stand in good tearmes then you are to deliur or tres to or said Agent & wth his advise to deliur the kinge matics tres & present to the kinge of that place, & then to land all such moneys as are laden in or 4 seurall shipps viz 11160li 12s in Royalls of 8 whereof in the red dragon

9 To lande moneys

DRAGON ffiue Cheste Cont: 4000li in Royalls in 40 bagge

HECTOR, ffower Cheste cont: 3200. in Royalls in 32 bagge.

ASSENTION, three Cheste Cont: 2400 in Royalls in 24 bagge

SUZAN, twoe Cheste Cont: 1560$\frac{3}{5}$ in Royalls in 15 bagges.

[1] Then?

wch being done then to take informacon, from the Agent of the state of o^{r} busines left in his chardge what quantetie of ladeing he hath in aredines for the shipps causing cawsing the dust to be sifte from the pepꝑ, yf yt be not doene alredie vpod advise geuen

10 Garblers sent [to] that end by o^{r} former łres for wch purpose we send wth you garblers wth siues and ffanns to thend that o^{r} shipps should not be dischardged wth vnproffitable Comodities.

TO TAKE like informacõn what Comodities & how much

11 What Comodities fitt & what prouided att the Molloccos. ladinge is ꝑvided att the Molloccos conferringe wth o^{r} said Agent what shipps of o^{r} ffleete ar ffittest to goe for the Molloccos remembring that the Hecto^{r} and Assencõn are victualled for 24 monnethes: the experience of o^{r} said ffact[o^{rs}] gayned by their longe aboade att Bantam will well informe you how to ꝑceede in the sending of o^{r} shippinge to the Molloccos and for the ordering of the m^{r}chandize for that place.

THE ꝑvision for the ladeinge att Bantam being laden abourde

12 The ships laden & sent from Bantam for England whoe is to goe to the Molloccos & to what end. o^{r} shipps that are first to retourne for England & the Comaunders thereof shipped in the said shipps and those shipps p^{r}pared readie wch by you & the Agentꝭ shall be resolved vpon to goe for the Molloccos o^{r} direccõn is that you m^{r} Henrie Middleton to goe yor selfe in one of the said shipps to the molloccos takeing wth you such of o^{r} ffacto^{rs} to leaue to reside in the Molloccos & such stocke for their maynetaynaunce, as you shall vpon Conference together att Bantam agree vpon to remayne in their handꝭ for the mayntenance of them & the residue wch are alredie Resident att Bantam by their aboade theare, in wch space they may both learne the languadge of the Countrie, and dispatch such busines as they shall be by you appointed vnto: And we wish you to take wth you to Banda one or both of the garblers wth their instrm^{t}ꝭ and provisions to Clense the Cloues from dust and stalkes & the Nutmeggꝭ from Rumps and dust that o^{r} shipps be not pestered wth the dust or garble of theis kindꝭ of Comodities.

AND for that the voyagꝭ of this Condicõn & greate chardge cannot admitt any priuate trade, o^{r} will is that

noe particuler trade &c: pena[1] losse of neither yor selfe nor any others vpon any ꝑticuler

[1] Pœna.

the Commodities laden except &c:

or other Accompt then the gen^{r}all and ioynct stocke doe lade or be ꝑmitted to lade any of theis Comodities in o^{r} shipps *viz*: pepꝑ Cloues mace Nut mugꝭ China silke Indigo, Amber greece, muske, sivitt, Bezar stones Camphire, Beniamyn Burrace[1] or Synamon, but that what quantitie soeu^{r} of theis Comodities may be had or brought vpp shall be laden for the ioynt accompte of the Company vpon payne of the losse of eu^{r}y such Comoditie soe laden, & not laden vpon the ioynct Accompte. But yf vpon lycence demaunded of you the said Generall & you o^{r} said principall marchauntꝭ any m^{r}, marriner or others shall be desirous to lade some small ꝑporc̄on or quantitie of China dishes or light triffles not exceedinge the value of Three poundꝭ, or not beareing aboue the bulcke of a small chest Then we doe order that all such goodꝭ soe laden by yor privitie & lycence shall be entred into the Pursars Booke of such shipp wherein the same is laden to thend that yf any of them doe die by the waye their freindꝭ may enioye that wch is theirs according to their wills.

what goodes left in theast Indies since bought &c what moneys & debtes &c:

AND for the better remembraunce & instrucc̄on of you the said Gen^{r}all & of you the principall m^{r}chauntꝭ what goodꝭ were left behinde at Bantam, in the Comeing away of Sr Iames Lancaster out of the Indies & what hath beene ꝑuided since by the Agent there as by their advice sent vs since the comeing home of o^{r} shipps maye appeare. You shall vnderstand That Sr Iames Lancaster left att Bantā aboue 1500 baggꝭ of pepꝑ & by their l̄res sent from Bantam by the dutch shipps the agent wrote that he had ꝑuided 1500 baggꝭ more. And after Sr Iames gaue Comission to the Agent at his deꝑture from Bantam that yf the dutchmen were disposed to buie any of the Companies pepꝑ & and would giue good ꝑffitt for yt that then the Agent should sell yt & ꝑvide more for the Companie att better oportunitie & better rate vpon wch Comission soe left you maye inquire what hath beene done for the benefitt of the Companie.

[1] Borax; in Italian, *borrace*, Low Latin, *boracum*, and Arabic, *buraq;* all these forms being derived from the Persian *burah*. Borax, or "green earth," is the biborate of soda, imported, in its crude form, into India from Thibet under the name of tincal. Compare Balax, and Ballace, the Balas or spinel ruby, the *al Badakhsh*, and *Badakhshi* of the Arabs, imported into India from Badakhshan.

ITT doth alsoe appeare by the abbreuiate of the accomptℓ sent home out of the Indies that there remayned in the handℓ of the Agent mr Starkey 482 ffardells of Callicoes viz 8 Canisters of Pinthadoes[1] & 117 ffardells of Checkered stuffes 51 ffardells of long malow girdles[2] 59 ffs of girdles for *Sysan*,[3] 110 ffs of Iava girdles,[4] 13 Chestℓ of fine Pinthadoes 6 Chestℓ of diuers sortℓ of Comodities, 42 ffs of Browne Callicoes & in loose Pinthadoes, & in loose Pinthadoes by estimate made by Sr Iames Lancaster aboute 80 ffℓ att the least of all sortℓ soe

[1] "Pintadoes" were painted cotton clothes, that is chintzes [Sanskrit, *chitra*, "spotted," "variegated," as in *chitraka*, the "Cheeta" or "hunting-leopard," *Felis jubata;* and *chital*, the "spotted-deer," *Axis maculatus*] so called from the Portuguese *pinta*, "painted," literally "spotted," as in *pintado*, the "Guinea-fowl," and, indeed, any "spotted" bird; thus Fryer, in his *Travels* [1698], p. 12, writes: "Gaining upon "the East with a slow pace, we met those feathered harbingers of the Cape, as "*Pintado*-Birds, *Mangosaluedos*, *Albetrosses*."

[2] Malay girdles? Or may they possibly be girdles of "jute," the fibre of *Corchorus olitorius*, "Jew's Mallow" [*maluach* of Job xxx. 4] and *C. capsularis?* The *μολόχινα* [as if *ἱμάτια*] of Arrian's *Periplus of the Red Sea*, usually translated [see Vincent's *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients* (1807), vol. II, p. 116]: "Cotton cloths of the "colour of Mallow flowers," were possibly these very same "malow girdles" or jute cloth-pieces. If this is a true identification, it is a most interesting one. But I have never before met with the phrase "malow-girdles;" and Arrian is the only classical writer who uses the word *μολόχινα*. Plautus, in the *Aulularia* (III, 10), mentions "dyers in mallow colour,"—*molochinarii*.

[3] Siam; or possibly Syrian, a port of Pegu, sixty miles east of "China Bukheer," one of the delta mouths of the Irawadi.

[4] "Java girdles" are the chintzes called by the Javanese *batik*, *i.e.* "painted," or rather "delineated"; as the cotton cloth to be decorated, after first being covered with a film of wax, poured on at the boiling point, has the design literally delineated throughout it with a sharp-pointed style, before being dipped into the dye, which colours the cloth only where the wax has been removed by the style. Then, when the dye has been fixed, the remaining wax is melted off. Sometimes this process is repeated over and over again, with a different dye each time, thus producing wonderfully elaborate designs; but the most pleasing results are always obtained from a single application of it, as, for instance, in the spriggled *batiks*, with their simple floral patterns pencilled in monochrome on the natural cream-coloured surface of the cotton cloth. These so-called "Java girdles," including dress-pieces of all sorts, such as robes, mantles, veils, and also curtains, have been celebrated in India from the time of the first introduction of Hindu civilization into the Indian Archipelago; and in the play of *Málaté and Mádháva* [See Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus* (1871), vol. II. p. 74], attributed to the 8th century, A.D., are expressly referred to under the phrase *chitra-Javanika*, "*Javanese chintz*"; in this place the painted curtain, or *peplos*, suspended before the adytum of the temple into which, in the third act, Makaranda retires to make up his toilet as a female.

that there might be in all packꝭ & canister aboute 482 ffꝭ as aforesaid & in loose Callicoes so[m]e 30 ffꝭ soe as there appereth in the whole to be 512 ffꝭ since the dep̱ture of our shipps we vnderstand by their ɫres of the 15th of ffebruarie 1602 they had shipped [52 ffꝭ] for Banda in the Molloccos abourd or Pinnace[1] wch we trust arriued there in saffetie wthin shorte tyme after her dep̱ture from Bantam, vpon the p̱ceede of wch 52 ffꝭ yt is hoped by vs that there maie be sufficient wth a lardge ourplus to lade the 2 shipps we here appointed to the Molloccos wth mace, Cloues, & Nutmugꝭ soe that there remayned after the dep̱ture of the Pinnace from Bantam 452[2] ffꝭ or thereaboutꝭ Conteyneing the best & richest Comodities of the whole Complemte of the prize the other 52 ffꝭ sent to the molloccos being of the meanest & basest kindꝭ of the said prize goodꝭ wch greate remaynder of goodꝭ att Bantam of the best & greatest value cannot but vpon the p̱ceede thereof [make] readie before yor arrivall att Bantam great quantities of Comodities to be retourned from thence.

BESIDES all wch seurall quantities of goods before mencioned there remayned in the handꝭ of mr Starkey & the rest at the dep̱ture of the shipps homewardꝭ 4907 Royalls of Eight & in debtꝭ 3941. pecꝭ of 8 being Compassed in the same 77 baggꝭ of pepp̱ wch pepp̱ was recd into their Custodie soe as yf all the goodꝭ & money left wth them & that wch might & hath p̱ceeded thereof doe rest in saffetie you shall not onelie haue sufficient to lade yor fower shipps wth pepp̱ mace Cloues & Nutmugꝭ but as many more shipps of the like burthen besidꝭ the moneys wch you carrie alonge wth you in the shipps amounteing to 11160⅝li 12s in Royalls as aforesaid, wch moneys because you knowe that spices are heere of noe value we wish you to ymploy in some other Comodities that may be of more estimacõn & yeald a better p̱ffitt as rawe silke well Chosed & bought at resonable prices or such like Comodities wherewth theis partꝭ of Christendome haue not beene gluted as wth spices.

The 11160⅝li 12s to be ymployed not in spices but in other Commodities mor proffitable.

AND touching the said 11160⅝li in Royalls now sent in theis ships forsomuch as yt is a new supplie of stocke sent out vpon a new Aduenture, we will not haue

The 11160⅝li 12s not to be mixt in accompt

[1] See page 33. [2] 462.

wth the former Adventure & cause whie.

the same to be mixed in accompt wth the former adventure but doe requier you to keepe the accompt of the ymploymt hereof alone by yt selfe. And to the end that the same may be distinguished from the former accompte of the first Adventure we doe pray and requier you the said Genrall and principall mrchaunte by Conference and assistaunce of the ffactors resident both att Bantam & Banda to make a valuacon as neare as you cann of all the remaynder of the first stocke, what it may be worth to be sold, for that many of the Adventurers who are vnwilling to hange & Contynue longe in accompte vnpfect & vndetermined ar desirous to sell their remaynders of their stocke to such as will Continue the trade, and therefore a valuacon is to be conceiued & sent wth the retourne of theis shipps att any hand being a matter not onelie desiered by the genralitie but expreslie agreed vpon & Chardged vpon vs that haue the ordering of the busines to see yt pformed, wch chardge being not in vs to pforme we laye vpon you in whose power the pformaunce thereof lieth as you will aunsweare the neglect thereof.

what mr Starkey hath besides the former goodes &c: left att Bantam.

BESIDES the former pticulers of prize goode & moneys before mencioned there appeth further to rest in the hande of mr Starkey and the other ffactors 10 peeces of Clothes of diuers coullors Cont: 514 english yarde a· bason & Ewer of siluer poiz 102 oz, twoe standing Cupps poiz 63 oz whereof they are to giue you an accompt att yor being att Bantam.

What wood is to be prouided.

IFF those pte of the Indies doe yeald any good quantitie of Ibony ffarnando bucke[1] or such like heavie wood of value, you may pvide soe much thereof as will ballast yor shipps soe that the same take vpp

[1] Probably, as suggested by Mr. Bolton Corney, in his *Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton* (Hakluyt Society), Pernambuco-wood (called also Nicaragua-wood, Jamaica-wood, and peach-wood), an inferior kind of sappan, or brazil. Sappan is the wood of *Cæsalpinia Sappan*, a native of Southern India, its Tamil name being *shappu*, and its Malayalam name *shappannam*, both meaning "red." From the latter was formed its Malayan name *sapang*, and its Arabic name *bakkam;* while, translated into the terminology of the mediæval commerce of Europe, *shappannam* became "brazil," that is "blazing"-red-wood. Afterwards, a variety (*Cæsalpinia echinata*) of this brazil having been found in South America, its name was given to the vast country of the Brazils.

noe roome of stowinge that maye otherwyse be more ꝑfitablye ymployed.

AND forasmuch as we are not ygnoraunt that the mallice of the Portingalls towardꝭ o^r discou^ry of the trade to those ꝑtes will not lett him abstayne from all practices of annoyaunce wch lieth in his power to offer and ꝑforme to the trade of the Mollocos, who happilie[1] maye by some layinge of waight for the intercepting of o^r Penace sent to Banda depri[ue] vs of the ꝑvisions wch otherwyse that voyadge might supply vs wth all yf any such or other p^rventing accident hath happened: yet would we haue you to carrie in yor twoe shipps appointed for the Molloccos such quantitie of Pinthadoes moneys & other ꝑvisions as may suffice to lade the said twoe shipps.

To p^rvent the Portingalls mallice & what is to be carried to the Molloccos.

THUS we haue touched many ꝑticulers of o^r busines not wth standinge many other thingꝭ may occur wch may greatlie concerne vs, wch we must leaue to yor good Consideracõns to deale therein as time and occasion shall offer you occasion Comendinge vnto your care the state of such as shall fall sicke in the voyadge either outward or inward that they may be Comforted: And yf the die see that their goodꝭ may be kept in saffetie, and their wills & dispotition thereof soe well testified that there growe not theke[2] suspition of the truth of some of their wills as hath beene had of the wills of others that dyed in the last voyadge.

leaueing other thinges of the state of ye busines to Consideracon and the states & healthes of men &c:

AND forasmuch as the daies of mans lyfe are lymitted & the c^rtaine lymitacõn thereof onelie knowne vnto god, we doe heere by ordeyne & ꝑuide, that whereas we haue appointed & placed you the said Henrie Middleton in the Redd Dragon as Gen^rall or gou^rno^r of the wholle ffleete & you m^r xp̄tofer Colthurst as leiuetenant gen^rall and principall m^rchaunt in the Hecto^r & you m^r Roger Style o^r principall m^rchaunte in the Assencõn, & you m^r Willm Keeleinge another of o^r principall m^rchauntꝭ in the Suzan: yf therfore yt shall happen any of you to decease in this voyadge we doe ordeyne that he that in place & order by vs appointed to

Anie dieing others to be placed as they were first appointed & soe consequentlie &c:

[1] Haply. [2] The like.

goe as principall in eury shipp wch shall surviue the ꝑtie deceased shall & may by the appointemt of the Generall, shall[1] him selfe in the shipp out of wch the said ꝑtie did decease, and hold his place in the same shipp and the place that the ꝑtie deceased held genrallie in the voyadge and soe a succession to be held from the generall to the Leiuetenaunte from the leiuetenaunte to the principall mrchaunt placed in the Assencõn from the principall mrchant of the Assencõn to the principall mrchant placed in the Suzan: And yf yt shall happen all the principalls of the seurall shipps to decease (as god forbid[)] the like succession to holde & be kept by the seurall mrchaunt℮ appointed to hold the second places in eury the said shipps & soe in succession from one to another according as the seurall mrchaunt℮ hold place in eury shipp.

wheare mr Starkey shall be shipped yf he retourne home.

PROUIDED alwayes that yf mr Willm Starkey or Agent resident att Bantam doe come home in the retourne of the shipps then we doe requier you or generall & principall mrchaunt℮ to take espetiall order that he be ꝓvided for & placed in such shipp as he shall be shipped as a man that we hould to be had in good reguarde, & to be respected accordinglie and yf any of the principall mrchaunt℮ places fall voied by the death of any of them, or otherwyse, that then he supplie that place in his retourne homewardes.

mr Colthurst leauetenaunt to succeede mr Hen: Middleton genrall yf he decease vnto whome Comaund of the men shall be as in the genrall.

AND lastelie whereas his matie vnder his great seale of England hath appointed you the saied mr Henrie Middleton the generall and principall Gournor of all his subject℮ ymployed in the voyadge & you the saied mr x̄ptofer Colthurst to be leiuetenaunt genrall, And yf you the said x̄ptofer Colthurst surviue the said Henrie Middleton then to succeed him in the place of Gournor or Generall wthout appointing any further succession by like warrant to any that is ymployed in the said voyadge and that yt lyeth not in vs to giue to any of the residue of or principall mrchaunt℮ any warrant for the Correccõn of Offences by penall lawes to be executed vpon the bodies of any his maties subiect℮, we doe in that behalfe as to men haueing

[1] Apparently written in error for "ship."

reason and discrecõn & to men that feare god offer vnto yor Consideracõns the benefitt of order & peaceable gournmte in matters & enterprizes vndertaken for a Comon good, reposeing in you or seuerall mrchauntę & all you or sevrall Officers appointed & intertayned in this voyadge a spetiall hope trust and Confidence that you will accorde and agree together and ioyne in freindshipp & amytie to doe & execute yor vttermost endevors for the benefitt of the voyadge wthout Contencõn discord or emulacõn to be vsed amongst you guideing yorselues therein by that genrall Regimt & sea gournmte wch or English ffleetę doe vse when they sorte them selues together, haueing espetiall & due respect to him that is the principall or cape mrchante & soe we Comend you and yor endeuors to goodę[1] ꝑuidence who guide you wth his feare and defend you from all daungers Amen.

Post scriptū.

AS touching such ffactors as are to be left in the Countrie or of those wch goe now in theis shipps we doe agree and giue order by this or Commission that the appointmt of the said ffactors to reside in those places shall be att the direccõns and Consent of you or Generall, mr x̄ptofer Colthurst, mr Starkey and mr Morgan or any three of you, wherein we hope you will haue that Consideracõn as to make choyse of the fittest: neither lett the placeing of or ffactors in the seurall shipps as, they are alredie placed be any rule to you, or any ground for them to enioye those places of ymploymt wherein you are to bestowe them, otherwyse then they shall be found able & meete to deserue that trust of ymploymte.

vnto whome the power of the factors placing shalbe in & or placeing to be noe rule.

THE shipps being readie to dep̲te & all or Comissions & instruccõns being resolued vpon and finished: wee receiued ťres out of the lowe Countries wch came from or ffactors from the East Indies by the dutch shipps viz from mr Wiłłm Starkey of the 22th of Iune and 2 other ťres one from Edmond Scott and the other from Thomas Tudd both dated the 17th of August 1603. by wch latter ťres we were aduised of the death of mr Starkey and mr Morgan & of others who were left att Bantam and alsoe of the damadge that

what we were advised of out of the lowe Countries from Bantam since all thinges were in a redines.

[1] God's.

happened vnto vs in or goodꝭ burnt by fyer in the dutch warehowse together wth the disappointemt of or intended voyadge to the Molloccos by the Contrarietie of wyndꝭ.[1] All wch thingꝭ being Considered we take them as they were indeede the hand of god, who disposeth of all enterprizes according to his good will & pleasure, wch Accidentꝭ howsoeur by the death of or said principall ffactors they doe in some manner moue vs to alter or said Comissions & advises soe farr as we had appointed any thinge to be done by the advise of the said mr Starkey & mr Morgan, yet in substance we purpose to hold or former resolucōns for the following of or busines And in steede of the ꝑsons deceased we wysh you to advise & vse Conference wth the ffactors remayneing, whome you finde most apt & able to assist you in the direction of the busines and touching yor ꝑceedingꝭ in the voyadge from Bantam to the Molloccos after order for lading of the Dragon and the Suzan wth pepꝑ to retourne for England being taken we thinke yt fitt you Capt: Middleton prpare yorselfe wthall speede to goe for Banda and doe furnish yor selfe wth the most aptest & ffitest of or ffactors to attend you, and to be left att Banda, for the furder followinge of that trade according as yt may be found likelie to bring benefitt to the Companie wherein you are accordinge to yor good discrecōn & Consideracōn to vse the more or fewer ffactors to be left there as you shall finde the more or lesse hope of benefitt to be made by their residence in that place not forgetting the Companyes desire as neere as you cann possiblie to cleare the former voyadge according to or former direccōn, by a discreete & resonable valuacōn of the remayner. And for the accomplishing of ladeing att Banda in the Moloccos you or said genrall are to take wth you soe much of the Comodities remayneing in or ffactors handꝭ att Bantam as they thinke will serue for the ꝓuiding of yor ladinge att the Molloccos according to the ꝓportion geuen by Sr Iames Lancaster to ꝓuide, remembring that they dutchmen bought of Spillesbe[2] the like Comodities to carrie to the molloccos

[1] See Edmond Scott's relation of events at Bantam between February, 1603, and 1605, printed in *Purchas*, Lib. III., ch. 4.

[2] Speilberg or Spilberg, the captain of a Dutch ship, who had joined Lancaster at his departure from Acheen on an agreement that he should have a share in any prize that might be taken. He afterwards sold at Bantam the goods thus obtained, and it is to this the entry refers.

for the better furnishing of their lading: but for yor better assuraunce least the saide Comodities should not be in request there, you shall doe well to take wth you 10000, 15000, or 20000 Royalls of 8 as you shall thinke meete & being soe furnished both by wares and money, you may both ꝑuide you ladinge and supplie yor ffactors wch you shall thinke ffitt to leaue to recyde theare wth sufficient stocke for ꝑuision of Cloues and Mace agaynst another yeare. This ꝑiect being lade downe for the trade att Banda you shall doe well in yor going thither to touch att the Iland of Amboyna or any other Iland by the way where Cloues may be had and to furnish yor selfe wth what quantitie you cann gett whereby you may the lesse depend vpon yor ꝑuision of Cloues att Banda, & haueing directed and ordered yor busines for the Moloccos, then vpon yor retourne to Bantam to take full and ꝑfect knowledge of the wholle state of or busines & to leaue 10 or 12 ffactors there wth such stocke as shall remayne vnymployed or as may be spared or shipps being laden admonishing the ffactors to be more carefull to buye their pepꝑ att the best advantage then they haue beene, & to buie of the largest pepꝑ wch heare beareth the best estimacõn, and vnlesse you shall finde yt verie necessarie that some ffactors be left att Banda, we are of opinion & doe like well that the residue of or ffactors be holden altogether att Bantam but herein we leaue you to yor owne experience, as you shall finde the Course most convenient And soe as before Comend you to godꝭ ꝑuidence

AND whereas or ffactors deceased doe appeare to haue left some estatꝭ behinde them wch must haue meanes to come to the handꝭ of such as haue interest therein we doe wysh you to take order: that all thingꝭ that doe appeare to belonge vnto them be duelie and trulie inventoried & shipped aparte by them selues, and their wills saffelie kepte and brought home together wth their bookꝭ & notꝭ of their buieing and sellingꝭ whereby there estates were encreased & gotten, to thend that the Company may be satisfied that they haue beene well delt wthall therein & their ffreindꝭ receaue that wch shall rightfullie apꝑteine vnto them.

THIS[1] writeing of the kinge of Tydore to the kinge matie of England is to lett yor highnes vnderstand that the kinge of Holland hath sent hither into theis partes, a ffleete of shipps to ioyne wth or auncient enymie the kinge of Turnato & the ioyntelie together haue ouer runn and spoyled parte of or Countrie & are determined to distroy both vs and or subiecte. Now vnderstanding by the bearer hereof Capt: Henrie Middleton that yor highnes is in freindshipp, wth the kinge of Spaine we desire yor matie that you would take pittie of vs that we may not be distroyed by the kinge of Holland, and Turnato to whome we haue offered noe wronge But they by forceable meanes seeke to bereaue vs of or kingdome, and all greate kinge vpon the Earth are ordeyned by God to sucker all them that be wrongfullie oppressed soe I appeale vnto yor matie for sucker agaynst my enimyes not doubting but to finde releefe att yor mats hande. And yf yor matie send hither I humblie intreate that yt may be Capt: Henrie Middleton or his brother wth whome I am well acquainted: Thus we end praying God to enlardge yor kingdomes & bless you & all yor Councells. Tydore.

from the kinge of Tedora to his matie by Captaine Henrie Middleton deliured to his matie in Maye. 1606.

ALRE[1] geven from yor freinde the kinge of Bantam sent vnto the kinge of England of Scotland ffraunce & Ireland desiering god to prserue yor health & to exalt you more & more & all yor Councells. And whereas yor matie hath sent Generall Henrie Middleton he came vnto me in health. I did heare that yor matie was come to the Crowne of England wch doth greatlie reioyce my harte now England and Bantam are both as one. I haue alsoe receaued a present from yor matie. The wch I giue you many thanke for yor kindnes. I doe send yor matie 2 Bezar stones the one waying 14 masses[2] & the other 3. And soe god haue you in his keepeing.

from the kinge of Bantam to or kinge wth a prsent of twoe Bezar stones by genrall Henr Middleton deliured to his matie ye 25 of Maye 1606.

[1] Printed in *Purchas*, Lib. V., ch. 14.

[2] "The weight by which they [the Achinese] sell Precious Stones is called *Masse*.

THE[1] kinge of Mollocco to the kinge matie of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland sendeth greeting heareing the good reporte of yor matie & of the greatnes of yor kingdomes by the greate Captaine ffrancis Drake in the tyme of my ffather wch was aboute 30 yeares past[2] by the wch Capt: my ffather did send a Ringe vnto the Queene of England as a token of Remembrance wch yf the foresaid Drake were liueing he could Certifie yor matie of the greate loue and freindshipp on either side he in the behalfe of the Queene my ffather for him & his successors wch tyme after the depture of the said Capt we haue dalie expected his retourne, my father liueing many yeares after. And I after the death of my ffather liued in the same hope till I was ffather to 11 Children, since wch tyme we haue beene informed that English men were men of bad dispotition, & came not as peaceable mrchaunte but as theeues. and robbers and to depose vs of or Countries, wch by the comeing of the bearer hereof yor maties servant Capt: Henrie Middleton we haue found to the Contrary whereof we greatelie reioyce. And after many yeares of expectacon of some English fforces by the pmyse of Capt: Drake heere arriued certeine shipps wch we well hoped had beene English men, but they pued to be Hollenders, & then being out of all hope of sucker of the english nation we were enforced to wryte to the Prince of Holland to craue aide and succor of him agaynst or auncient enymies the Portingalles. And according to or request he hath sent hither his forces wch hath expelled all the Portingalls out of the fforte they here hould att Ambweno[3] and Tydore, And whereas yor matie hath sent vnto vs a most kinde tre by Capt Henrie Middleton yt doth not a little reioyce vs: as alsoe the said Capt Henr Middleton was desierous

ffrom the kinge of Turnato to his matie sent by Henrie Middleton or genrall directed to or kinges matie wth a prsent & deliured in May 1606.

" 10¾ whereof make an ounce."—*John Davis his Relation* in *Purchas*, Lib. III., ch. 1. The *masha* is the elementary weight, of from 16 to 20 grains, used immemorially by the Hindu jewellers throughout India. The names of most of the weights of the Malays and Javanese are taken from the ancient Hindu ones, as *rakat*, so named after the Hindu *rati*, and *tail* after the Hindu *tola* (*cf.* *τάλαντον*, *tolero*, *tollo*, *Tantalus*, *Atlas*).

[1] This copy differs to some extent from the version given in *Purchas*, Lib. V., ch. 14.

[2] See *Purchas*, Lib. II., ch. 3.

[3] Amboyna.

to leaue a ffactory here we were very willinge there vnto, and gaue o^{r} Consent, wch the Admirall of the Hollenders vnderstandinge he came and Challenged a former ꝑmyse wch we had wrytte to the Prince of Holland that yf he would send vs such Succo^{r} as should expell the Portugalls out of theis ꝑtꝭ that noe other Nation should haue trade heare but onelie they, soe that we were enforced agaynst o^{r} likeing to yeald vnto the Hollenders Capt request for this p^{r}sent tyme. Wherefore we craue pardon of yor ma^{tie}. And whereas the Hollenders Admirall doth soliscite vs not to hold any ffreindshipp wth the englishe nor to giue eare nor Creditt to yor ma^{t}ꝭ l̄res: yett neu^{r}theless for all their sute yf yt please you to send hither agayne they shall be most freindlie wellcome, & in token of ffreindshipp wch we desire wth yor ma^{tie}. Wee haue sent you a small remembraunce of a Bahare of Cloues o^{r} Countrie being poore & yealding noe other Comoditie wch we pray yo^{u} to accept in good parte. And soe we leaue you to god who bless you and all yor Councells. *Tarnata.*

Theis 3 foresaid l̄res were translated out of the India speech into English.

I MOSTE[1] mightie kinge of Dachem and Sumatra to all ꝑsons that shall read this present writeinge, Greeting. IN TOKEN of o^{r} espetiall freindshipp & vpon many good Consideracōns vs moueing, and cheeflie vppon the Contemplasing of the gratious l̄res receiued from the most famous Queene of England: we of o^{r} espetiall meere motion doe signifie and declare to all people, that we haue intertayned into o^{r} freind-

Priuiledges from the kinge of Dachem and Sumatra to the Companie.

[1] There is another copy of this grant in the India Office Records (*O. C.* No. 1), but it presents no important variation. The fate of the original is not known. There is an entry in the Court Minutes for 26th February, 1614, that Sir James Lancaster, who was supposed to have it in his custody, was to be asked for it, to send to the Indies (*Cal. E. I. State Papers*, 1513-1616, p. 279); but there is no further mention of the subject.

shipp, & holie league o^r well beloued the *SERINISSIMA REGINA DE ENGLA TERRA.* to hold and keepe true and faithfull league wth her accordinge to the Comendable Course & law of all nations, vnto whose subiectę, we wish much felicitie and therefore doe giue and graunte by theis p^rsentę for vs o^r heires & successo^rs as much as in vs lieth to the said subiectę of the most noble Queene of England o^r Confederate & eu^ry of them theis articles, grauntę & priuiledgę heereafter expressed and declared.

FFIRSTE we doe giue and graunte ffree licence aucthoritie & power to all the people, ffacto^rs, m^rchauntę or subiectę of the Queene of England that they may att all tymes heereafter for eu^r suerlie and saffelie come into any portes or els wheare into theis o^r dominiones & kingdome of Sumatra wth their shipps goodę & m^rchandize w^thout any deteinm^te or hindraunce to them, or to their goodę: & theare to abide soiourne, buie & sell, barter and exchaunge according to their owne[1] manner and fashion wth all manner of Nations whatsoeu^r as well as wth o^r owne naturall subiectę: both in spices & all other m^rchandizes & soe they may tarrie in o^r Countrie soe long as they will, & goe away when the list, w^thout any ympedim^t lett or hindraunce, paying all such debtę as they shall owe to any of o^r subiectę w^thin o^r said dominion.

FFURTHERMORE o^r will & pleasure is that all such goodę and m^rchandize as any of the subiectę of the Queene of England shall bringe into this o^r kingdome or any the partes thereof shall be ffree of all Custome or paym^t whatsoeu^r as well for that wch shall be brought into theis o^r dominions as for all manner of m^rchandize they shall transporte out of the same for any forreine ꝑte whatsoeu^r.

ITEM yf any of their shipps in tempest of weather shall be in daunger to be lost, & ꝑishe, & therevpon shall stande in neede of o^r helpe wee will and Comaund that o^r vessells wth all speede doe helpe & succo^r them, to saue the same shipps & goodę and what may be saued, to retourne to the said m^rchauntę or their assignes they paying resonable Consideracōn for their travell.

ITEM yf any Englishe man shall make his will & Testam^te to

[1] "Nowe" in *O. C.* 1.

whomesoeur (by the same will [ )] he shall giue his goodꝭ, the ꝑtie shall haue them accordinglie, and yf he die intestate, he to whome the cheefe ffactor or gourñor shall saie the goodꝭ of the dead to belonge, he shall posses the same.

ITEM that eury ƀgaine made by the said mrchauntꝭ wth any manner of ꝑson for any kinde of mrchandize shall be firme and staple & that noe man of either ꝑtie may shrinke or goe backe from the same & yt shall be lawfull for them to goe before any of or Iustices & to register the same in a Booke according to the tenor thereof, yf any Controursie shall aryse present iustice to be done to both ꝑties, & when they haue sold any of their wares to or subjectꝭ or any other they shall not retourne the said wares vpon the mrchauntꝭ handꝭ, but paie for them or ells they shall haue present iustice

ITEM yf any English mrchaunte ffactor or servant shall offend the Agent or cheefe Gournor of the ffactorie yt shall be lawfull for the said Gouernor to doe iustice vpon the said ꝑtie, or to send him home into England att his pleasuer, & further we graunte vnto the said Gournor power and aucthoritie to end any Controursie that shall aryse betweene them & to doe iustice accordinge to their owne lawes and Customes.

ITEM we doe graunte the said marchauntꝭ and to their Successors, that yf any of them or of their servantꝭ shall be wounded or be slaine in any ꝑte or place of or dominion, then informacōn thereof being geven we or iustices and other Officers will execute due correccōn & punishmt wthout delaie accordinge to the cause of the offence, soe that yt shall be an example to all others not to offend in the like. And yf it shall happen the ffactors servauntꝭ or mynisters of the said mrchauntꝭ to trespasse or offend, whereby they or any of them shall incurr the daunger of death, or of punishmt, that then the goodꝭ wares or mrchandizes of their Seniors shall not therefore be forfected Confiscate seazed vpon nor spoyled by vs or heires or Successors or by any of or Officers ministers or subiectꝭ but shall remaine franke & free as dischardged of all punishmt & losse.

ITEM we doe ꝑmyse the foresaid mrchauntꝭ graunting yt for eur for vs & or heires that yf any shall bringe any manner of goodꝭ or mrchandize meete for Treasurie that we will not cause anie

staie or arrest to be made of their said goodẽ or m^r^chaundize to vs or for o^r^ vses w^th^out present Content to be made by o^r^ Thrẽr at such reasonable prises as the m^r^chauntẽ could sell them for ready money, & that noe price or valuacõn shalbe set vpon their goodẽ or m^r^chandizes by vs or any Officers of o^rs^.

ITEM we of o^r^ goodnes haue graunted to the said English m^r^chauntẽ their successo^rs^ servauntẽ & deputies that doe or shall remayne in any ꝑte of this o^r^ kingdome of Sumatra whether yt be in Dachem or any other ꝑte of o^r^ dominion freelie to keepe their owne lawe & in any wyse none of o^rs^ to force them to o^r^ lawe or faith against their wills.

ITEM yf any man shall saie, that theis being Christians haue spoken any thinge to the derogacõn of o^r^ holie faith & religion & haue slaundered the same, in this matter as well as in all others there shall noe false witnes in any case be admitted.

LAST of all to thintent that this league wth her ma^tie^ & the aforesaid grauntẽ & priuiledgẽ wth her subiectẽ, may the better be obserued and inuiolablie be ꝑformed, we by the grace of God greate kinge of Dachem & Sumatra for vs o^r^ heires & sucssessors doe ꝑmyse by o^r^ princelie word in stead of an Oath inviolablie to maintaine & preserue & will cause to be inuiolablie kept p^r^served & mayntayned frome tyme to tyme & att all tymes heereafter & for the more ratificacõn we comaund all o^r^ Captaines Iudges Customers Gou^r^no^rs^ & servauntẽ wheresoeu^r^ theis l̃res or priuiledgẽ shall be seene throughout all o^r^ dominions that they be obeyed in all pointẽ accordinglie as longe as the Queene of England of her ꝑte shall duelie keepe and obserue this league & holie peace expressed in this priuiledge wth vs and o^r^ subiectẽ we alsoe of o^r^ Royall ꝑte doe chardge & Comaund the same soe longe to be strayghtlie kept & obserued. And the Contrarie to this diuyne league and priuiledge, lett noe man presume to doe or saie any thinge.

A DISCRIPCON[1] of the Iland of Banda wth the Townes and Ilandę thereof: wth the wares or marchandizes therein spent & vttered & wares to be bought theare as followeth.

TO witt Lunter[2] Nere[3] in wch towne we bought oʳ Nutmegges & maces, and theare sould diuers sortes of oʳ Stuffę Pinthados Iava girdles in barter for maces & nuttę[4] Madgawgen, Lykou, Artatten,[5] Semar, Kamber[5] Rere, Anwen, Dunnoʳ, Dedyer, Rossengen,[6] Laba taker[5] Latter, Loekra Regacke Rata muferr Polayu,[7] Palroyen.[8]

India wares

Wares and mʳchandizes spent & vttered there namelie stuffę or Clothes as our men call them: & called by the Dutchmen kleetghees[9] being the same & such like stuffę as Sʳ Iames Lancaster tooke wch are made att Bengalla Mesepatamya[10] Cheremandalle & St Thome, and as some saye alsoe att Suratt & Cambaya wch stuffes as the dutchmen saie are thus called viz Dragon, Patta Kassa of the ffinest *Torya, Baffa, Telle Pricken, Kantkey, Mossaffey, Patta Malim Tzijnd, Sorassa Madynceus*[11] Brasse peeces of Ordinances wth Chambers in the breeches wch are to be had in Bantam but brought from Chyna as thought. All theis aboue said wares are well vttered in those Townes.

Townes and places where the are made.

Rise and Sagur wch is at the barke of a Tree, or made of a Tree wch they buie & eate insteed of bread.

Rise and Sagur is their bread.

Nowe followeth English Comodities to be

[1] There is another copy of this note in the *O. C.* Series (No. 35).

[2] Lantore, Lontor or Groot Banda. [3] Neira or Banda Neira. [4] Nutmegs.

[5] In a map of Banda given in a *Histoire de la Navigation aux Indes Orientales* (1609) the towns of *Ortatian, Combeer* and *Labetack* are shewn, the two former being on the island of Lantore, and the third on the island of Neira.

[6] Pulo Rosagijn. [7] Pulo Ai? [8] Pulo Ron?

[9] Apparently some variant of the Dutch *kleed*, a cloth, dress, or habit.

[10] This happens to be an interesting blunder, although due merely to the transcriber's preoccupation with "the blessed word Mesopotamia," for from the earliest times there was a close connection between the countries on the Persian Gulf, and the Coromandel Coast; and both Nineveh and Masulipatam mean "Fish-town." Mosul, which gives its name to muslin, is the modern representative of ancient Nineveh, but the word has no connection with *masuli* in Masuli-patam, and would appear to be the Arabic word *mahsul*, "revenue," here meaning "Revenue"-station.

[11] Madinrens (*O. C.* 35). It is impossible to identify all of these local denominations of piece goods; but for some of them see the notes on the two following pages.

theare sold Broad sword blades Royalls of 8. English Clothes Reds & stamels[1] of 10, 12 or 14s ste the yarde veluettꝭ Redd velvettꝭ greene branched wth fflowers &c: wch are not English but China veluettꝭ & to be had att Bantam of the Chineses much better cheepe then we can carrie English veluettꝭ thither.

English wares.

ffor all the foresaid wares & Royalls the people of *Banda, Turnato, Tedora* & other places of the *Molloccos* doe giue in Barter mace Nutmeggꝭ & Cloues.

Spices.

In the places & Townes abouesaid maces are gathered 3 tymes in a yeare viz in Iulie is the greatest, continuing vntill September. Againe in December & againe in ffebruarie. The last twoe gatheringꝭ are but small in quantitie, the greate gatheringe the call their *Payty*, & the 2 small gatheringꝭ, the call *Ara* and *Messon Iaua.*

Maces gathered 3 tymes a yeare.

A DISCRIPTION of the Iland of Amboyna translated out of Dutch 1605.[2]

THEARE groweth aboundance of Cloues not eury yeare, but eurry third yeare & eury third yeare is a greate growth now this present yeare of *Anno dñi* 1605. Heare are diuers sortes of East Indy *wares* uttered as followeth *Clothes* as or men vse to call them, & called by the dutchmen *Kletgees* being linnen & made of Cotten woll, or the same stuffe, that *Callicutt cloth*[3] is made, to cast aboute their bodies as *Clokes* or *Mantles*, or as girdles and *Skarffes* aboute their loynes: named as followeth & for wch the *Amboyneses* doe giue vs Cloues in barter.

Cloues heare but euery 3 yeare.

Tooria, black Baffatta,[4] *Keykam, Sallallo, Pattala,*[5] *Sarassa,*[6]

[1] See page 96, note 2.

[2] There is another copy of this and the following notes in the document already referred to (*O.C.* 35). It is there described as "a Noate written in Duch Ao 1606 & Translated by one of the Companyes factors at Bantam."

[3] Calico.

[4] So called from the Persian *bafta*, "woven": it was originally a kind of calico, chiefly obtained from Baroch.

[5] A silk cloth, so called from the Canarese and Malayalam *pattuda*, "silk cloth."

[6] Perhaps *sari*, the cloth used as a robe by Hindu women.

Indie wares.

Tzier, *Mallya*,[1] *Patta*,[2] *Mora*, *Tanknyla*, there[3] are white Clothes wth Red stripes on the end *blew kanteky black Mossaffey*,[4] *blew Cheney*[5] *Clothes* all or the most ꝑte of theis abouesaid are made aboute *Bengalla*, *Mesapatamya St Thome Cheremandall* or *Cambaya* & some other ꝑtꝭ of the East Indies.

[1] Malayia (*O. C.* 35).

[2] This word means "breadth," and signifies a cloth of one breadth. The *do-patta*, or sheet of two breadths, is the only garment of the women of the lower orders in Bengal.

[3] Theis (*O. C.* 35).

[4] That is *muza'fari*, "saffron-y," originally a "saffron"-dyed stuff. Yellow has immemorially been the colour of joy among the Hindus, and in Hindu art Vishnu and Rama are always apparelled in bright yellow; dull yellow (*bag-wa*, "god"-colour) being the colour of the vestments of the Saiva ascetics. Red also is held by the Hindus to be a joyous colour, and is always worn at marriages; and both colours are regarded by them as sacred to the sun, and to the East, or place of sun rise, and the South, or "right hand path" of the sun; red being the colour usually appropriated to the former and yellow to the latter, although some sects reverse this allocation. Yellow was the sacred colour also of the Babylonian and Assyrian Anunit or Ishtar, and to this day it continues to be the favourite colour of Jewish women. Significantly enough the early Christians, in the same way that they made Friday—the day of Ishtar and Venus and Friya—the unlucky day of the week, made yellow the colour of sin and crime, painting the doors of felons yellow, and compelling the Jews to wear yellow, just as the Mahomedans compel them, and the Christians of Egypt and Syria, &c., to wear dark blue, which is the uncanny colour and the colour of mourning throughout Anterior and Southern Asia. As of Anunit or Ishtar, yellow was the sacred colour of Aphrodite-Venus and Artemis-Diana, both derivatives from Ishtar; and from the earliest ages it was the colour most affected by the women of Greece. In Homer Eōs is not only "rosy-fingered" (ῥοδοδάκτυλος, *Odyssey* II., 1), but "saffron-mantled" (κροκόπεπλος, *Iliad* VIII., 1, and XIX., 1); as are Enyō—one of the three Graiæ—in Hesiod (*Theognis*, 273), and the Muses in Alcman (74); while the references and allusions in the Greek and Latin poets to the saffron-coloured robes so fashionable among the ladies of ancient Athens and Rome are innumerable, as in the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus, the *Lysistrata*, *Thesmophoriazusæ*, and *Ecclesiazusæ* of Aristophanes, and the plays of Plautus, who in his *Aulularia* (III., 10) mentions not only "dyers in mallow colour" (see p. 59, note 2), but "dyers in saffron"—incedunt infectores crocotarii—their stealthy, enticing approach, like that of a Bombay *borah*, or "box-*wallah*," indicating the reckless passion of the Roman women for this colour, in the belief that it gave an irresistible power to the natural charm of their sex over men: in which they were justified, to judge from the sweet, winsome loveliness of the young high-caste Hindu women of Western India, as they appear abroad on gala occasions issuing forth in their innumerable twinkling slippers of Telmont yellow, rosy red, or Mazarine blue, and enrobed in lustrous saffron-tinctured *saris* of soft fluttering silk, rendered still more radiant and ethereal by the sparkle and sheen of diamond and pearl.

[5] China (*O. C.* 35).

Now follow the English or Hollande wares theare vendible some head peeces some graven some guilt, long peeces wth smap hances,[1] the cocke to stand on the hither side the panne longe stocke & straight ye barrell square velvette red, velvette grene, Damaskes, yet not many theis are to be bought in Bantam of the Chyneses & to be carried to the Molloccos.

English or Hollandes wares.

Painted drinking glasses, lookeinge glasses 3. 4. 5. 6 pipkans[2] being as I thinke small pewter or woodden kanns made wth spowte to drinke in wch are made cheeflie in Holland as I thinke some kniues I thinke sleight kniues, some wth painted haftes[3] of wood or boane.

Royalls of 8 *Tenkees*[4] wch I suppose are *Ellaphaunts* teeth.

Theis people are deceiptefull in their Cloues men must take heede least they putt dust to make them heauie or mingle some such stuffe amonge them wch you must carefullie finde & spie out in tyme,

deceipt in Cloues.

Theis be the names of the Townes in *Amboyna Hito, Mamelen, Nusitelle* & the *Castle,* but at *Amboyna* we shall not get any *Cloues* because of the *Hollenders.* Theis townes lie vpon one Iland viz: *Lowe Lossiu^ry,*[5] *Cambella, Keyebabbit Lackey Latu.*

most store of cloues

But att lowe *Cambella* & *Hito* falleth most cloues.

And is alsoe the best Roade for shipps & are a good people.

the best roade for ships: good people.

[1] Snaphances (Dutch *snaphaan*), *i.e.* guns with spring locks, as opposed to the old match locks.

[2] Pipe Canns (*O. C.* 35).

[3] *O. C.* 35 adds "some playne haftes."

[4] *Tanga* (Sanskrit *tanka*, "a weight"—of silver), the chief silver coin of the Mogol Emperors of Delhi, representing the *dirhem* (drachma) of the Arabs, and the "rupee" (Sanskrit *rupya*, "beautified"—silver) of modern India. The term is still applied to a silver coin in Turkestan, worth about 7½*d*. The *padma-tanka* of Southern India was a gold coin, and in Tamil the word *tanka* means, specifically, "weighty,"—as gold. Universally in India a mint is designated *tankasala*, commonly shortened to *tangsal*.

[5] Lowlo, Lossidi (*O. C.* 35).

Selebes.

A DISCRIPTION of the Iland *Selebes* or *Makasser*.

THEAREin are spent & vttered theis wares followinge Clothes as we call them, and by the Hollenders called *kletgees*, Towit *dragon*, *Patta*, *Mea*, *Torya*, *Baffa*, *knitt* *Sipann*, *Threle*,[1] *Ormesines*[2] or Taffeties Read velvet braunched wch Ormysenes & velvettę are to be bought att Bantam of the Chineses much better cheepe then English velvettę. Read or stamells English Cloth as aboue aboute 10. 12 or 14^s^ star the yarde, Royalls of 8, for all wch we shall buie Ryse, Indico Lapes Bezar wch theare in aboundance are to be hadd.

India wares

China wares

English wares

The Rice you may carry from hence to *Amboyna and Banda* where you may gett for yt any sorte of spices before all wares that can be carried thither, or for wch you may gett any lading theare.

Rise good wares to buye heare.

The are heathen people but verie good people to deale w^th^all & to liue by: and wch doe hold good right & iustice & order after their manner

Heathen but a good people & good iustice.

Glasses kniues.

Glasses to drinke in, lookeing glasses & kniues are there well requested.

IN THIS Iland of Botonar[3] are some good *slaues* but noe good of their owne but what are thither brought from Iava for *Slaues* for heare the buie and sell *Slaues* as a good m^r^chandize *China dishes* or *Puselen*[4] of all sortę of the finest *Clothes* I meane India Cloth[es c]alled Tenexto[5] or Tannies[6] are heare well requested.

A discripcon of the Iland of Botton.

slaues.

China dishes.

India clothes.

[1] Tzidle (*O. C.* 35). See note 11 on page 73.

[2] Also spelled armozeen, armosyn, and armesie (from the Italian *ormisino*, "sarcanet," "taffeta-sarcenet," *see* Florio's *Worlde of Wordes*); originally a stout black silk much used in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries for making "Geneva gowns" and for funeral scarfs, but afterwards dyed of various colours.

[3] Botton (*O. C.* 35). Boeton, or Buton, an island to the south-west of Celebes.

[4] Porcelain, [5] Teneyte (*O. C.* 35). [6] Tanyes (*O. C.* 35).

Clothes, english Clothes, Read, stamels, velvettę of all manner of sortę & workę of the finest Damaskes & Taffeties, (not english silke) well requested. Theis Damaskę & Taffeties as some men saie are alsoe made att Damaske & carried to Bantam, & soe to the Moloccos

veluetts and Taffeties.

A DISCRIPTION of the Iland of Seran[1]

IN THIS Iland of Seran falleth noe other wares then Segu,[2] wch is of a tree in the Iland of Banda, is well requested, & is their bread & they cannot want[3] yt. Therefore is caried from hence thither and sold to great proffitt, men sell theare theis kinde of Indie Clothes. *Madmayrens,*[4] *Sallallo, Kassa, Dragon, Patta, Kantekey, Bassa,*[5] *kreyckam* Brasse peeces of Ordinance like bases[6] haueing Chambers in the breeches wch brasse peeces are made in *China* well formed & are to be bought att Bantam, longe peeces snaphances such as are in the former ꝑte hereof, described head peeces white, graven and guilt & Corslettę are here well requested.

Bras peeces.

longe peces & head peces & harnest.

But note in this Iland there is nothinge to be had for retourne for or Countrie yet store of Sagu for to make bread to be sold to good ꝑfitt onelie att Banda.

HEARE followeth the Table of the India clothes as we call Clothes named in the former parte hereof and how to know them to witt.

Tzinde, are silke Clothes wth dead[7] stripes.

Patta, katnynen wth read stripes ourthwarte through.

Dragon, blacke and Read.

Sallallo, blew & blacke.

Basta are white & blacke, starched & foulded vpp fower square.

[1] A large island to the north of the Banda Group, lying between Boeroe and New Guinea.

[2] Sago.

[3] Do without.

[4] Madynrens (*O. C.* 35).

[5] Bastau (*O. C.* 35).

[6] The smallest kind of cannon used in the 16th and 17th centuries. It weighed about 200 lbs., had a bore of an inch and a quarter, and threw a ball ½ lb. in weight.

[7] Read (*O. C.* 35). *Sindi* cloth (*σινδών* of the Greeks, and *sadin* of Proverbs xxxi. 24, Isaiah iii. 23, and Judges xiv. 12 and 13.)

Kassa are white vnstarched lawnes.

Kreckam, is Read starched.

Kantekey, black starched.

Mossaffey is black of the same, starched.

Toorya not starched, are painted like as the Sarassa but are verie Course.

Borne Laya, are wth white & blacke quarles[1] or Checkers like as Poliyng kintsy.[2]

Paw are silke Clothes wth freinge[3] att the end wth little quarles of checo^r^ through.

To be bought in Bantam but made in &c:

Theis foresaid Clothes as we call them are all tymes well to be had att Bantam, yett att some tymes better then att other some: but are made in Bengalla att Mesapatania[4] St Thome Cheremandalla.

	Royalls
Dragon ye Cody or Cordge	040 Royals
Patta the Cordge	055 Royalls
Kassa the Corge	080 Royals
Tzyle the Corge	070 Royalls
Sarassa the Corge	100 Royalls
Gobber the Corge	120 Royals
Tsidnde the Corge	140 Royalls
Kntsy paw[5] the Corge	093 Royals
Blatty the Corge	060 Royals
Moredie ye Cordge or Codie	030 Royals
Maduyevs[6] ye Corge	013
Baffata ye Cordge	100
Kantekey ye Corge	020
Mosaffey ye Corge	032
Toria the Corge	016
Kneckam[7] the Corge	025
Polinge the Corge	035
Borne ladye the Corge	030

[1] *Quarl* or *quarrel*, a square (Low Lat. *quadrillus*, *quarellus*, N. Fr. *quarel*); the term was also applied to diamond-shape panes of glass.

[2] Polinge knytsy (*O. C.* 35).

[3] Frayings.

[4] See note 10, p. 73.

[5] Knyt sipan (*O. C.* 35).

[6] Maduyres (*O. C.* 35).

[7] Kreykam (*O. C.* 35).

Note the Cody or Corge is a bondell or set nomber of 20 peeces.

Theis are the preces that the will yeald at Banda & other places of the Molloccos as this now saith And o^{r} ffactor[s] Thomas Browne & Woodnoth who were att the Moloccos cann more better & more fullie enforme you.

But at the places where theis are made & bought aboue mencioned they are much better Cheepe

The waightę of Banda and Amboyna as the dutchman hath written but beleeue yt not wthout tryall because yt agreeth not to Anthonie Writes & o^{r} other ffacto^{rs} Accomptę, neither did we finde yt to fall out soe, by o^{r} last Cloues.

In Banda 10 Catty[1] is one Inlandę or that Countrie Barr or one Barr of that place. 100 Catty one Portugalls Barr maketh Hollandę weight $537\frac{3}{4}$.[2]

In Amboyna 50 Barratt is on Portugę Barr wch maketh 550^{li} Hollandę.

One Amboynes barr 20 Barrettę. 1 Barrett 11^{li} Hollandę this I vnderstand not.

In Bantam one Sacke of pepp maketh 60[3] Hollendę. The weight of Rice is accordinge to the Barr to witt.

In Banda & Amboyna 6^{li} Hollandę In Marcassar 7^{li} Hollendę & 800 maketh 1 koyem[4] as the Inhabitantę there call yt	This is the weight of Rice.

NOTES[5] BY m^{r}. Co:[6] whoe sayled theis waies as he said

Note that vpon the sholes of India by St Lawrence when you haue 80. or 90 ffaddam, then looke out for the fflattę[7] are neere

[1] A Chinese weight, the denomination of which, *kati*, is Malay, equal to a little over one pound avoirdupois.

[2] $537^{li}\frac{3}{4}$ (*O. C.* 35). [3] 60^{li} (*O. C.* 35). [4] Coem (*O. C.* 35).

[5] Extracts from these notes are given in *O. C.* 35.

[6] A Dutchman who had taken part, it would seem, in the second voyage of Steven van der Hagen (Dec., 1603), whose route agrees generally with that here laid down. Possibly "m^{r}. Co:" may be Hendric Jacobsz. Compostel, who was an "opperkoopman" in that voyage (see Jonge's *Opkomst van het Nederl: Gezag in Oost-Indie*, Vol. III.).

[7] See page 118.

therefore cary but small sayle yf yt be in the night: but yf in the daye you shall see the Sea breake on the Rockę & broken grounde you may Anco^r in saffetie betweene the twoe Ilandę, and the third Iland is the mayne Iland where is noe good thinge but water.

When you soyle to Monsombeeke[1] you must goe beyond the Roade and come backe againe w^th^in because of the shoels & there you shall ryde in fiue fadam faire ground vnder the Iland right agaynst the Castle, haueing vpon yor starboard the Iland & larboard side the Castle Then you must sayle betweene the shoels and th[e] land to come vnto the Roade of Monsombeeke being there the people of the land & Portugalls will come aboard you.

Mosombeeke.

touchinge the entringe to Mosombeeke compare yt wth Linscot[2] fol: 311 chap: 3

When o^r shipps come (yf yt please God) to *Mosombeeke* in the Roade there will come abourde the people of the land & Portugalls, the Portugals beleeue not, neither trust the Countrie people too farr, they of the Countrie will bringe you (yf you please) beyond the Castle wheare the Portugall is . then shall you haue the Inhabitantę come aboard you wth their Comodities followinge.

Amber greece Gould Oliphauntę teeth & Indico but that Indico is of no great value but verie Course.

wares for vs to buie.

The m^rchandize you carrie thither is blew Callicoes & diu^rs other wares made aboute Bengalla English wares Tynn, Iron, Steele leade pennie kniues scissers, Rasers, wch must be verie good, longe peecę wth match, Pistols Rapeires but noe swordę lookeing glasses & beadę

wares for vs to sell.

ffrom Mosombeeke saile vpp to Sanzabar,[3] there you may ride in good ground, but verie deepe & halfe a league from the shore but come noe nerer to the Land but 40 fadam for there is fowle ground, you shall haue there, hoggę Goatę Hemp greate store, Orrenges, Lemans, baffeildę,[4] Potato^rs, Plantanns and Maskinilliacos,[5] & all manner of refreshinge

Sansabar.

[1] Mozambique.
[2] The well known work by J. H. van Linschoten.
[3] Zanzibar.
[4] Buffaloes.
[5] No meaning can be assigned to this word; it is possibly the name of some kind of fruit.

good victuals.

for apeece of Iron a paire of Sissers, or small triffles you shall haue a buffeild or other good victualls

Pember.

ffrom Sanzabar sayle to Pember[1] leaueing Pemb on the larboard side & soe sailinge 20 or 30 leagues from the shoare all along to the Iland of Allasackatrina[2] wch is neare to the Redd Sea. In wch Iland of Allasakatrina are good harbors faire depth and good Anchor ground and aboundaunce of good victualls (note they went not into the Read Sea. [)]

Allasackatrinas Ilandes neere the Read Sea: victuals: good Harbor.

Cambaya.

ffrom *Allasackatrina* they tooke their Course directlie to Cambaya but that was onelie to take a prize & not for traffique.

Goa.

ffrom the Coaste of Cambaya the sayled into the riuer Goa they were at & aboute Goa the latter end of October & staied three weekes or amonneth & had faire weather.

At the entrie of the riuer Goa are 2 Castles verie stronge well appointed wth verie greate Ordenaunce the shott bullette of 50li and the people of the Towne of Goa, & all the Countrie 6 leagues aboute are vnder the Gournmte of the Portugalls & will not by any meanes displease the Portugalls nor traffique wth any people but the Portugalls onely, but will rather betraye all men, yea even the Spanniarde in reguard of the Portugals They sayled round aboute the towne & Ilande of Goa and fought wth diuers vessells and ffriggette soe that in this towne there is noe traffique to be looked for.

Cananor.

Indie wares

ffrom *Cambaya* the sailed all alonge the Coaste wthin saker[3] shott of the shoare vntill they came to *Cananor* they were besett wth ffriggette & gallies of the Portugalls but of noe greate force, but they Inhabitante of the Countrie did come abourd them eury daie all alongst the Coast to traffique bringing to them theis Comodities[4]

[1] Pemba.

[2] Socotra,—a confusion of the name of the island with that of its best-known product, *Aloes Socotrina.*

[3] A saker was a piece of ordnance of 3½ inches bore, with a range of about 1700 paces.

[4] A paragraph seems to have been omitted here.

Rialls of 8, pistolls longe peeces, rapyers, but noe swordꝭ. All wch they sell againe to the Portugalls because the Portugalls will buie nothinge of vs Hollenders

English wares

Take vnsacked lyme & beate yt to powder, & lay yt vpon a lynnen cloth then wett yor Bezar vpon yor tongue, & rub yt vpon the lyme dust yf yt geue any Coullor it is false, but yf yt geue noe Color it is right & good.

How to trie yor Bezar.

ffrom *Cananor* the sayled all alonge the Coast of Malabar by the Samarins[1] Countrie towardꝭ Callicutt in all wch Coast the people of the Countrie will come abourd & traffique wth you bringing theis Comodities ffollowing Viz pearles Rubies Saphers Diamondꝭ & many other good thingꝭ but in any hand goe not ashoare to trust them. The people will lie abourd the shipps 2 or 3 daies & traffique wth you, but are very subtill in their trade, they must be vsed very kindlie & they will tell you all thingꝭ how to bewraye the Portugalls.

Malabar

Samarins note that the Hollenders soe call them but not founde in the mapp

Indie wares.

A present is needfull to be sent to the k. of Samarins, being a man of verie greate power & noe freind to the Portugall but an enimie, and heere many thingꝭ will be brought you from the shoare of all kinde of stones & pearles, & other good thingꝭ. A present for this k. of the Samarins would be verie needfull wch should be of theis thingꝭ ffollowinge. Guilded head peecꝭ, some Muskettꝭ, & 5 or 6 barrels of powder.

A present.

Theis English wares ffollowinge are good to sell theare.

Lead, Tynn, Iron, peecꝭ of 8, pouder, rapiers, & head peeces

English wares.

The kinge [of] Cananor is greater than the kinge of Callicutte and is thought to be noe freinde wth the Portugalls but rather an enimie & hath alsoe warrs wth the kinge of Callicutte.

The k. of Callicutt is in subiection to the Portugalls therefore beware

the k. of Callicutt.

[1] The Zamorin, *i.e. Samudri*, lord "of the Sea," was the petty Hindu king of Caliçut and the dependent countryside.

ffrom *Callicut* saile towards the *Cape of Comorem* but edg out of the sight of the land to the Sea that you might not come in sight of the Cape of *Comorēm* & soe take towardes *Selland*[1] not comeing too neere into the bay because of an indraught that sett in: and take yor Course straight to the riuer of *Columba*[2] in *Selland* where theare standꝭ a small forte of noe force, neither can yt annoy you.

The Cape Commorim.

Selland.

Heare you shall buie theis Comodities followinge of the Inhabitantꝭ of *Selland* not of the Portugalls in noe wyse.

Synamon for this is the onelie place for *Synaman*, pearles Rubies & some other stones. ffor theis stones you may sell theare theis Comodities ffollowinge, ffine Callicoes, powder & peecꝭ lead & Tynn.

Indie wares

English wares

Take yor *Synamon* and beate yt in a morter to fine powder when yo^u haue soe done, sett a pott of water vpon the fier & lett yt seeth then put in a handfull or twoe of yor beaten Synamon & lett yt seeth a while, & yf yt hange together like lyme it is naught but yf yt be good it will not hang together.

How to choose Synamon.

ffrom the Coast of Selland saile to *Sumatra*, & soe come in sight of the land, sayling all alonge the Coste keepinge the land in sight, vntill you come neere the sholes, wch sholes lie in the height of 2 degrees to the Southward of the equinoctiall. Then edge of to the Seaward for feare of the sholes then being cleere of them put into the mainland againe goinge wth in the Iland & soe alonge all the Coastꝭ, till you come to the straightꝭ of Sonday & soe to Bantam.

From Selland to Sumatra and to Bantam

Att Cowcheen[3] wch is a place neere Callicutt is stoare of pepꝑ diu^rs kindꝭ of Goomes Pearles Diamondꝭ Rubies & Bezar stones All wch are brought from Goa & more quantitie then att Goa

Comodities of Cowcheen neere Callicutt.

Mr C. saith for truth that all the Countrie of Guzarattꝭ & the k. himselfe, are greatelie subiect to the Portugalls and dare not doe any thinge to dis-

Guzaratts

[1] Ceylon. [2] Colombo. [3] Cochin.

please the Portugalls. And alsoe the Guzaratte do saile in the Portugalls shipps in eu'y pte of the East Indies therefore he thinketh that the Guzaratte & Portugalls will rather betray vs then deale honestlie wth vs.

In all the Countrie of Bengalla (wherein *Mosopotania*,[1] is a Cheefe Cittie) are made all the stuffes that we Carrie to the *Moloccos* & are there to be had exceeding Cheepe, theis blew peeces of 14 yards as m[r] C. saith are to be bought in Bengalla for ¾ a Royall of 8 or 3 of them for 2 Royalls of 8, but theis stuffe are made cheeflye vp in the Countrie frome the Townes

Bengalla

Mesopotania
Cheramandalla
S[t] Thome.

St Thome & *Cheramandalla* are alsoe in Bengalla, & there are all those Pinthados & other stuffe made w[ch] we carrie to *Moloccos*.

In Bengalla we vtter theis englishe Comodities

Ryalls of 8 cheeflie, Iron small gadde[2] of steele Tynn in small barrs, or little peeces & leade he knoweth not whether English Cloth will sell, all kinde of munition will sell exceedinge well in Bengalla & mesopotania

English wares as gaddes of Steele Tynn.

Theis people are not subiect to the Portugalls, but the Portugalls dwell in *Mesopotamia* & soe haue the ffleminge a factorie theare, and all men may traffique here freelie.

Free trade in Mesopotania.

There are many kingdomes in Bengalla, but the Cittie of *Mesopotamia* is the Cheeffest Cittie *English* cloth or rather kersies doe sell viz: Stamells venice redde, & blewes.

att Betania English cloth, kersies.

Head peeces that are full of Studde & a place to put a fether behinde and alsoe some grauen & some guilt will sell in barter for Cloues exceeding well: alsoe longe peeces dagge[3] plate of Copper such as we bring from Hambrowe[4] yf you sould not aboue 4 or 500 peeces will sell well, but you

Ternata of the rest of the Ilandes and trade of the Moloccos read at larg in my other booke written onlie of the Moloccos.

[1] See note 10, page 73.

[2] In Phillips' *New World of Words* a gad of steel is explained as "a small piece of steel to heat in the fire, and quench in any liquor" (quoted in *Nares' Glossary*).

[3] Pistols.

[4] Hamburg (Hamborough).

must lett them see but a few att a tyme, heere the people must be kindlie vsed and you shall haue freindshipp. But o^{r} ffactor Thomas Brown [e] being Churlish & rude to them, they would not deale wth him but foboure to our greate losse for he thought he should be churlish to them as he was att Bantam, but they people are not such.

How to preserue Iron tooles from rustinge.

Take apinte of Sallet oyle & a pound of Leade dust, being verie fine you must haue the finest file as you can gett to make the dust small, mingle the said dust and Oyle together apound of leade wth a pinte Oyle, being thus mingled lett them stand amonth and the leade will be dissolued into the Oyle Then take a Cloth & dipp into the Oyle & wipe the edg tooles therewth & yt will keepe them or any Iron, & steele from rustinge.

TO ALL THOSE[1] to whome theis presentꝭ shall come of what degree & Condicõn soeu^{r} we the Companie of English marchauntꝭ for the discou^{r}y of new trades, & of the East India Companie send greetinge Whereas wth the Consent & likeing of his ma^{tie} & the priuie councell, we haue intertayned the bearer hereof Iohn Knight & his Companie to vndertake and attempte the ꝑformaunce & discou^{r}y of c^{r}teyne places, as we haue geuen him Order, & haue prepared and solie Comitted a small shipp called the hopewell vnto the Cardge of the said Iohn Knight to the same end & purpose & to noe other effect. Theis are therefore to intreate & desier you, & eu^{r}y of you to ꝑmitt & suffer the said Iohn Knight wth the said shipp & Companie freelie and quietlie to passe wthout any yor lett

A passe to Iohn Knight for discouery of the Norwest passadge.

[1] Knight's voyage in search of the North-West Passage was undertaken in 1606. The *Hopewell* crossed the Atlantic in safety, and reached the coast of Labrador, where Knight and three others landed, and were never seen or heard of again. The survivors returned to England in September, 1606. Knight's journal of the expedition, which is still preserved among the India Office Records, has been published by Mr. C. R. Markham as an appendix to his *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster* (Hakluyt Society, 1877).

hindraunce or molestacōn. In testimonie whereof wee haue caused the seurall seales of or Companies herevnto to be fixed. London the 10th of Aprill 1606. And in the 4th yeare of the reigne of or Soureigne Lo: Iames by the grace of God k. ot greate Brittan ffraunce & Ireland defendor of the faith &c:

WHEARAS we [are] aduised that one of or East India shipps[1] is entred into the Porte of Plymoth, one other neare the Ile of wight: & the 3 lefte in the soundinge & we doe not knowe what state the said shipps are in but doubt they are weeke of men victuals and other ꝑvisions. ffor better Comforte and releueing of them and their wante we haue intreated you A B & C D wth all expedicōn to repaier to the said porte of Plimoth or there aboute where any of the said shipps shall be arriued, & doe your best endevors aswell to ꝑuide for such men as you shall finde to be sicke & not not able to endure the present passadge by Sea: as alsoe all thinge wch shall be necessarie for the rest of the men and for ꝑvisions of all wante of of the said shipps. And for yor better Assistaunce herein (yf need be) you are in the Companies name to intreate any lawfull favor from the Officers of his maties shipps, & others for men Anchors Cables &c: And furder that nothinge be ymbecilled taken carried or conveyed out of the said shipps by any ꝑson whatsoeur: wee pray you to make yor retourne backe againe in such shipp as you shall soe first light on for the more ease of such as came in the same now wearied wth longe & tedious trouble of Sea & weather. Prouided yf you shall happen to light of 2 of the said shipps in one place or not farr distaunt. That then in such case we desire you to deuide yor selues each to either shipp for prouiding & doing as aforesaid.

A Comission to goe to the ships and prouide necessaries &c.

and 2 others to other portes

Theis men had also warrants wth them from mr Garway to the farmers of the Coaste for prouision of money.

[1] The home-coming ships of Middleton's expedition (*Second Voyage*, 1604-6). The *Red Dragon* was off Plymouth on 2nd May, 1606, and both she and the *Assention* were in the Downs on the sixth of the same month. (*Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton*, Hakluyt Society, 1857.)

And alsoe yf you shall heeare of any thinge to be taken out of the said shipps by any whosoeu^r, you shall vse the best meanes you may for recou^ry & obtayneing thereof agayne for thuse of the Companie. And whatsoeu^r you shall doe in effectinge of this busines for the good of the Companie we doe by this o^r Comission ratifie Confirme & allow. Giuen vnder the seale of o^r Companie the 7th of May 1606.

WEE THE Comitties for the East India Companie: & the principalls of the Porters whose names are heerevnder subscribed doe Couenaunte and agree in forme followinge. Viz: That the said Comitties doe ꝑmyse, in the name of the said Companye to pay vnto the said porters for slinging, Craying, loading in & out of Carte, carrying, wayghing, & stoweing in the warehowse or Sello^rs appointed for the said Companies goodę, and all other thingę necessary to this effect the some of for eu^ry Hoggeshed, & for eu^ry bagg baile & Canister the some of . In Consideracõn of wch seu^rall somes the said Porters for them & eu^ry of them Covenant ꝑmyse & agree to and wth the said Comitties. That they the said Porters shall att their own ꝑꝑ chardge slinge Craine lade in & and out of Carte & Cartę, & Carrie weighe and stowe the said Companies goodę now to be vnladen out of the shipps latelie arriued, or cause the same to be done in manner as aforesaid And alsoe to satisfie the said Companie for whatsoeu^r damadge shall happen to the same goodę by the default or ymbecilm^t of the said Porters or any other whome they shall appointe to this busines, either in Craying or while the same goodę shall be vnder their power or service to be done in the premisses. And furder to stow & lade on bourde the lighters all such emptie Caske, and other thingę as shall be needfull to be ymployed for ꝓuision for the same goodę, w^thout demaundeinge any thinge for the same. And moreou^r for the better satisfaccõn & indempnitie of the said Companie shall before they doe ymploye any ꝑson whatsoeu^r

The agreem^t wth the porters.

aboute this busines giue vnto the said Comitties a Catlogue or scrowle of all the names of such as they shall soe sett on worke. And to conclude yt is furder agreed by & betweene the said ꝑties that yf att any time in the doing of this service the said Porters, or any of or for them shall be founde negligent or vnfaithfull, that yt shall be free for the said Comitties to make choyse of others att their wills & pleasure. Vnto the ꝑformance of the same wee & eu^{r}y of vs doe binde o^{r} selues by theis p^{r}senteꝭ. wherevnto we haue sett o^{r} handeꝭ the 10th of May 1606.

THE AGREEMENT wth the Wharffenger.

The agreem^{t} wth the wharfenger.

THIS BYLL Wittnesseth. That yt is couenanted concluded & agreed betweene Thomas Watson wharfenger of Custome howse & woll keys, & the Comitties for the East India Companie in forme followinge. viz. That the said Comitties, doe promyse to pay vnto the said Tho. Watson or his assignes for lighteridge wharffedg and Cranadge all & other thingeꝭ necessarie to this effect the some of 3^{d} for eu^{r}y bagg baile Canister hoggeshead or Caske. In Consideracõn whereof the said T W. doth for himselfe & his Assignes Couenaunte ꝑmyse & agree to and wth the said Comitties That he the said T: W: att his owne ꝑꝑ Coste & chardges shall finde sufficient stanch & stronge lighters and able Craines and men for carryinge & Crayinge of the said Companies goodes now to be vnladen out of their shipps latelie arriued in the Riuer of Thames, And furder to satisfie the said Companie for whatsoeu^{r} damadge shall happen vnto the same goodes by the insufficiencie of any th lighters or Craines, Crayne Ropes or slyngeꝭ he shall sett a worke or by the default or vnfaithfullnes of any ꝑson whatsoeu^{r} he shall ymploye aboute the same lighters Craines or wharffes or any of them. And further to carrie abourd the said Companies shipps in his said lighters all such baggeꝭ emptie Caske & other thingeꝭ as shall be needfull to be imployed for the same goodeꝭ wthout demaunding any thinge for the same. And to Conclude it is furder agreed

by & betwene the said ꝑties, that yf att any tyme in the ꝑformance of the premisses the said T. W. shall be found to deale otherwyse then shall be fittinge for the good of the Companie: Or yf any other will serue the Companie in this respect from blackwall better cheepe then is formerlie agreed vpon That then and in such case it shalbe free for the said Comitties to make choyse of others, or to ymploie the said T. W. still att their will and pleasures vnto the ꝑformance whereof we doe binde or selues by this or present writtinge. And in Witnes of the same, we haue therevnto sett or handꝭ the 10th of May 1606.

LOUEINGE freind mr Kealing[1] heereinclosed we doe send you the Bill of lading of the money and apꝑell laden in that shipp the Suzan together wth a generall Invoice aswell of all the money & goodꝭ in the 4 shipps as alsoe of all that wch formrlie remaned in the Countrie of the East Indies to thend both you and all the ffactors there may take knowledge & see what they haue in chardge for the better ordering and disposeing whereof both you & they are to follow such direccõn as we haue alredie sufficientlie & att lardge geuen you in or lres & Comission wherein we nothinge doubt of yor due care & Consideracõn eury one of you in his place in dischardg of yor duties accordinge to that trust we doe repose in you. Thus wishing you a faire winde to be bound we comend vs vnto you, & Comitt you & all yor Companie to the most safe ꝑteccõn of the highest whoe send you a safe & speedie passadge to yor desired porte & graunte vs a happie meetinge to godꝭ glorie & to or Comfortꝭ &c. In Grauesend the 25th of March 1604. Signed by Sr Thomas Smyth.

A seuerall lre wth the Bills & inuoyces to each Shipp from Grauesend.

[1] Then setting out for the Indies in command of the *Susan* in the *Second Voyage* (see note 2, page 51).

A REMEMBRANCE[1] for Gabriell Towerson Robert Browne, George Woodnoth, Henrie Sydall & Iohn Saires the first of Octob 1605. in Bantam.

Sr Henrie Middletons remembrances left att Bantam and the names and wages of those theare.

THE FIRSTE thinge you are to haue care of after the deptinge of the shipps is to gett workemen to ou^rsee all the decayed places of yor ware howses & to see them sufficientlie reped & to remoue all the carriadges wth such lumber of Timber as lieth scattered aboute the yarde, into some warehowse to avoide the daunger of fyer[2] other wyse yt is verie doubtfull all both howse & goodē will be lost, & in any Case lett not att any tyme any thinge apte to take fyer lie neere the warehowse doores that thereby you be not debarred to sucker yt, yf need shall requier.

ALSOE I thinke yt fitt you sell such Iava goodē as are likelie of pishing for pepp yf you thinke you cann make sale thereof to the Companies pffitt either to the Hollenders or China Iunckē, when they shall come hithere And not to bestowe the chardge of Clensing it, but to sell yt as yt cometh to yor handē. If not to sell for Royalls & such moneys as you shall make thereof to be putt out to the Companies pffitt, as in yor good discrecõn you shall thinke most meete: And for those goodē brought backe by me frome the Molloccos wth some other in the warehowse, wch will better sell theare then heare, as m^r Browne and m^r Woodnoth Can best informe you, I would not that any of them should be sould theare, but be carefullie looked vnto that the perish not for lacke of eareing[3]: And yf the Hecto^r and Suzan should retourne agayne as I make small doubt by godē helpe but they will, you maie doe as you & them that come in them shall thinke most meete: But my opinion is the greater shipp is fittest to take in the goodē & pceede for the Molloccos for that I doubt not

[1] Sir Henry Middleton set sail from Bantam on his homeward voyage on 6th October, 1605. This "Remembrance" has been printed by Mr. Bolton Corney in his *Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton* (Hakluyt Society, 1857).

[2] For the prevalence of fires—both incendiary and accidental—at Bantam, and the anxiety thus occasioned to the English factors, see Edmond Scot's account in *Purchas* before quoted.

[3] Airing.

there will be Molloccos good{e} enough in yo[r] warehowse to lade her wth Cloues. Yo[u] are to haue greate care you make noe debt{e} but such as you may att all tymes, after the expectac͠on of o[r] shipps w[ch] will be aboute 18 monnethes hence, haue in att 2 or 3 monnethes warninge: the reason is I am ꝑswaded they will bring such order from the Company to cleare all matters out of the Countrie wherein they beare soe greate a venture w[th]out proffitt And therefore aboute that tyme you may haue made sale of all the Iava wares in the howse to be ymployed in pepꝑ or any other Comoditie w[ch] you thinke may rebound to the Companies most ꝑffitt.

AND wheareas m[r] Gabriell Towerson[1] I am possessed w[th] a conceite of yo[r] discrec͠on & good gou[r]nm[te] I haue made choyse of you to be Commaunder ouer all this place, but to take the Councell & aduice of m[r] Browne,[2] m[r] Woodnoth, m[r] Sydall, and m[r] Saires[3] in all matters that the Companie maie be the better assured of all thing{e} that passeth

AND yf yt please god to laye his hand vpon you m[r] Towerson & take you out of this world I would haue you to giue ouer your place to m[r] Browne, and yf you Robert Browne should die then to m[r] Woodnoth, & yf you George Woodnoth shall die they[4] yt shall rest in your discrec͠on to make yo[r] choyse of m[r] Sydall & m[r] Sayrs w[ch] of they 2 you thinke fittest for such a place allwayes haueing a care to leaue yo[r] busynes in the best & playnest manner you can: alsoe I doe appointe you m[r] Browne to be booke keeꝑ for all matters in this place.

AND for soe much as they last voyadge there was noe order p[r]scribed by the Generall to such m[r]chaunt{e} as he left there for

[1] See note 2, page 33. [2] See note 1, page 52.

[3] John Saires, Sayers or Saris, here mentioned as being left as a factor at Bantam by Sir Henry Middleton, wrote an account of events there from October, 1605, to October, 1609, which is printed in *Purchas*. The next heard of him is in 1611, when he took command of the ships of the *Eighth Voyage* (1611-14) in the course of which he opened up trade with Japan, establishing a factory at Firando in 1613. In June, 1616, a factor at that place writing to another at Miako mentions that Capt. Saris "hath married Mr. Mexses daughter in Whitechapel; it is thought he shall come out "commander this year of the best fleet that ever came to the East Indies" (. *C.* 371); but, as a matter of fact, he was not again employed by the Company.

(sic) A slip for "then."

the keeping of each one his ꝑticular estate in writeing soe that thereby they seemed to neglect the same as by proofe we finde for not any of the deceased haue left anie writeinge concerninge their owne estatꝭ behinde them Therefore I doe ordeyne that eu^{r}y m^{r}chaunt left heere by me doe keepe an Accompt of his owne busines for the better satisfieing of the Companie & his freindꝭ, to whome he shall bequeath his goodꝭ yf yt please God to call him out of this lyfe.

You are to be verie carefull for the ou^{r}lookeing of all yor goodꝭ, & soe[1] that you suffer them not lie neere the grounde for yf they doe, yt will both roote them, & breed wormes in them as by experience we haue founde, & looke that once a mometh all the goods be carried out to eareinge & in soe doeinge I hope nothinge will come to losse.

YOU are alsoe to vse good husbandrie in chardges of howse keepinge for that the Companie are att greate Chardge to mayntayne soe many men vpon soe small a stocke & what ꝑuision is bought for the howse my will is that there be noe ꝑtialitie therein but lett all the m^{r}chauntꝭ fare be alike & not some to haue Comaund & the rest be wthout.

MY desire is that you endeuo^{r} yor selues to hold freindshipp wth the Hollenders & suffer noe euill speeches to passe by them by anie of our people & although the meaner sorte of them be rude I finde that their Commaunders be desirous to lyue in amitie & loue wth vs.[2] Therefore yf you heare any matter p^{r}tendinge att any tyme against them by the people of the Countrie that you aduertise them thereof, for they haue ꝑmised on their behalfe to doe the like, for yf the people of the Countrie ꝑceaue we be linked in one: they will be advised how they attempt any thinge agaynst

[1] See?

[2] On the first appearance of the English in the Eastern Seas, they were received in very friendly manner by the Dutch, as the two nations were in alliance at home, and were both threatened, as well in Europe as in the Indies, by the formidable power of the King of Spain. "It is to be noted," says Edmond Scot, "that though "we [the Dutch & English factors at Bantam] were mortall enemies in our Trade, "yet in all other matters we were friends, and would haue liued and dyed one for "the other." As the Portuguese power died away, and commercial rivalry increased, bitter feelings arose between the former allies, culminating in the brutal execution of the English factors at Amboyna in 1623; and thenceforward all real friendship between the two nations was at an end.

any of o^{r} Nations. Therefore you must be carefull there be noe occasions Offered on o^{r} behalfe: and looke what order o^{r} late Gen^{r}all Sr Iames Lancaster left for the paym^{t} of menns wages herein this place I doe hold yt most ffitt the same order be obserued still, onelie you are to paye noe wagꝭ to Lawrence the Surgion & Edward Ellimore, who be not their owne men but servantꝭ & therefore they must att all tymes be soe plied[1] by you of all such thingꝭ as the shall necessarie wante & the rest of the wages to be reserued to thuse of their m^{rs} whome they serue.

IF there be any of the meaner sorte of men I meane saue the m^{r}chauntꝭ that shall misbehaue them selues towardꝭ you m^{r} Towerson or any of the m^{r}chauntꝭ or otherwyse yt shall rest in yor discrecõn to ponish them whereby they may reforme them selues, & as for the m^{r}chauntꝭ I leue them wth yo^{u} I know their discrecõn to be such that I dare vndertake they will giue noe occasionn of offence.

THUS desiering you all to liue in vnitie and loue together & to beare one wth another, & not to take eu^{r}y thinge att the worste that shall be spoken & that you meete altogether att morneing and att eueninge prayer, & soe doeing god will blesse & ꝓsper all you take in hand & soe I take my leaue of you prayinge god to saue blesse & defend you all Amen.

THE NAMES of the men wth their wagꝭ left by me Henrie Middleton att Bantam beginyng their paie the first day of October 1605.

m^{r} Gabriell Towerson 6^{li} ꝑ monneth ...	06^{li}	00^{s}	00^{d}
m^{r} Robert Browne 6^{li} ꝑ monneth ...	06	00	00
George Woodnoth 3^{li} 6^{s} 8^{d} ꝑ monneth ...	03	06	08
Iohn Sayers 3^{li} 6^{s} 8^{d} ꝑ monneth	03	06	08
Henrie Sydall 3^{li} 6 8 ꝑ monneth	03	06	08
Richard Cotton 1^{li} 5^{s} 00 ꝑ monneth ...	01	05	00
Lawrence Sturdynan 23^{s} ꝑ monneth ...	01	03	00
Richard Claxan 24^{s} ꝑ monneth	01	04	00
Iohn Delane 22^{s} ꝑ monneth	01	02	00
Iohn Bemunde 26^{s} ꝑ monneth	01	06	00
Edward Preston 20^{s} ꝑ monneth	01	00	00

[1] Supplied.

Edward Collenes 22s ꝑ monneth	01	02	00
Iohn Smyth 22s ꝑ monneth	01	02	00
Matthew Price 24s ꝑ monneth	01	04	00
Iames More 24s ꝑ monneth	01	04	00
Michaell Martin 26s ꝑ monneth	01	06	00
Edward Elsmore 28 ꝑ monneth	01	08	00
Austen Spaulden[1] 26s ꝑ monneth	01	06	00
	37½	02	

A COMPUTACON of the chardge for setting forth to Sea vpon a third voyadge to Bantam & the Molloccos vpon a new accompte, and for discouery of furder trade & other places wth the Dragon Hector and a Pinnace as ffolloweth. viz.

THE DRAGON.

Dragon.

INPRIMIS the stocke in the East Indies to be paied for	3000li	00s	00d
THE price of the Dragon by appraisemt amounted to ...	2400	16	00
her repaier & chardge in setting forth will coste ...	4770	00	00
Her victualls	2895	00	00
Imprest to men	0784	00	00
	13849	16	00

[1] Augustine Spalding, interpreter at Bantam, appears to have gone out with Lancaster in the *First Voyage* (1601). In September, 1609, he was made by Keeling chief of the factory there. In August, 1614, he was at home, and petitioning for recompense for his services, but his application was met with charges of having enriched himself to the value of 8,000*l.* or 10,000*l.* to the Company's prejudice; in the following month, however, he was admitted a freeman gratis, "for long service." Three years later (Dec., 1617), he entered into an agreement with the Company to serve them for a further period of five years, and proceeded to Bantam accordingly, to resume his old post as head of the factory. In 1621 his employers were much exercised by reports of corruption and private trade among their servants there, Spalding being especially mentioned, as being by the common voice worth £20,000. He left Bantam on his homeward voyage 15th Dec., 1623, in the *Royal Exchange*. The Com-

THE HECTOR.

Hector.	Her price by appraysm^{t} ...	1416^{li}	00^{s}	00^{d}
	Her repaier & chardge of setting forth.	3000	00	00
	Her victualls	1726	00	00
	Imprest to men	322	00	00
		6464	00	00

THE PYNNACE

Pynnace.	A Pinnace of 120 Tunns & all her chardges of setting forth wth victualls & ympreste	2600^{li}	00^{s}	00^{d}
	Soma totalis	22913^{li}	16^{s}	00

THE MARCHANDIZE the[1] be bought and sent in theis Shipps.

Leade.	Leade for 150 ffother at 10^{li} ꝑ ffother	1500	00	00
Iron.	Iron for 150 Tonns Eng: & Spann: att 12^{li} ꝑ Tunn ...	1800	00	00
Tynn.	Tynn in small barrs 5 Tunns at 72^{li} ꝑ Tunn	0360	00	00

Clothes.

Clothes.	30 venice Reade att	12^{li} ...	360^{li}	00^{s}	00^{d}
	20 stamelle[2] at...	20 ...	400	00	00
	10 popingey greenes[3] at	12 ...	120	00	00

pany determined to enter an action against him for private trading (1624), but finally the matter was compromised by his payment of a fine of 1000*l*., subsequently reduced to 900*l*. This is the last we hear of him.

[1] A mistake for "to."

[2] Stammel, from the French *estamel*, a kind of common woollen stuff, dyed red.

"Red-hood, the first that doth appear
In Stammel. Scarlet is too dear."
—(Ben Jonson's *Love's Welcome*.)

[3] Popinjays were gay coloured woollen stuffs, for which Gloucester was once famous, and they were so called after the common green and red parrot, the *pappagallo*, *i.e.* "talking cock," of the Italians, and *papegai* of the French; who thus made the

5 yellowes att	11 ...	055	00	00
5 flame Coullo^{rs} als Gallaunte[1] at 15^{li}	...	075	00	00
2 blacke att	20^{li} ...	040	00	00
5 violette grayne at 18^{li}	...	090	00	00
5 Murreys graine[2] at 18^{li}	...	090	00	00
5 blewes att 15^{li} ...	...	075	00	00
5 plunckette[3] att 12^{li} ...	...	060	00	00
5 ffrench greenes att 12^{li}	...	060	00	00
5 grasse greenes att 12^{li}	...	060	00	00
5 Azars[4] att 12^{li} ...	...	060	00	00
	107 clothes	1545	00	00

Devonshire kersies

Deuonshires kersies.

20 stamette[5] att 4^{li}... ...	80^{li}			
10 Violette graine at 4^{li} ...	40			
30 venice Redde ... 10 popingey greenes ... 10 flame Coullo^{rs} ... 10 grasse greenes ...	att 50^{s}—150^{li}			
10 gallaunte ... 10 yallowes ... ... 4 blacke ... ... 6 blewes	att 50^{s} — 75^{li}			
	120 kersies	0345	00	00

final syllable of its name refer to its gay plumage; and the same significance is retained in the English form of "popinjay," "jay" being the same word as "gay," as in "jay," *i.e.* "the gay (plumaged) bird."

[1] Gala ribbons or scarfs.

[2] Mulberry-coloured stuffs.

[3] A sort of woollen stuff, generally coloured sky-blue (and hence called also "celestines"), but sometimes crimson, for which Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, and Somersetshire were once noted. The word seems connected with "blanket."

[4] Another variety of blue-coloured cloth once manufactured in the same three counties.

[5] A slight-textured woollen stuff resembling linsey-woolsey.

Keighleys narrow listes of the best sortes.

15 venice Reddꝭ 10 popingey greenes 15 flame Collo^{rs} 10 grasse greenes 10 yellowes 10 Watchettꝭ[2]	70 peecꝭ at $53\frac{1}{4}^{s}$ ꝑ peece 0183^{li} 06^{s} 08^{d}.[1]

North: dozons.	[10] Northeren Doozons Readꝭ att 4^{li} 5^{s} ꝑ peece	0042 10 00
Hams: kersies.	10 blewes 10 Watchettꝭ } 20 peecꝭ at 3^{li} 12^{s}	0074 00 00[1]
Sayes.	20 peecꝭ Sayes[3] of dyvers Collo^{rs} att 52^{s}	0052 00 00
Iron worke.	Head peecꝭ, white, grauen, & gilded wth some few shirtꝭ of male	0100 16 08
	Somma totalis of all the m^{r}chandize	6001^{li} 16^{s} 8^{d}

A Veiw of the chardge of this third voyadge.

STOCKE remayneing in the East Indies ...	3000^{li}	00	00
The Dragon setting forth	10849	16	00
The Hecto^{r} setting forth	6464	00	00
The Pinnace setting forth	2600	00	00
Soma totalis ...	22913	16	00
Marchandize outwardes will coste	6001^{li}	16	8
The some of the whole chardge outwardꝭ	28915^{li}	12^{s}	8^{d}

A Computacõn of theis shipps reladeinge homewardꝭ.

Dragons ladinge.	FOR THE Dragon ouer and aboue 6500 sackes of pepꝑ and 460 bahars of Cloues wch is esteemed the goodꝭ in that Countrie will ꝓuide 4000 sackꝭ of pepꝑ at 6^{r} ꝑ sack ...	24000^{r}

[1] There are discrepancies here, probably due to errors in copying from the original estimate; and there is also some mistake in the total.

[2] A blue-coloured woollen stuff, for which Watchet, in Somersetshire, was at this time famous.

[3] A thin-textured woollen stuff, resembling the light serges of to-day.

Hector	FOR THE Hecto^{r} to be laden att the Molloccos wth pepꝑ Nuttꝭ. Cloues & mace will coste	40000^{r}
Pynnace.	THE LADINGE of the Pinnace att the *Mollucco*s wth pepꝑ, Nuttꝭ: Cloues & mace	12000
	THE ladeinge of theis 3 shipps ouer & aboue the goodꝭ in the Countrie will cost in Royalls of 8, rated att 4½s ꝑ Royall	76000 wch is starlinge 17100^{li}
	The totall some of the chardge outwardꝭ	28915^{li} 12^{s} 08^{d}
	And of the ladeinge homewardꝭ	[17100^{li} 00 00]
	Soma totalis outwardꝭ & homewardꝭ	46015^{li} 12^{s} 08^{d}
	Besidꝭ mens wagꝭ att the retourne of theis ships ...	10000^{li} 00 00
The totall reduced to 40000^{li} by abatem^{t} of some particulers.	THE wch Computacōn being reueiwed is reduced from 46015^{li} 12^{s} 08 to aboute ...	40000^{li} 00 00

THE[1] ꝑportion of victuals for the 2 shipps & the Pinnace, wth 280 men, & by whome the same is to be ꝑuided freelie

Breade 1260^{c} weight Meale 0179½^{c} Beanes 0196 Bushells Pease 0392 Bushells Oate meale 0263 Bushells Steale[2] Wheate 0263 Bushells	ꝑuided by m^{r}	Nicholas Lynge Reynold Greene

[1] Entered also on the Court Minutes for 10th February, 1606/7.

[2] Mr. Rundall, who, in his *Voyages towards the North-West* (Hakluyt Society, 1849), has printed the table given on page 102, queries "French grain?" as an explanation of this phrase. But, although it is known that the wheat carried out in the early voyages came almost exclusively from France, this fact gives no clue to the meaning of the word "steale." It is probably derived from the "steelynes and hardnes"

Sider ...	... 0110½ Tunn	provided by m^{r} Robert Iohnson
Proines french or damaske	010^{c}	
Rasonns of the sonne ...	7½^{c}	
Currante	... 10^{c}	
Ginger	... 0¼^{c}	
Nutmegge ...	000 12^{li}	
Poulder sugar ...	... 002^{c}	
Pepp	... 0 12^{l}	
Cake sope lepo ...	... 01^{c}½	
Lemon water[1]		
Beames scales & weightes &c: as appeth by the Register[2] the 3 of December 1606.		

Shipp beare 060 Tunns ¼	brewed by m^{r} Campion by order of Courte
Stronge beare 20½ Tunn	

Wyne ... 0090 pipes provided by m^{r} Rich Humble / Willm Harrison

Beaffe drie salted	224½^{c} weight	provided by m^{r}	Nich^{is} Leate.
Beaffe pickled	0429^{c} weight		Hump: Smyth
Porke pickled	0600^{c} weight		ffrancis Taylo^{r}

(*Court Minutes*, 14th May, 1619) which was supposed to be the peculiar property of the foreign-grown commodity, and to make it therefore more suitable for the manufacture of biscuits for long voyages. It is interesting to note that, at the date already quoted, the Company's purveyor declared this belief in the superiority of French corn to be unfounded, and thenceforward its importation for this purpose appears to have been abandoned.

[1] We may trace in this item the hand of Sir James Lancaster, who was one of the first to use the juice of lemons as an antidote to scurvy, and by this precaution kept his men in good health, in striking contrast to the crews of the other vessels of his squadron, who were so reduced by disease that, on reaching Table Bay on the outward voyage, he was obliged to send men on board to assist in taking down their sails. It is worthy of notice that this use of sour juices as an antiscorbutic was not formally adopted by the Admiralty until 1795, nearly two centuries after its value had been pointed out by Albertus, and its practical efficacy demonstrated by Sir Richard Hawkins and Captain Lancaster.

[2] *i.e.* the Court Minutes (now lost).

Cheese ...	009 weyes[1]		Iohn Highlord
Butter ...	0039 ffirkins		
Stockfish ...	35^{c}		
Backalew[2] ...	0208 great c	puided by m^{r}	
Lynge ...	007^{c}		
Musterdseed	011 Bushells		
Bey salt ...	012 h heede		Robert
White salt ...	003 h heede		Renington[3]
Vinagre ...	011 Tunns		George Bennett
Aquavitæ ...	0280 gallons		
Rape Oyle ...	07½ h heede	provided by m^{r}	
Honnie ...	006 barrells		
wax Candles	0280^{li}		
Tallowe Candles	400^{li}		Edmond Scott.
Canves for sayles Anco^{rs} & to see the sayles cutt out		provided by m^{r}	Wiltm Greenwell[4]
			Wiltm Harrison.[5]
All Caske & Iron hoopes for the wyne onelie excepted viz water Caske 0780 Tuns Baricos[6] 0780		provided by m^{r}	Robert Middleton
			Richard Pearce
Sweete Oyle	1120 gallons	pvided by m^{r}	Robert Coxe.
Rice ...	0300^{c}½ weight[7]		Tho: Westwray.

As appeareth more att lardge by the Register the 13 of October & the 27 of Ianuarie 1606. Aswell for pvision of Iron leade heedpeece, Clothes, Kersies[8] Gunnerstoare Boateswaines stoare Stewarde stoare &c:

[1] A somewhat indefinite weight, varying between 2 and 3 cwt.

[2] Cod fish; from the Spanish *bacallao*, which again is said to have been derived from the native name in Newfoundland and the adjacent mainland.

[3] "Benington" in the Court Minutes.

[4] Deputy Governor from 1604 to 1615, when he retired on the plea of age. He died some four or five years later.

[5] One of the original Committees, and Treasurer from 1613 until his death in March, 1620.

[6] Barrels or breakers (Spanish *barrica*).

[7] Three hundred weight and a half is meant (see next page).

[8] A coarse woollen stuff, originally manufactured at Kersey, in Suffolk.

ffebruarie 1606

A GENERALL[1] pportion of victuallinge made for twoe shipps and a Pynnasse now bound for the *EAST INDIES* The Dragon 600 Tunns. 150 marchantƐ & Marriners. The Hector 500 Tunns. 100 mrchauntƐ & Mariners. The Consent 105 Tuns. 030 mrchantƐ & Mariners.

		DRAGON	*HECTOR*	*CONSENT*	*TOTALL*
Breade	ffor 21 mo: att 24^{ll} a man per mo: 30 daies to amo: is	675^c weight	450^c weight	135^c weight	1260^c
Meale	ffor 3 mo: 24^{ll} per mo: for a man	096½^c weight	064^c weight	019 weight	179½^c
Shipbeare	ffor 3 mo: at a pottle aman per diem	028¼ Tunns	018¾ Tunns	005¾ Tunns	060¼ Tunns
	ffor leakedg & lees	004½ Tunns	003 Tunns	001 Tunn	
Beare stronge	ffor one monneth	009½ Tunns	006¼ Tunns	002 Tunns	020½ Tunns
	ffor leakinge & lees	001½ Tunns	001 Tunn	000¼ Tunns	
Sider	ffor 12 mo: att a quarte a man per diem	040 Tunns	036 Tunns	010½ Tunns	110½ Tunns
	ffor leakedg after tenn in the 100	005½ Tunns	003½ Tunns	001 Tunn	
Wyne	ffor 8 mo: 1 pinte a man per diem	041 Pipes	028 Pipes	008 pipes	083½ pipes
beafe drisalted	ffor 2 mo: at 1^l Di[2] a man per diem	120^{c}½ weight	080^c weight	024^c weight	224^c weight
beafe pickled	ffor 4 monneth 1^{ll} ½ a man per diem	241^c weight	160^c weight	028^c weight	429^c
porck pickled	ffor 10 monneths att 4^l for 5 men per diem	322^c weight	214^c weight	064^c weight	600^c
pease:	ffor 9 mo: att halfe a pinte	210 bushells pease	140 bushells pease	042 bus: peas	392 bushells
beanes:	a man per diem ⅔ peas & ⅓ beanes	105 bu: beanes	070 bu: beanes	021 bu: beanes	196 bushells
Backalew	ffor 3 mo: att a fish a man per diem	112^c at 120 the c	074^c ffish	022^c ffish	208^c
Stockfish	ffor 1 mo: att ½ a fish aman per diem	019^c. 120 ye c	012½^c	004^c ffish	035^c
Lynge.	ffor a monneth at 4 mease to a fish 5 men to a mess	003^{c}¾ fish	002½^c	000¾ of a c	007^c
Oatmeale	ffor 4 mo: att ½ pinte a man per diem	141 bu:	094 bushells	028 bu:	263 bushells
Steal wheate	ffor 4 monnethes att ½ a pinte a man per diem	141 bushells	094 bushells	028 bushells	263 bushells
	Victualling extraordinarie		Victualling extraordinarie		
	Cheese	005 weyes	003 weyes	001 wey	009 weyes
	Butter	021 ffirkins	014 ffirkins	004 ffirkins	039 ffirkins
	sweete Oyle	600 gallons	400 Gallons	120 Gallons	1120 gallons
	vinagre	006 Tunns	004 Tunns	001 Tunn	011 Tunn
	Aquavite	150 gallons	100 gallons	030 gallons	280 gallons
	Honny	003 barrells	002 barrells	000½ barrells	005½ barrells
	Musterdseed	006 bushell	004 bushels	001 bush:	011 bushells.
	Rice	002^c	001^c weight	000½^c weight	003½^c weight
	Salt	006 h heedes	004 hh 3 bay & 1 white	002 h heedes	012 h heedes
	Rape Oyle for lampes	003 h heedes	002½ hh	002 h heedes	007½ h heedes
	wax Candles	100 pounde	100 pounde	080 pounde	280 pounde
	Tallow Candles	150 pounde	150 pounde	100 pounde	400 pounde
	Water Caske	040 Tunns	030 Tunns	008 Tunns	
	Barricos	040	030	008	078
	Wyne for the mrchauntes att Bantam	004 h heedes	0	0	0
	Wyne extraordinarie for the Captaines table	003 h heedes	0	0	0
	Lemon water				
	Sugar synamon ginger Clo: mace pepper & Nutmeges	.			

[1] Entered also on the Court Minutes for 13th Feb., 1606/7.

[2] *i.e.* one pound and a half.

THE COMPANIE[1] of mrchauntꝭ tradinge [into] the East Indies humblie praye that by yor Honors meanes his matie would be pleased in their favors to Cause to be written in his highnes name, to sundrie kingꝭ & Gournors theis ɫres followinge Viz.

1 TO THE greate kinge of Suratt vnto whose Countries we haue not traded heretofore but now comeing as mrchauntꝭ & ffreindꝭ to traffique & trade pray that or ꝑsons shipps & goodꝭ may be well & freindlie vsed And that he would be pleased to graunte vs priuiledgꝭ & libtie to traffique quietlie in his dominions & to settle a ffactorie theare, yf we desire yt Alsoe to adurtise, that his matie hath sent him a present (wch or ffactors will ꝓuide) by his servant the bearer hereof but name him not. His stile is *To the most puissant Prince Ackbarirba Leidg Ackbursha*[2] *kinge of Suratt.*

2 TO THE kinge of Iava maior who wroote a ɫre to or kinge and sent him 2 Bezar stones for a present.[3] The receipt & thankfull acceptaunce whereof we pray his matie to mention in his ɫre, And to thanke him for the kinde vsadge of his mrchauntꝭ praying the Continuance of his favor towardꝭ vs or ships & goodꝭ in his dominions. Alsoe to adurtise that or kinge hath sent him a present (wch wee will ꝓuide) by his servaunt the bearer hereof his style is *The highe & mightie Prince Pangram Pattie kinge of Iaua Maior.*

[1] "Ytt is furder ordered that lres be provided by this Companie from his Matie, to 'be sent to the kinge of Cambaia, & the Gournor of Aden & to 2 places more not farr "from Aden, what titles to geue them is to be inquired of Raphe ffytch. Alsoe lres to be sent as from his matie to those kinges as sent him presentes." (*Court Minutes*, 31st Dec., 1606.) On the 10th Feb., 1606/7, the letters were ordered to be "lymmed "and prepared for his maties signiture, and seurall Coppies to be writt out whereby "the same may be translated into Portigues to be sent wth the said lres;" and on the 19th "was shewed the lres of his matie to the Princes of the East Indies trans- "lated into the Portigall languadge, the wch were ordered to be lymmed and faire "engrossed accordinglie by mr Segar fitt for his mates signiture."

[2] Mahomed Jalal ud Din Akbar, the third Mogol Emperor of Delhi, born 1542, and died on his sixty-third birthday, 15th Oct., 1605. He came to the throne two years before Queen Elizabeth, and survived Her Most Glorious Majesty two years.

[3] See page 67.

3 TO THE kinge of *Tedore* who writt to his matie a lardge ƚre of Complaint[1] agraynst the Hollenders and Portingalls agaynst whome he craved his matꝭ ayde: But this being matter of State We leaue to his matie & yor honor Humblie praying that his matie would be pleased to thanke the said kinge for his former good will towardꝭ vs his mrchauntꝭ, & pray the Continuaunce of his fauors and to graunte vs free trade & traffique wth saffetie & good vsadge both of or ꝑsons & goodꝭ his name is *Rechill Moley Kinge of Tedore.*

4 TO THE Gourno r or Sabander of *Nere* who sent his matie a Bahar of Nutmeggꝭ: whereof we pray his matie to signifie his good acceptaunce & that he hath sent him a present by his servant the bearer hereof. To thanke him for the good intertaynemt of vs his mrchauntꝭ att or last being theare, praying the Continuance of his favor towardes vs in graunting vs free traffique & trade wth saffetie & goodꝭ usadge of or ꝑsons & goodꝭ. *To the right honorable the Sabander of Nere.*

5 TO THE Sabander of Luntor: Thankeing him for the good intertaynment of vs his maties mrchauntꝭ att or last being there, & praye the Continuance thereof. And that he would graunte vs ffree traffique & trade wth saffetie & good vsadge both of or ꝑsons & goodꝭ: and that his matie hath sent him a present by his servant the bearer hereof: his style is *To the right honorable the Sabander of Luntor.*

6 TO THE Gournor of Adem That wee his matꝭ mrchauntꝭ comeing thither as good ffreindꝭ to traffique & trade, pray that we may be freindly interteyned & ꝑmitted to traffique wth all libtie & ffreedome wth saffetie & good vsadge both of or ꝑsons ships & goodꝭ his matie being in league & Amitie wth the *Grand Seignior.*

7 TO THE kinge of Callicout praying that we his matꝭ mrchauntꝭ comeing thithr as good freindꝭ to traffique & trade may be freindlie interteyned & ꝑmitted to trade in all libertie & ffreedome wth peace, & saffetie of or ꝑsons shipps and goodꝭ. And

[1] See page 67.

that his matie hath sent him a present by his servant the bearer hereof.

8 TO THE kinge of *MOLLUCCOS* signifieing the receipt of that kingꝭ ꝉre to his matie wth a present of a bahar of Cloues,[1] & thankfull acceptacõn thereof: And that his matie hath now sent him a present by his servant the bearer hereof And furder wee humblie pray his matie wilbe pleased to intreate the said kꝭ. favor towardꝭ vs his said mrchauntꝭ. And that forasmuch as the soliciting & opposeing of some of the Hollenders theare agaynst vs, & or trade in those ꝑtꝭ apꝑeth euidentlie to be done for their owne priuate designes wthout any the Consent or likeing of their Superiors the Gournor & statꝭ of the lowe Countries wth whome his matie is in ꝑfect amitie: That kinge would be pleased according to the Tenor of his said ꝉre to his Matie freindlie to entertayne vs & our people wth graunte of free trade & traffique wth or quiet & saffetie of ꝑsons shipps & goodꝭ: & establishmt of a ffactorie theare as we shall desire. *TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTIE KINGE OF THE MOLLOCCOS.*

His matie to the kinge of Suratt.

RIGHT high &c: or subiectꝭ haueing of late yeares vsed to trade into diuers Countries of the Princes yor neighbors haue amongst them heard of yor fame & of the wealth of yor Countries wch hath moued in them a desire to visitt soe greate a Prince, & to craue lib͛tie of Traffique wth his subiectꝭ. In wch their purpose we haue incourraged them to ꝑceede & doe recomend them to you vpon this Confidence that as to vs nothinge is more pleaseing then to heare of the estate & dignitie of Princes, and Customes of Nations farr remote from vs: Soe the like pleasure is wth you to heare of ors whereof the onelie meanes is the Nauigacõn of

The kinge sent another lre of this tenor wth generall salutacons in ye inside & on the outside left a blancke for our Factors to add such a name as they should haue cause to vse when they come to the Indies.

This is intended for Callicutt.[2]

[1] See page 68. King James appears to have granted these cloves to Sir Hugh Carmichael. (*See Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Addenda,* 1580-1625, p. 477.)

[2] Added in a different hand.

oʳ subiect℮. Wherefore we assure oʳselues you will not make difficultie att oʳ request to graunte vnto oʳ subiect℮ such libertie of traffique & priuiledg℮ as shall be resonable both for their securitie & ꝑffitt & that they may for the better handling of their trade settle a ffactorie there like as we willdoe to yoʳˢ yf att any tyme yt shall be requested of vs, And in the meane tyme for a token of oʳ good will & desire to enterteyne yoʳ amitie we haue by this bearer oʳ servant sent vnto you a small present wᶜʰ we pray you to accept for a begininge of that freindshipp betweene vs wᶜʰ we hope shall alwayes increase heerewᵗʰ. dated at oʳ Pallace of Westminster the xxiijᵗʰ of ffebruarie. 1606.[2]

A copie of each of theis lres deliuered to mʳ Kealinge onelie.

The copies hereof sent in Spaynish by mr Sharpie 1607 wᵗʰ the addicon [i]n that to the molluccos [on] fo 43. more at lardge [on] fo. 88.[1]

FROM HIS maᵗⁱᵉ to Adem:

TRUSTIE and welbeloued we greete you well. Our mʳchaunt℮ haueing of late yeares entered into a Course of Navigacõn & traffique into diuʳs ꝑt℮ of the East Indies haue lett vs vnderstand that they haue a purpose alsoe to frequent those ꝑt℮ where you haue chardge: And prayed oʳ Comendacõn for them to you wᶜʰ we willinglie graunted because we are in Amitie wᵗʰ the mightie howse of Ottoman and doe traffique wᵗʰ him thorough the Mediterranean Seas, as we doubt not but yoᵘ doe vnderstand. Wherefore we pray you that oʳ subiect℮ resorteing into those Countries may traffique wᵗʰ ffreedome & finde saffetie & good vsadge for their ꝑsons shipps & good℮: & we assure oʳ selfe that the *GRAND SEIGNIOR* will allow yoʳ doinge. And for oʳ ꝑt℮ we shall be readie to requite yt wᵗʰ any kindnes we may doe to you. dated att oʳ Pallace of Westminster the 23ᵗʰ daie of ffebruarie. 1606.

rom his maᵗⁱᵉ: to Adem.

[1] This note is added in yet another hand. The references are to pp. 109 and 231 of the present volume.

[2] 1606/7, and so in the following letters.

FROM HIS ma^{tie} to the Kinge of Tedore.

RIGHT High &c: Att the retourne of o^{r} m^{r}chauntꝭ from their voyadge into yor Countries we receiued atoken from you wch we tooke very kindelie: And vnderstanding by their reporte that they had found good vsadge of you and yor subiectꝭ in their trade, and they being incourraged thereby to retourne agayne, we thought yt ffitt to lett you ꝑceaue by o^{r} ƚres what good reporte they haue made of yor freindlines towardes them, and to praye the Continuance thereof, Soe as they may Continue their traffique wth yor ffavo^{r}, & wth saffetie of their ꝑsons ships & goodꝭ in such manner as we will doe to any of yo^{rs} that haue desire to visitt theis ꝑtꝭ. And yf in any thinge we may doe you kindnes, you shall be assured of yt In the meane tyme we haue sent you by this bearer o^{r} servant a token of o^{r} good will, wch we desire may eu^{r} increase betweene you & vs. Dated att o^{r} Pallace of Westminster the 23th of ffebruarie. 1606.

His ma^{tie}: to the Kinge of Tedore

FROM HIS ma^{tie} to Nere

ATT THE retourne of o^{r} m^{r}chauntꝭ from their trade in that Countrie we receiued from you a Bahar of Nutmeggꝭ for a token of o^{r}[1] good will wch we accepted wth all kindnes, And we vnderstoode by them howe freindlie they had been intertayned by you in their traffique, wch hath incourraged them to attempt it agayne & vs to recomend them vnto yor ffavo^{r} and ꝑteccõn Soe as they may be suffered quietlie to continue their said tradꝭ wth saffetie & good vsadge of their ꝑsons, shipps, & goodꝭ. And we shall be redie to requite y^{t}, wth any kindnes to yo^{u} or yo^{rs}, And in the meane tyme haue sent you by this bearer o^{r} servant a token of o^{r} good will wch we desire may eu^{r} increase betweene you & vs. ffrom o^{r} Pallace at Westminster the 23th of ffebr: 1606.

His ma^{tie}: to ye Sabander of Nere.

[1] This should evidently be "yor."

FROM HIS ma^tie to Luntor.

ATT THE retourne of o^r m^rchaunt^s from their trade in that Countrie we vnderstande by them how freindlie they had beene interteyned by yo^u in their traffique wch hath incourraged them to attempt yt agayne, and vs to recomend them to yor ffavo^r and ꝑteccõn. Soe as they may be suffered quietlie to Continue their said trades wth saffetie and good vsadge of their ꝑsons shipps and good^s. And we shall be redie to requite yt wth any kindnes to you or yo^rs: and in the meane tyme haue sent you by this bearer o^r servant a token of o^r good will wch we desire may euer encrease betweene you & vs. Dated att o^r Pallace of Westmin̄ the 23th of ffebruarie 1606.

From his ma^tie: to the Sabander of Luntor.

HIS HIGHNES to the Kinge of Iava Maior.

RIGHT high &c: att the retourne of o^r subiect^s from their last voyadge into yor Countries we rec^d from you both a l̃re of great kindnes & twoe Bezar stones both wch we tooke verie kindlie as a testimony of yor [desire][1] to enterteyne Amitie wth vs. Especiallie we were pleased [to vn][1]derstand by their reporte how kindlie they were vsed in yor Cou[ntrie][1] in matters concerning their traffique wch hath incouraged th[em][1] to ꝑceede in yt. And vs to recomend them to you & yor ꝑteccõn agaynst any that would oppose agaynst them, or molest them in their said trad^s in as ample measure as we would be willinge to doe to any of yo^rs. yf their desires shall be to visitt o^r Countries. To testifie vnto you o^r kinde acceptaunce of yor favo^r shewed them & o^r desire to continue Amitie wth you. We haue sent by this bearer o^r servant atoken of o^r loue wch we hope shall alwaies continue & encrease betweene vs. Dated att o^r Pallace of Westmin̄ the 23th of ffebruarie 1606.

His highnes to the Kinge of Iaua Maior.

[1] The manuscript has here been torn away.

HIS MATIE TO THE KINGE OF THE MOLLOCCOS.

IAMES BY the grace of God kinge of greate Brittaine ffraunce and Ireland defendor of the faith &c: To the mightie kinge of the Molloccos & of the teritories & dominions adioyneing. ^ Att the retourne of or subiectę from their last voyadge in yor Countries we receiued from you a ĩre of greate kindnes & a Bahar of Cloues, wch we tooke very kindlie as a testimony of your desire to enterteyne Amitie wth vs, but especiallie wee weare pleased to vnderstand of yor kindnes towardę them in matters concrning their trade & traffique wth you, wch hath incouraged them to ꝑceede in yt, & vs to recomend them to you & yor ꝑteccõn agaynst any that would oppose agaynst them, or molest them in their tradę in as ample manner as we would be willing to doe to any of yors, yf their desire shall be to visitt or Countries. And whereas we vnderstand that some Hollenders whoe traffique wth you doe oppose them selues agaynst or Subiectę wth euill speeches & other practizes to hinder their trade Although we doubt not but yt in yor owne Iudgement you can easilie conceiue that mrchauntę not onelie of diuers Nacõns, but of one & the same nation will ofte tymes Calumniate each others for diuers respectę, & hinder what they cann those that happen into the saime trade wth [2] the[3] vse: yet haue we thought good to assure you soe much by or ĩre, that their Superiors & Gourno rs will disallowe them in that practise being wth vs in verie good Amitie. Wherefore we doubt not but you will graunte vnto or subiectę ffreedome of quiet traffique wth you wth saffetie for their ꝑsons, ships, & goodę, & libertie to establish a ffactorie theare, (yf they shall desire yt) according to yor princelie Offer in yor said ĩre. And in the meane tyme for atoken of or good will & desire to enterteyne yor Princelie Amitie we haue by this bearer or servant

His matie to the kinge of the Molloccos. All the foresaid 7 lres wth the blanck were againe sent from his matie: to the Indies 1607 wth this addition onelie as followeth Viz Although we wrote vnto you the last yeare after ye retourne of or subiectes from those partes, & sent you a present yet for that we doubt whether those lres be come to yor handes, we haue thought good to visitt you againe wth new lres & wth a new present, & to lett you vnderstand that the contentes of or formr lres were to this purpose That[1]

[1] Marginal note in a different hand. The "addition" seems to have been inserted in the place indicated by the caret. On this subject see page 231.

[2] Wch ? [3] They.

sent you a small present wch we pray you to accept. Wherewth we Comend yor ma^{tie} to the tuition of the most high God. Dated att o^{r} Pallace of Westminster the 23th of ffebruarie 1606.

THE IUDGE[1] of the Admiralties warrant to app^{r}hend such of the shipps Company as shall absent themselues.

WHEARAS diuers of the Companie hired for the East India voyadge absent them selues from the shipps, & some of them endevo^{r} to shifte themselues away to the hindraunce of the voyadge now readie to sett sayle & the m^{r}chauntℯ interessed therein. Theis are to will & requier you that you apprehend or cause to be app^{r}hended all & eu^{r}y such disordered ꝑsons, as shall any way Offend conc^{r}ning the p^{r}misses, that he or they may be deliu^{r}ed on shippbourde to their Comaunders theare to remayne, & to be ꝑceeded wth according to the quallitie of his or their offence. Whereof fayle you not as you will aunsweare the Contrarie att yor ꝑill. ffrom my howse neere the Docto^{rs} Commons the 16th of March, 1606.

Your loueing freind
Tho Crompton.

To m^{r} Wiłłm Pope Marshall of the Admiraltie or in his absence to the Generall of the East India Companies shipps, & all other Officers of the Admiraltie, & other his ma^{ties} subiectℯ

[1] "Whearas we haue hired diuers sailo^{rs} to goe in o^{r} voyadge now intended for "the East Indies, whoe haue not onelie subscribed to o^{r} Bookes, to performe the "same, but alsoe haue receiued wages of vs, & some ymprest moneys: & yet we "may doubt (as in former tyme hath beene vsed) that aswell before the shipps were "readie to departe as att their departure some of such a nomber may be missinge not "onelie wth o^{r} losse, but alsoe tendinge to the ou^{r}throwe of the wholle voyadge. Yt "is thought ffitt for prevencon hereof, That Warrant may be procured from the Judge "of the Admiraltie, or yf need be from the Lo: Admirall for app^{r}hencon and "ponnishm^{t} of such as are or shall goe away or departe & absent them selues from "their places and service in this pnte voyadge after they shalbe hired & agreed "wthall." (*Court Minutes*, 23rd Jan., 1606/7.) See also page 267.

A Commission from his ma^{tie}: to m^{r} Wm Kealinge and m^{r} Wm Hawkins februarie. 1606.

IAMES[1] BY the grace of God kinge of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland defendo^{r} of the faith &c: To o^{r} trustie & welbeloued Willm Kealinge & Willm Hawkins[2] greeteing. Whereas diuers of o^{r} loueing subiectꝭ att their owne Aduentures costꝭ & chardgꝭ aswell for the Hono^{r} of this o^{r} Realme of England as for the encrease & advancem^{t} of trade of m^{r}chandize wthin the same haue formerlie sett forth 2 voyages to the East Indies wth c^{r}teyne shipps & Pinnaces by way of marchandizeing by wch ships & Pinnaces they haueing discou^{r}ed & begon to settle atrade in some ꝑte of the said East Indies & their shipps being retourned from thence laden wth sundrie m^{r}chandize brought frome those ꝑtꝭ they the said m^{r}chauntꝭ intending to frequent those Countries of the East Indies by Continueing the trade alredie discou^{r}ed & begoon, and endeu^{r}ing furder discou^{r}y of trade of those ꝑtꝭ for the more ample vent of the Natiue Comodities of o^{r} kingdomes, & retourning from the places of their discou^{r}y such necessarie Comodities as shall be of spetiall vse & benefitt, both to vs and o^{r} subiectꝭ, are in hand to prepare & make readie their said shipps latelie retourned from the East Indies & to sett them forth agayne on a new voyadge. And whereas the said m^{r}chauntꝭ haue chosen you the said Willm Kealeinge to be principall Gou^{r}nor or

[1] The Royal Commission for the *Third Voyage* (1607-1609). There is a minute of this Commission in the Public Record Office, under date 3rd March, 1607. (*See Cal. E. I. State Papers*, 1513-1616, p. 150.)

[2] William Hawkins, the lieutenant-general of this voyage, on reaching Surat proceeded as directed (*see* p. 124) to the court of the Great Mogul, where he arrived in April, 1609. He was received with great favour, and succeeded, in spite of Portuguese intrigues, in obtaining a license for the establishment of an English factory at Surat. The emperor gave him a handsome allowance, and married him to the daughter of an Armenian Christian. Later, however, his favour declined, and Hawkins applied for permission to depart. He reached Surat in Feb., 1612, and there found Sir Henry Middleton with the ships of the *Sixth Voyage*. He accompanied Sir Henry to the Red Sea, and afterwards to Bantam, whence he took ship for England in the *Thomas*, but died on the passage home (1613). His widow afterwards married Gabriel Towerson (*see* p. 33).

An attempt has been made to connect this William Hawkins with the nephew of Sir John Hawkins who was lieutenant-general of Fenton's abortive voyage in 1582-3, but it is extremely doubtful whether the identity can be established.

Generall of all the m^{r}chauntę Marriners and other o^{r} subiectę wch are or shall be shipped in any of the said shipps. And you the said Wiłłm Hawkins to be leiuetenante generall of all the m^{r}chauntę Marriners & other o^{r} subiectę, wch are or shall be shipped in any of the said shipps. We graciouslie favoringe their intended voyadge & approueing & alloweing of their choyse of you to the same Gou^{r}nm^{te}, being desirous to furnish you wth all fitt & Convenient power and aucthoritie to rule & gou^{r}ne all & eu^{r}y o^{r} subiectę ymployed in this voyadge, by a due obedience to be by them yealded vnto you in the obserueing and executeing of all such good orders & Constitucõns as you shall thinke Conuenient, to ordaine & appointe for the furtheraunce of the said voyadge to the Hono^{r} of vs & o^{r} kingdomes & for the advauncem^{t} of the said trade doe hereby straightlie chardge & Comaund all & eu^{r}y ꝑson & ꝑsons ymployed vsed or shipped in this voyadge in any of the said shipps to giue all due obedience & respect vnto you duringe the said voyadge, & to beare them selues one towardę an other, in all good order & quietnes for avoydinge any occasion that might breed Muteny quarrells or discension amongst them to the hindrance of the good successe, wch is to be hoped for by godę ꝑuidence of the said intended voyadge, and in default of such dutie & obedience to be ꝑformed towardę you, & for the Correccõn & quenchinge of all such Muteny quarrells or dissention that shall or may be moued by the disorder euill dispoticõn, or ꝑversnes of any of the said ꝑsons. Wee doe hereby authorize you the said Wiłłm Keelinge during the said voyadge, or during soe longe tyme as you shall lyue in the said voyadge to Chastice correct & ponnish all offenders & transgresso^{rs} in that behalfe according to the qualitie of their Offences wth such punishm^{t}ę as are comonlie vsed in all Armyes by Sea, when they are not capitall. And for Capitall Offences as for wilfull murther wch is hatefull in the sight of God, or mutenie wch is one offence that may tend to the ou^{r}throw of the said voyadge the same being trulie and iustlie proued agaynst any of the ꝑson or ꝑsons aforesaid. We doe hereby giue vnto you the said Wiłłm Kealeing during all the tyme of the said voyadg or during soe longe tyme as you shall liue in the same, full power & aucthoritie to vse & putt

in Execution o^{r} lawe called Marshall lawe in that behalfe. And in case of yor decease (wch god forbidd) we doe then likewyse hereby aucthorize you the said Wiłłm Hawkins to execute the power & aucthoritie by this o^{r} Comission graunted to the said Wiłłm Keeleing in as ample manner as is herein before expressed, & in such sorte as the said Wiłłm Kealeing did or might doe by vertue hereof. And theis o^{r} łres shall be vnto you, and either of you sufficient warrant & discharge, for the doing & executeing of all and singuler the p^{r}misses. And for as much as att this present tyme we are in ametie wth all Christian Princes, & are vnwilling that any our subiectꝭ should giue occasion of breach or hindraunce of that league or ametie wch we hold wth any o^{r} Confederatꝭ ffreindꝭ or Allyes. And because we are not ignorante of the emulac̃on & envie that doth accompany the discou^{r}y of Countries & tradꝭ & of the quarrells & Contenc̃ons wch doe many tymes fall out betweene the subiectꝭ of diuers Princes that meete the one wth the other in forreine & farr remote Countries, in the Course & ꝑsecuteing of their discou^{r}ies, and being desirous that o^{r} subiectꝭ should forbeare to moue or beginn any quarrell or contenc̃on vpon the subiectꝭ of o^{r} Confederatꝭ ffreindꝭ or Alleys either in their ꝓceeding, or retourne vpon or from ☞ ☞ any of their voyagꝭ. Wee therefore doe hereby straightly chardge & Comaund you the said Wiłłm Keeling & you the said Wiłłm Hawkins & all other vnder yor Gou^{r}nm^{te}, that neither in yor voyadge outward or homeward or in any Countrie, Iland, Porte or place where you shall abide, or come duringe the tyme of yor being abroade out of o^{r} kingdomes or dominions where you meete wth any the Subiectꝭ of the kinge of Spaine, or of any other o^{r} Confederatꝭ ffreindꝭ or Alleys, or any other Nac̃on or people, their shipps, vessells goodꝭ or m^{r}chandize, you doe not attempt or goe aboute to sett vpon, take or surprise their ꝑsons shipps vessells goodꝭ or m^{r}chandizes, or offer any iniurie, or discourtesie vnto them vnlesse you shall first by them, therevnto iustlie be ꝓuoked, or driuen in the iust defence of yor owne ꝑsons, yor shipps, vessells, goodꝭ or m^{r}chandizes, or for recompence or recou^{r}y of any the ꝑsons goodꝭ or m^{r}chandizes of any o^{r} subiectꝭ that are alredie in or neere the East Indies as you will

aunsweare the Contrarie att yor vttermost ꝑrills. Witnes or selfe at Westminster the 14th day of ffebruary in the fourth yeare of or Reigne of England ffraunce & Ireland & of Scotland the 40th.[1]

Copia
ꝑ l̄re de priuato sigillo.

IN THE NAME OF GOD. AMEN.
THE 9TH DAY OF MARCH. 1606.

A Comission sett downe by vs the Gournor, Deputie, & Comitties of the mrchauntꝭ of London trading to the East Indies for better direccōn of or loueing ffreindꝭ the Generall Leiuetenaunte, and others the Captaines, mrchauntꝭ, mrs & Marriners in this our intended voyadge to the East Indies, wch we humblie beseech Almightie God to blesse wth a happie Conclusion.

1 INPRIMIS wheareas we they mrchauntꝭ aforesaid wth a greate chardge & trouble haue prepared twoe shipps & a Pynnace viz the Read Dragon of 700 Tonns Anthonie Hippon[3] mr, the Hector of 500 Tonns Mathew Mollineux[4] mr, & the Consent of 115 Tonns Edmond Bonham mr, for a voyadge by Godꝭ grace by them to be made to theast Indies, & haue furnished the same sufficientlie,

[1] 1607.

[2] "Mr Gournor, mr Eldred & mr Hamersley weare intreated wth such as mr "Gournor shall be pleased to call to Consider & drawe a Commission for euᵣy of the "shipps, what shall be ffitt and necessarie in this respect & in the meane season, yt "is requiered, That each of the Company conceiueing any notes or remembrances, fitt "to be added to the said Comission or Comissions, or for advice in the said voyadge "doe giue knowledge thereof to mr Gournor in writinge, for better and more speedie "effectinge of this busines." (*Court Minutes*, 27th Jan., 1606/7.)

[3] Subsequently commanded the *Globe* in the *Seventh Voyage* (1611), in the course of which he died at sea, 9th July, 1612.

[4] Brought home the *Dragon* in the *Third Voyage*, and was thereupon engaged for the *Sixth Voyage*. He was at first named master of the *Trades Increase*, but

& in plentifull manner wth men tackle victualls & all other needfull ꝑuisions fitt for such a voyadge. Of a spetiall trust & Confidence wch we had in the integritie & iust carriadge of o^{r} loueing freind m^{r} Willm Kealinge, we doe appointe & aucthorize him Gen^{r}all to goe in the Read Dragon & to Comaund o^{r} said shipps, and all the men in them, haueing ꝑcured him sufficient aucthoritie from our sou^{r}eigne Lord the kingꝭ ma^{tie} for that purpose: not doubting but that he will soe behaue himselfe, as he may be both feared & loued, & that he will wth all his diligence & endevo^{rs} ꝑsecute o^{r} designes, and labo^{r} to bringe this our costlie voyadge to a happie end.

2 ITEM we appointe & ordeyne our loueing freindꝭ Willm Hawkins to be leiuetenante of the shipps & men to take passadge in the Hecto^{r} & David Middleton[1] Captaine in the Consent, All wch Comaunders ffacto^{rs} m^{rs} & Marriners we trust will soe carrie them selues wth such due respect one to another, & obedience to eu^{r}y one of their Superio^{rs}, as loue & kindnes

Giles Thornton seems subsequently to have been preferred to that position, and Molyneux was appointed pilot-major of the fleet. He came home with Downton in the *Peppercorn* in 1613, and is specially mentioned by the latter as his "diligent helper." In the following year, he went out again as master of the *Merchants' Hope* in the *Second Joint Stock Voyage* under Downton.

[1] Brother to Sir Henry Middleton, and also to the John Middleton who commanded the *Hector* in the *First Voyage*. David Middleton took part in the *Second Voyage*, and upon his return, was placed in command of the *Consent* for the *Third Voyage* (1607). He early lost company with the other two vessels of the fleet, and was forced to proceed on his course alone. The voyage was however a successful one, and Middleton returned early in 1609 with fifty tons of cloves. He was at once given the charge of the *Expedition* (*Fifth Voyage*), and, in spite of the opposition of the Dutch, succeeded in obtaining a cargo at the Moluccas, reaching England again in 1611. In a letter from Bantam in 1613 (*O. C.* 106) reference is made to "Capt^{t} "Dauid Midleton his disgrace done him by the kinge, queene, Lord and lady "admirall by Complaintes made on him by an audatious Cooke," but nothing further on the subject can be traced. In 1614 he was selected as commander of the voyage then under preparation, and on the 13th Feb., 1615, his fleet, consisting of the *Samaritan*, *Thomas* and *Thomasine*, reached Bantam in safety. Notes occur from time to time of his movements during the next seven months or so, and then he disappears altogether from view. In Sept., 1617, the Court refused to pay anything to his widow, who had married again, until they had ascertained for certain whether Middleton was alive or dead; but later on, her second husband having obtained two orders and a decree of Chancery, the money was paid him on his giving security both against Middleton himself and Middleton's son.

be Continued on all sidȩ, & all whollie applie their wittȩ & endevo[rs] for the due ꝑformaunce of this voyadge.

3 ITEM & for that religious Gouernm[t] & exercyse doth best bynde men to ꝑforme their duties, yt is principallie to be cared for that prayers be said Morneing & euening in eu[r]y shipp & the whole Companie called there vnto, w[th] diligent Eies that none be wantinge, that all ioynctlie may w[th] reuerence & humilitie pray vnto almightie God to blesse & p[r]serue them from all daungers in this longe & tedious voyadge.

4 ITEM that noe blaspheameinge of God, swearing, theft dronkennes or otherlike disorders be vsed, but that the same be sevearelie ponished, & that noe diceing or other vnlawfull games be admitted for that most comonlie, the same is the begining of quarrellinge, & many tymes murther a iust occasion of Godȩ wrath and vengeance from w[ch] the Lord deliuer vs all. Therefore yt shall be needfull that such orders be sett vpp and published in eu[r]y shipp & such ponnishm[t] appointed for such offences as may giue notice to eu[r]y man, what he ought to avoied.

5 ITEM that spetiall order be geuen, that noe liquor be spilt in the ballast of the shipps or filthines be left w[th]in bourde w[ch] in heate breedeth Noysome smells, & infeccõn, but that there be a diligent care to keepe the ou[r]lopps[1] & other places of the shipps cleane & sweete, w[ch] is a notable preservacõn of health, wherein the dutchmen doe farr exceede vs in Cleanelines to their greate Comendacons & disgrace to o[r] People.

6 ITEM that Continuall & true Iournalls be kept of eu[r]y daies course & Nauigacõn during the wholle voyadge w[th] a true relacõn of eu[r]y thinge that passeth, & this not onelie to be done by the seu[r]all Captaines, m[rs] Pylottȩ & m[rs] matȩ, but alsoe by the m[r]chauntȩ & Pursars: and that some of the Principalls in each shipp, may conferre together att convenient tymes, when the Generall shall call them theare vnto, to thend that yf any haue forgotten, what an other obserued the same may be added, soe as a ꝑfect discourse may be sett downe to be

[1] The lowest deck of a ship, consisting of a platform laid over the beams in the hold. (Smyth's *Sailor's Word Book*.)

presented to the Gou^{r}no^{r} & Companie, when god shall graunt them a saffe retourne, to be kept for better direccōn of posteritie.

7 ITEM that the Generall & m^{r} of his shipp, doe sett downe and deliu^{r} such instructions to the Comaunders in the other shipps that they may all keepe Company together for the better releife & Comforte one of another: And yf seperacōn of them should happen by Constrainte of Tempest that they should agree vpon a course before hand, & of a place, whither to applie their selues to finde the rest.

8 ITEM that the Generall, & m^{r} of his shipp, take due notice of the seu^{r}all ꝑvisions deliu^{r}ed to eu^{r}y shipp, & to settle the same in the chardge of the Officers, appointed for that purpose in each shipp, & that the same be entred in the Pursars Booke vnderwritten by the said Officers, to thend that such thingꝭ as are ꝓuided for their needfull supplies may not be ymbeselled, & that nothinge thereof be ymployed for any vse whatsoeu^{r}, wthout a Warrant vnder the hand of the Generall directed to the Officer that hath such Chardge, wch warrant shall serue for his dischardge in his accompte, otherwyse to be aunswearable for the same wth his wagꝭ: eu^{r}y such warrant to be registred in the Pursars booke, the day of the monneth, & the occasion, & this vpon forfecture of soe much out of the Pursars wagꝭ, This order to be obserued alsoe in eu^{r}y of the shipps by the Comaunders, m^{rs}, Pursars & Officers as aforesaid.

9 ITEM we Com̄end vnto you the Gen^{r}all principallie, & to the rest of the Comaunders & mrs an espetiall care, that at eu^{r}y place where you shall water, & refresh yor men you call the Companies together, geauing them seveare warninge to behaue themselues peaceablie & Ciuillie, towardꝭ the people of that place (yf any be theare) the better to ꝓcure their ffreindshipp, towardꝭ the supplie of yor wantꝭ, & the like in eu^{r}y place wheare you come, least the losse of yor lyues & ou^{r}throwe of o^{r} voyadge pay for yor disorders, besidꝭ an vtter discreeditt to o^{r} Nation, & that yor men doe vse, a discreete meanes in eateing of fruitꝭ, or fresh victuals least they surfitt & ffall into diseases, whereof we haue had too much experience. And the better to refraine vnrulie appetitꝭ wee hold yt Convenient, that the Gen^{r}all appointe some of the discreetest in the Companies, to ꝓcure &

ꝑuide in such places, what you want, & the same being brought to the Genrall, by him to be reparted to eury Companie, what may be needfull, & that none prsume to doe the Contrarie wthout seveare ponishment. And that a spetiall care be had, to releeue the sicke wth such fresh meateꝭ & other Comfortable thingeꝭ, wherewth we haue furnished each shipp for that purpose, & not other wyse to be spent in Royott & banquetting & soe the sicke ꝑishe for wante of thinges needfull.

10 ITEM for the ffittest place of reffreshinge, we wysh you to shape your Course to the Porte of St. Augustine in the Iland of St. Lawrence[1] where you shall finde good harbor & plentie of victualls: in wch place yt will not be ffitt to make longe aboade, but make hast & endevor to be vpon the Coaste of Melynde in the monneth of Iulie att the furdes[t] but for yor better direccõn therein, we referr you to the instruccõn[s] of Sr Iames Lancaster now deliured you herewth,[2] who can best direct you, for yor Course vpon that Coaste by his owne experience except you in yor discrecõns finde otherwyse more fitt: Still standing vpon yor guard in euerie place, wthout yealding any trust to those people.

11 ITEM after yor deꝑture frome the Porte of St Augustine towardeꝭ the Coaste of Melinde, beware of the fflatteꝭ of Ivdea[3] wch lie betweene the Iland of St Lawrence & the firme land: vpon wch fflatteꝭ yt is said the Currant doth sett. There is alsoe an Iland

[1] Madagascar. [2] See p. 136.

[3] "The 1 of August we passed the flats called *os Baixos de Iudea*, that is, the "Flats of the Iewes, which are distant from the cape *das Corentes* 30 miles, and lie "between the Iland of S. *Laurence*, and the firme land, that is from the Iland fiftie "miles, and from the firme land seauenty miles, which Flats begin vnder 22 degrees "and a halfe, and continue to twentie one degrees; there is great care to bee taken "lest men fall vpon them, for they are very dangerous, and many ships haue bin lost "there, and of late in Anno 1585 a ship comming from *Portingale* called S. *Iago* beeing "Admirall of the Fleet." (*Linschoten's Voyages*, Book I., ch. 3.) Commander Taylor, in his *Sailing Directory* (revised edition, 1891), identifies these rocks with "*Bassas da* "*India*, often called formerly Europa Rocks," a dangerous reef "7 or 8 m. in diameter, "between lats. 21° 26′ and 21° 32′ S., and lons. 39° 41′ and 39° 32′ E." He adds: "this danger was named by the Portuguese discoverers Baxios da Judia, or the "Banks of the Jewess; and still called so by that nation, as well as by all European "navigators, except those of our country, where the first charts of these parts, "copied from the Portuguese, substituted the word India for Judia." (Sec. V., p. 554.)

vpon the Coaste of Melynde, verie ffitt for refreshinge yor people as wee are informed, & whereof the Hollenders had experience in their last voyadge that way: The wch Iland is called *Zanzibar*, where yf you finde yt needfull & haue tyme for that purpose, you may theare water and refresh yor Companies: wheare yt shall not be amisse yf you cann haue them, to buy some Oliphaunteꝭ teeth, wch are bought att Mozambique, & on the Coaste of Melinde in greate aboundaunce, & carried into the Indies: That Commoditie is exceedinglie well requested in *Cambaya.* Alsoe store of Amber greece, is likewyse to be had in the Coaste of Melynde, & att St Lawrence Iland. But goe not either to Mozambick nor to the Iland of Pemba in any hand but leaue yt on yor labor side.

12 ITEM haueing refreshed yor people wthall speed to shape yor Course for *Z*ocotora neere the mouth of the Read Sea, where alsoe is good refreshing, & the best Alloes *Z*acatrina, in the world, whereof we wysh you to buy 2 or 3 Tonns weight: besideꝭ yt is said there is stoore of Amber greece, & other good thingeꝭ whereof we pray you to take notice, & buye what you thinke Convenient: but still in all your mrchandizinge be carefull to putt of some of yor English Comodities in truck, in this Iland we doubt not but that you may be furnished, both for Pilottꝭ for Aden & vnderstand what trade is there to be had what they people be, & of what interteynemt towardꝭ straungers, whereof informe yor selues, in the best manner you may & soe wthall Convenient speed direct yor Course for Aden, or some other place theareabouteꝭ, wch you may learne to be more fitt for intertaynemt of you wth all the 3 shipps, you haueing tyme inough to goe into the Indies wth that Monsoone, and being arriued neere the place, come to an Ancor, but take heede you come not wthin their daunger,[1] still expecting & feareing evill though there be noe cause, & by some Convenient & speedie meanes lett yt be knowne to the Gourno r of the place, that you are English mrchaunteꝭ, & haue brought l̄res vnto him, from the kingeꝭ matie seekeing onelie peaceable trade, aswell for the sale of or Comodities, as for buying of others, for wch pur-

[1] Compare the familiar—

"You stand within his danger, do you not?"

Merchant of Venice, Act IV., Scene 1.

pose we appointe Willm Hawkins to deliu^{r} his ma^{ties} lres, to the said Gou^{r}no^{r}, & therewth such present as you think fitt: & to treate wth him for priuiledgꝭ & ffreedome of trade for soe many yeares as you cann, declaring that o^{r} kinge is in league wth the Grand Signio^{r} that o^{r} people doe trade into Cairo, Aleppo, Damasco, Constantinople, & in all other his dominions freelie. And that o^{r} kinge hath now a leidger[1] Imbassado^{r} in Constantinople, wch loue of the Grand Signio^{r} towardꝭ our Nacõn hath ymbouldened vs to visitt that place wth our shipps & goodꝭ now desireing by his favorable lycence to trade as Ciuill and peaceable m^{r}chauntꝭ, & that you desire to settle a factorie theare, yf by his honorable favo^{r} you may be ꝑmitted soe to doe: assureing him that by o^{r} trade his Customes will be greatlie encreased, for that we shall indevo^{r} to fetch that from thence wch we now fetch from the Molloccos Bantam & diuers other places in the Indies: To wch yf he yeald yt shall be needfull that you craue Articles of priviledgꝭ from him for o^{r} Nation the better to incourradge vs to frequent that place. And for your better direccõn, we haue deliuered you the Coppie of priviledgꝭ ꝓcured for vs, by Sr Iames Lancaster from the kinge of Achen[2] before mencioned adding therevnto what other thingꝭ shall be needfull: In this busines Conferr together that you may ꝓceede wth good advise, aswell for the priuiledgꝭ as whoe shall be left there for ffacto^{rs}, except Marlowe[3] & Pennell

[1] A resident ambassador, as opposed to one sent on a temporary mission; cp.—

> "Lord Angelo, having affairs to heaven,
> Intends you for his swift ambassador,
> Where you shall be an everlasting leiger."
>
> *Measure for Measure*, Act IV., Scene 1.

[2] See page 69.

[3] Anthony Marlowe—"laughing Anthony" as his friends called him—was for some years a factor in the Levant before taking service with the East India merchants (see *Lansdowne MSS.*, No. 421, in British Museum). He soon had need of all his cheerfulness, for at Surat he fell into the hands of the Portuguese, and in July, 1609, we find him at Lisbon sick and in prison, and suffering great privations; while, a month or two later, the death of his wife left his child for a time without either of its natural guardians. Correspondence on the subject of his imprisonment and release will be found on a later page of the present volume.

Marlowe kept a journal of the present voyage, an imperfect copy of which is still preserved in the National Library; see p. 175 of *Cal. E. I. State Papers*, 1513-1616, where, however, it is wrongly spoken of as relating to the *Second Voyage*. It may also

appointed for other places: Yf he giue leaue to settle a ffactorie, you must alsoe declare vnto the Gou^r^no^r^ what sorte of English Commodities you haue brought, but acquainte him wth none of yor money, yf you can sell all the Comodities wch we now send att Aden, we rather desire the same then[1] to make tryall of any other place.

13 ITEM arriueing att Aden, & findeing hope of intertaynem^t^ & trade, we wish you all to spend some few daies in Consultacōn & direccōns [(]still haueing reguard that you the Gen^r^all wth the Dragon & Pynnasse loose not yor Monsoone) in wch tyme yf you find that more of o^r^ Comodities will sell theare, then is in the Hector, we wysh you to take out of the other shipps, what you thinke needfull, and leaue Willm Hawkins & Clarke wth the Hecto^r^ & such other ffactors as may be thought meete to follow that busynes (whome we wish not findinge sufficient & present dispatch of o^r^ Comodities & other m^r^chandizes of those ptes sufficient & att resonable prizes to relade the Hecto^r^, then to stay vntill the shipps & Iounckes repaire thither from Cambaya, & other places wth the next Monsoone, att wch tyme noe doubt you shall finde plentie of all the Comodities, the Indies doe yeald, wch oportunitie we wish you to take[)], And for the sale of o^r^ Comodities we wish you to stand, vpon the value & estimacōn thereof, yett soe as you loose not the oportunitie of the first markettes & reasonable offers, least often veiwing them they fall to dislike, for Nouelties as you knowe drawe men to buie, and note that by the resorte of all sortes of people thither, you shall finde meanes to sell what Comodities of o^rs^ are in any place requested yf you putt yor selfe forwarde & by help of some brokers you seeke to deale: But you must be carefull to vse all men wth kindnes & Ciuillitie & soe[2] that yor men doe the like in any wyse, least disorders & scandalous behavio^r^ cause you to be abhored & evill intreated. And for that Clarke hath beene brought vpp in the trade of Wollen Comodities, we wysh him to be vsed in the sale thereof who can best tell how to handle yt.

14 ITEM yf you finde theare, that any other of o^r^ Comodities,

be useful to note in passing that in the index to this Calendar, Anthony Marlowe has been strangely confused with *Edmund* Marlowe, who was quite a different person.

[1] Than. [2] See?

or Coullo^rs will sell better, then those we now send, or some of those more vendible than the rest, we desire to be adverticed ou^rland by some Moores that go to Argier,[1] & direct yor ltres to Richard Allen Consull theare, to be sent hither wth speede, or to Aleppo to m^r Paule Pyndar[2] Consull, obserueing the note of a character[3] wch we deliu^r you herew^th for the better secretie.

15 ITEM for that we haue put into each shipp a porcon of money viz into the Dragon 13 Cheste, into the Hecto^r 8 Cheste & into the Consent one Chest. Wee pray you to Consider att yor being att Aden, how much thereof, will be there needfull, either for helpinge to putt of o^r Comodities & m^rchandize in barter (yf otherwyse the same will nott sell) or to buye such of theirs, as ys needfull & ffitt for o^r Countrie, & the residue to be continued in the Dragon for the Gen^rall to ymploy for vs in the Indies.

[1] Algiers.

[2] A well-known London merchant, the remains of whose beautiful mansion in Bishopsgate Street, doomed to destruction by the exigencies of railway extension, have recently found a home in the South Kensington Museum. The details of his life are somewhat obscure, and the dates given in the few desultory notices that can be found are meagre and at times contradictory. He seems to have been born at Wellingborough, in Northamptonshire, about the year 1566; and, on leaving school, was apprenticed to Mr. Parvish, an Italian merchant, who sent him at eighteen to Venice as a factor. Here, and in various parts of the Levant, he resided for a long period of years, during a part of which he appears to have held the position of secretary to the English ambassador at Constantinople. In 1607 we find him consul at Aleppo, a post he seems to have retained until 1611, when he was made ambassador at Constantinople. This appointment he is said to have held for nine years, and to have done much during his tenure of office to improve English trade in the Levant. By 1623 he was back again in England, and in great favour with James I., to whom he from time to time lent, on occasions of ceremony, his famous diamond, said to have been worth £30,000. This diamond was afterwards sold to Charles I., but whether it was ever paid for is a matter of some uncertainty. In 1626, Pindar was knighted, and was offered the Lieutenancy of the Tower; this honour, however, he declined, and Charles thereupon made him one of the Farmers of the Customs. In addition to this post, and his previous gains from trade, Pindar enjoyed a considerable revenue from a monopoly of the manufacture of alum, a privilege for which he is said to have paid a rental of £12,000 per annum. From all these sources he had accumulated a fortune then considered as colossal, and in 1639 he was computed to be worth £215,600; but a luckless speculation in East India trading with Courten, and the loan of large sums to the king, whose cause he warmly supported throughout the Civil War, brought him into financial difficulties; and when he died, in August, 1650, his affairs were in such confusion that his unhappy executor is said to have committed suicide in despair.

[3] Cipher.

16 AND haueing ꝑcured the dispatch of the Hector wth her full ladinge, o^{r} direction is, that you Willm Hawkins retourne for England wth the next ffitt Wynde & weather leaueing theare for ffacto^{rs} (yf you thinke needfull[)] Hearne & Clarke, & such others as you may thinke meete wth orders to ymploy their endevo^{rs} for finding out of ffurther trade, aswell for all sortẹ of Cloth & kersies & Coullo^{rs} best requested, as all other of o^{r} Comodities, & for the buying of all those Country wares obserueing still good & c^{r}teine notẹ of all sortẹ of Comodities brought thither from out of the East Indies.

17 ITEM for the better Gou^{r}nm^{te} of yor men we pray you when you departe from each other call to the Gen^{r}all for the duplicate of the kingẹ Comission, wch he hath vnder the broade seale, and keepe the same in yor power.

18 AND now touching you the Generall we pray you wth the Dragon & the Pinnasse to make noe longer stay att Aden then you must of necessitie as aforesaid, but therewth takeing due hold of the Monsoone shape yor spedie course towardẹ the entraunce to Cambaya endevo^{r}ing there to finde out what good saffe Harbo^{rs} are thereaboute for vs to trust to, for a mayntenance of a trade in those ꝑtẹ heereafter in saffetie from the daunger of the Portingalls, or other enymies, endevo^{r}ing alsoe to learne, whether the kinge of *Cambaya* or *Suratt* or any of his havens be in subiection to the Portugalls, & what havens of his are not, together wth the daungers & depthes of the water there for passadge, that by this c^{r}teine notice & diligent inquirie, (wch we wish to be sett downe in writeing for the Companies better informacõn) whereby we may hereafter attempt for further trade theare, or otherwyse desiste.

19 AND forasmuch as you haue theare but the Read Dragon & the Pinnasse doe not in any wyse send vpp to the kinge of Cambaia, or putt into any harbo^{rs}, but rideinge att an Anco^{r} in the open Roade some few daies to informe your selfe as afore specified, & what trade may theare be had, the sortẹ prises & goodnes of their Comodities, as alsoe what sortẹ of o^{rs} are theare best requested: endevo^{r}ing to drawe the people to come to you in their Iounckes, or boatẹ wth some of their m^{r}chandizes for wch you may assaie to barter some of o^{r} owne, or sell & buye as

you shall finde occasion. Then take yor speedie course alonge the Coaste of Mallabar directlie for Bantam, that you may come thither before the Hollenders yf yt be possible, for they will doe what they cann to prevent[1] you att the Molloccos, & refreshing yor men att Bantam & takeing the first of the Monsoone goe directly for the Molloccos, leaueing order wth the ffacto^rs^ att Bantam to ꝓvide & keepe all lading they cann gett to furnish you, yf you fayle att the Molloccos, or yf the Hecto^r^ should come thither to lade.

20 BUT yf yt shall happen you come not to Zocotora in such Convenient tyme as you may Convenientlie goe to Aden, & haue the Monsoone to bringe you to the Indies, doe not then goe to Aden att any hand, but sayle directlie wth the three shipps towardę the entraunce of Cambaya: whither yf you come aboute the Middle of September you shall finde yt sooner,[2] & faire weather, soe as you may very saffelie ride in the open Roade. At wch place yf vpon diligent inquirie you finde a certaine & saffe expectac̄o̅n of trade, and that any of o^r^ shipps may goe into saffe harbo^rs^ free from daunger of the Portugalls, then doe you the Generall in the Dragon w^th^all speede take yor Course alonge the Coaste of Malabar towardę Bantam, w^th^out any stay or abideing to trade by the way in what place soeu^r^ & take wth you David Middleton to assiste att the Molloccos for the buieing of spices the Hecto^r^ & Consent to stay in the open Roade neere the barr of Cambaya, & by some of the people wch come out eu^r^y tyde from Suratt we wysh you m^r^ Hawkins to send word to the Gou^r^no^r^ or Comaunder in Suratt, that there is a messenger arriued wth ł̄res from the kingę ma^tie^ of England vnto their kinge, praying the Gou^r^no^r^ to send him a Boate wth saffe Conveyaunce to bringe him to Suratt, wth wch Conveyaunce yf any come to you from the Gou^r^no^r^, we wish you m^r^ Hawkins to repaier thither,

The dragon to goe to Bantam directlie from hence, & the Hec·or & assencon to stay if they shall see cause[3]

[1] Anticipate; cp. *English Church Liturgy*, "Lord, we pray Thee that Thy grace may always prevent and follow us."

[2] A mistake for "somer," *i.e.* summer (see para. 21 of the Company's Commission for the *Fourth Voyage*, *infra*).

[3] This and the subsequent marginal notes are added in another hand. The *Assention* is mentioned in error for the *Consent*.

takeing wth you his maties ƚres & such other ꝑvisions as you haue for that purpose & in yor Companie take Anthonie Marlowe & Iohn Hearne and yor owne servant & comeing to the Gourno r att Suratt, present him wth some such guifte as you shall thinke meete & desire him to assist you wth meanes & guidꝭ to the kinge, that you may deliur his maties ƚres vnto him according to yor chardge, wch haueing obtayned, make all possible speede there-wth & deliur his maties said ƚre, & the present vnto the kinge, craueing a speedie aunsweare, and his resolucõn, yf he will be pleased to graunte you free and saffe trade in his Harbors, & Countries accordinge to his maties ƚre wth sufficient defence agaynst those that shall practise to impeach or hinder the same, or annoy or hurte any of the shipps, bodies or goodꝭ of any of or Nacõn, or not. But the better to induce the kinge to graunte vs priviledgꝭ & free trade, signifie that we will be readie to bringe him Armor, & other munition from tyme to tyme in or seurall voyages, for the better inablinge him agaynst his enimyes, besidꝭ the increase of his Customes: wch yf he ꝑmyse to doe, then desire to haue Comissioners appointed to Consider wth you of Articles for priviledgꝭ of trade, wherein followe such direccõn as is formrlie geven you for Aden (wch priviledgꝭ being obtayned and signed by the kinge, haueing taken yor leave in Comlie manner, & recd such Comaundemtꝭ in writeing directed to his Gournors & Officers of his Townes & portꝭ for yor defence agaynst all disturbers of you in yor peaceable trade, & for their Assistaunce of you & kinde interteynemte in the same: wth all speede make yor retourne to Suratt, & haueing deliuered that kingꝭ Comaundemte to the Gourno r & Officers, Craue their Assistanc[e] wth Pylottꝭ, & saffe Conduccõn for yor shipp, we meane the Consent, & therewth make all the speede you can to gett into the Harbor, but first shew to some trustie Brokers, such patterns of yor Cloth, kersies, and other Comodities as are in or shipps, takeing knowledge, wch sorte of them will be there sold, & accordinglie giue order to Iohn Hearne to goe wth the Pylottꝭ to see some putt out of the Hector into the Consent & therewth order that the said shipp, come wth the first oportunitie to Suratt.

21 ITEM the Consent being arriued in Suratt, & yor busines theare sett in good order, & the same left to the chardge of

Anthonie Marlowe, and Pennell & ffynch[1] wth such moneys as you thinke to be sufficient wth our m^r^chandize, to relade the Consent wth Indico, fine Callicoes, drugge &c: wth what Iewels you can gett, & leaueing them some small stocke for their mainetenance, being, to remayne theare as ffacto^rs^. Then you Willm Hawkins to retourne to the Hecto^r^, takeing wth you for ffacto^rs^ Iohn Hearne, Clarke, and Batten, & wth speede to retourne wth the Monsoone to Aden, and there to follow the direccōn geuen you before, for that place. But yf att Aden, you be not kindlie intertayned & admitted to trade, then wth the next Convenient Wynde to shape yor course for Bantam, where we referr you to Consider wth o^r^ ffacto^rs^, whether the shipp shall lade theare wth pepp, or plie to some other place for lading, wherein we pray you slipp noe oportunitie for dispatch.

22 ITEM touching the Consent, yf she can be laden att Suratt as afore said, then w^th^all diligence, the m^r^ to shape his course homewarde, wth such ffacto^r^ or ffacto^rs^ as you m^r^ Hawkins shall thinke ffitt.

23 BUT yf noe trade can be obtayned at Suratt for lading of the Consent then we wish, the m^r^ to take his direct way alonge the Coaste of the Indies to Bantam wth the forenamed ffacto^rs^ in her, & there to followe such direccōn for her ladinge homewarde, as o^r^ ffacto^rs^ att Bantam shall sett downe, either wth pepp theare, or to goe for Banda for Mace & Nutmegge.

To lade the dragon wth Cloues (if not) wth Cloues, mace & nutmeges

24 ITEM further touchinge the Dragon, we wish you the Gen^r^all to vse all meanes & diligence to lade her wth Cloues att the *Molloccos*, or yf the whole ladinge of Cloues cannot be gotten, then retourne to Banda to furnish out the same, wth Nutmegge & Mace, wherein, as for all other spices we would haue you princi-pallie to be advised by Symond Dickenson, who hath best skill

[1] William Finch. He landed with Hawkins at Surat, but was prevented by illness from accompanying him to Agra. Later on, however, in the spring of 1610, he made his way to that city, and remained there for some time, making occasional excursions to other towns, including Lahore, and diligently noting all that he saw or heard. In 1612 he formed the idea of returning home overland through Persia and Arabia. It proved a fatal resolution, for at Babylon he and his companions died suddenly, poisoned by drinking bad water [1613]. His journal and notes will be found in *Purchas*.

therein, And to remember to foresee, that in ladeing either Cloues, Nutmeggꝭ or Mace, you clense them what you can from dust & Rumps that the shipp be not stuffed wth such vnꝓfitable ware as is not worth the Custome, & soe we loose all or chardgꝭ, therefore rather burne the same then lade yt in the shipps & be carefull to buie drie Cloues, & not such as are greene.

25 ITEM be verie carefull that you haue yor due weight & the same putt into baggꝭ, nombred & mrked & sent abourde the shipps wth some of the ffactors, or some other trustie ꝑson, wth a l̃re Conteyneing the ꝑticuler of eury bagg vnder the nomber, the same l̃re to be deliured to the Pursar whom we chardge to weight eury bagg, att the takeinge of yt into the shipp, whereby he may see that the weight is accordinge to the l̃re recd, keepeing eury l̃re & entring the Contentꝭ into his booke, whereby yf any error happen, yt may be found out, wch we wish you the Generall to examine eury nighte. that there growe no abuse.

26 ITEM we chardge that the Pursar be continuallie abourde the shipp, and take true notice of all thingꝭ whatsoeur are brought into the shipp or carried out, either by Generall, Captaines, mrchauntꝭ, mrs, Marriners the Pursar himselfe, or whosoeur, the same to be entred into his booke, vnder the name of the owner, that eury one may haue his due att the retourne, as the Pursar will Aunsweare yt wth the losse of his wages. And we pray the Generall and Captaines to giue the Pursars strict order for ꝑformaunce hereof.

27 ITEM that there be but one hatch open (yf yt may be) att the ladeing of any of the shipps, and all the other hatches lockt vpp, & that the mr or one of his matꝭ & the Pursar to stand by the open hatches when any goodꝭ are shott into hould, lockeing the same vpp, when they haue left worke, the key to be geuen to the Generall or Captaine to be kepte.

28 ITEM to be carefull that nothinge be bought but what is especiall good, & that you doe not ourwett the Cloues, when they be laden, for or ouerwetting Cloues, bad Nutmeggꝭ & Mace haue tought vs to advise or ffactors to be more carefull.

29 AND for that voyagꝭ of this condic̃on & greate chardge cannot admitt any private trade. Our will is, that neither you the Generall, nor any other, vpon any

noe priuate trade

ꝑticuler or other Accompt then the Gen^r^all & ioynt stocke doe lade or deale wth any of those Comodities heerevnder expressed, viz pepꝑ, Cloues, Nutmeggꝭ, Mace, Synamond, gynger Indico, Callicoes, Amber greece, Muske Alloes Beniamin & Gumlacca, And that yf any shall soe doe the same to be applied to the accompte of the Companie, as o^r^ ꝑpꝑ goodꝭ, yt being noe way resonable, that we should paie them their wagꝭ wth meate & drinke, and they lade those thingꝭ in o^r^ shipps, wch should defray o^r^ chardge.

30 ITEM in eu^r^y place wheare you come & trade, compare their weightꝭ and measures wth o^rs^, before you buie, to thend you may know the better what to doe, & how to make yor rekoningꝭ, for wch purpose we haue putt sundrie Chestꝭ wth weightꝭ into o^r^ shipps.

31 ITEM that there be the sufficientest & best advised of o^r^ ffacto^rs^ appointed to weigh what is bought, by weight on the land, & to keepe a ꝑfect booke thereof, that the same may be nightlie conferred wth the Pursars Booke, whereby erro^rs^ may be the better found out.

32 ITEM that o^r^ ffacto^rs^ bring or send by the first shipps 8 or 10 of the dollo^rs^, or Royalls wch the Hollenders carrie thither.

33 ITEM we vtterlie forbid any excessiue drinkeing, ffeasting, or banquetting abourd the shipps att Sea, or aland it being agreate waste & consumpcõn of victualls & wyne the Cause of many diseases & disorders in the Companie, & therefore the same to be spent wth more discrecõn & sparinge.

34 ITEM remember to matt the insidꝭ of yor shipps before you putt any spice into them, espetiallie where you lade Cloues pepꝑ Nutmeggꝭ & Mace, & be carefull to make choyse of yor Nutmeggꝭ that they be lardge & sound, & att the ladeinge thereof, doe not lyme them too much,[1] for that burne[th] them, & beware you lay the Mace in Canisters in some ffitt place by yt selfe, that yt be not spoyled by the heate of the other spices, takeing good heede to buie that wch is bright, & not withered, nor

[1] "It is alsoe to be remembred that 4 or 6 hoggesheedes of slaked lyme be provided "for the shipps, for lymeing of the Nutmegges *to preserue them from the wormes* wherein "a moderation is to be vsed in doinge thereof as is shewed at lardge to the Captaines "by their Comission." (*Court Minutes*, 11th March, 1606/7.)

Redd nor darke browne Colored. And such Cloues as shall be free of dust the wch those people vse to put amongest them for their advantage in the weight

35 ITEM yf necessitie drawe you att the lading of the Cloues for bett[er] setling of them, to cast water vpon them, be ye sure that ytt be but sprikling wth some thinge for the purpose like a watering pott, for that too much wett in o^r^ Cloues in the last voyadge brought vs greate damadge.

That affactorie be setled at Banda Tornata & tedore if you shall thincke fitt

36 ITEM we desire that a ffactorie may be settled for vs att Banda & an other at Turnato or Tedore the better to advise vs for trade heere after & therefore doe wish you to leaue ffacto^rs^ att each place wth some reasonable stocke for their mayntenaunce, yf vpon due Consideracõn att yor being theare you shall thinke yt ffitt. And seeing we finde by o^r^ last Accompte, That those of Lunto^r^ & Nero did sell their Cloues & mace much better cheepe; to receiue their paym^t^ę in gould, then in Royalls: namelie the Bahar of Nutmeggę for 9 Royalls & the Bahar of Mace fo[r] 90 Royalls, in sylver: but paying wth gould the price of Nutmeggę but 7 Royalls & of mace for 70, we therefore thinke yt verie needfull that all meanes be vsed to sell o^r^ Comodities for barter or gould: & to fynde out such places where gould may be had, as spetiallie as we are informed att the Iland of Monaginnye[1] for wch place one of o^r^ ffacto^rs^ that shall lie att Banda, wee hould fittest to be ymployed to this effect: Although he goe att the first but as a passenger in some shipp, to learne & advise vs the certaintie thereof.

& to finde out such places where gold may be had & to what end.

37 ITEM That the Gen^r^all & Captaines giue often notice to the ffacto^rs^ & others what they are to obserue by this o^r^ Comission wth espetiall chardge to the ffacto^rs^, to make diligent inquirie of what Comodities are to be bought or bartered for in each Iland, & what Englishe m^r^chandize may be there vented, & of what kinde & Collo^rs^ most vendable.

The ffacto^rs^ at Bantam to procure the bringeing thither of Chenesey silkes.

38 ITTEM It is to be remembred that o^r^ ffacto^rs^ att Bantam doe their best endevo^rs^ to ꝑcure the Chineses to bring from Cheney sleave & sowing silkes of the Coullo^r^ & sizes we haue now deliu^r^ed to you o^r^

[1] Nouaginnye on a later page; possibly New Guinea.

Generall as alsoe some rawe silkes, that we may fall into some trade wth them, & see yf they can sell any of o^r^ English Cloth to them, that they may be brought to thuse thereof.

39 ITEM remember to doe yor best to bringe for the Lorde of Salisburie,[1] some Parratt℮ Mounckeys Marmesatt℮ or other straundge beast℮ & fowles that you esteeme rare & delightfull.

40 ITEM for the quantities of money & m^r^chandize put into each shipp, we Referr you to o^r^ invoice deliu^r^ed you herew^th^ wth the ꝑticuler sort℮ Coullo^rs^ & prises, wth patternes of all sort℮ whereby to make sale.

41 ITEM whereas hearetofore the Company haue rec^d^ greate wronge by the Gen^r^all & Captaines, m^rs^, & Marriners admittaunce of voluntarie men to goe in o^r^ shipps: We hereby giue an espetiall chardge vnto you o^r^ Generall Captaines & m^rs^, that you suffer none such to goe alonge wth you, wch putt the Companie to chardge besid℮ many other inconveniences, nor any but such as shall be allowed of by o^r^ direction, & whose names are entred into o^r^ bookes

The appointem^t^: of the ffacto^rs^ to be left there to be at the direccon of the Gen^r^all.

42 AS touchinge the ffacto^rs^ that are to be left there or to be brought home either of those wch are alredie lefte in the Countrie, or of those wch goe now in the shipps: We doe order that the appointem^t^ of o^r^ said ffacto^rs^ to reside in those places shall be att the direction and discrec̃on of you the Generall, or in yor absence of him that shall be cheeffe Comaunder by vs appointed, wherein wee hope you will haue that Considerac̃on, as to make choise of the ffittest wch shall be found able & meete to deserue that truste of ymploym^te^: neither lett o^r^ placeing of the ffacto^rs^ in the seu^r^all shipps, as they are placed be a rule to you, or any ground to them, to

[1] The celebrated Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, at this time Secretary of State. The origin of this instruction is shown by the following extract:—"Was Read a "writeing from Sr Walter Cope in behalfe of a younge man, the wch he commendeth "to goe in the shipps for Parattes, Munkies & Marmasittes for the Lo: of Salisburie "praying that he may haue Creditt in those partes (yf need be) for xx or xl^li^ from "the Company. Wherevpon yt was resolved that m^r^ Gou^r^no^r^ doe giue some Con- "venient aunsweare to the same: signifieing that forasmuch as the man may die "& his thinges miscarrie yt will be more Convenient some of o^r^ men may provide "the same, as they shall haue order, &c." (*Court Minutes*, 16th Jan., 1606/7.)

enioye those places of ymploymte: other wyse then they shall be found ffitt & deserue. And that amonge such of or ffactors as shall be now vsed att the Molloccos, Banda & those places Our Order is that you ymploy those now alreadie remayneing att Bantam aswell such as you thinke ffitt of as of anie others wth an espetiall chardg to them all, to carrie them selues verie kindlie wth those people, for that the Contrarie as we are informed hath beene hurtfull vnto vs, for that Brownes vnkinde & churlish dealeinge towarde them, did make many of those people refrayne to deale wth him & goe to the Hollenders.[1]

43 ITEM that [as] it is vnfitt & inconvenient that or trade be ympted vnto any but or Genrall Companie: it is expresslie ordered, & soe the ffactors are to haue chardge, not to write or advise any their pticuler freinde or others of the prices of any Comodities either theare bought or sold. But onelie in their Genrall tres to the Gourno r & Companie.

not to imparte the trade to any by[2] the genrall Companie

44 ITEM we wish that yf att yor comeing to Bantam, it be not thought ffitt that the Pinnasse be theare left to traffique from place to place as we doe desire. Then or will is that some one or twoe of or ffactors left theare shall by the best meanes they cann there finde, goe as passengers in some other shipps, to finde out trade in such places as shall be thought needfull as Mesapatania[3] in the partes of Bengalla Cheremandall St Thome or any other places fitt for trade, & to take good observacon what English Comodities, as Iron, Tynn, Leade, steele Clothes kersies and Saies wth their seurall kinde & Coullors are there best in request, & their value: As alsoe what Comodities are theare to be bought, as namely Pyntados, & such like, for the *Molloccos* And likewyse booke Callicutte & lanes called casa, & such other thinge as may serve for England where the finest sorte will serve best, wth Pearles, stones, Muske Bezar, & such like, wth their seurall prices, wherein we wishe Pennell to be cheeflie ymployed, for Callicutte lanes &c: & other ffactors according to their skill in other Comodities, The Omission of seekeinge out whereof all this while hath

yf the penasse be not left at Bantam to send some one or two of or ffactors thence for diurs places to finde out trade

[1] See page 86. [2] But? [3] See page 73, note 10.

retourned to o^{r} greate losse, & to the benefitt of the Hollenders, who haue beene laborious and industrious therein: And this sending to those places, & inquirie to be made, yf yt be possible before the retourne of the dragon from the Molloccos to Bantam, to thend that att her retourne for England we may be effectuallie adverticed of all theis ꝑticulars soe farr as you may, & of all other thinges for o^{r} better direccõns of anew voyadge.

To bringe an Inventurie from Bantam &c of all thinges there left.

45 ITEM that you the Generall att yor retourne for[1] Bantam for England, doe bringe wth you vnto vs from thence an Inventory of all o^{r} goodꝭ, debtꝭ & moneys then remayneing in those ꝑtꝭ, The wch is likewyse to be done by m^{r} Hawkins yf he shall leaue any ffactorie els wheare putting to o^{r} Gen^{r}all accompt all guiftꝭ presentꝭ and gratificacõns, wch shall be geven, by any forreine Prince or potentate, vnto whom we haue now sent presentꝭ or others.

46 ITEM it is o^{r} expresse order, that by a gen^{r}all Consent of yo^{u} the Generall Captaines, ffacto^{rs}, m^{rs}, & Marriners, some good order be by you taken & sett downe in writeing soe soone as you come to Sea, Concerning the disposeing of dead mens goodꝭ in the voyadge, by sale att the Maste, or otherwyse: for buiing sellinge borrowing & lending one an other: And orderinge what sallarie shall be allowed the Pursar vpon eu^{r}y pounde for keepeing accompt thereof, to avoied Controu^{r}sie, & question hereafter, & eu^{r}y marriner & other of each shipp, to sett their hand or marke vnto the same Order. But yf any ffacto^{r} shall happen to die, his goodꝭ, bookes, accomptꝭ and other thingꝭ, are to be by order of the Generall & Captaines saffelie reserved, & brought home for England.

47 ITEM now lastlie but wth the first to be remembred we Comend vnto you all an especiall care to haue yor Eyes open to all devises & practises wch may be wrought agaynst you, o^{r} shipps & goodꝭ in eu^{r}y place where you come, keeping a Continuall watch, whereby you may be readie to prevent any mischeefe agaynst you, suspect all, how freindlie soeu^{r} they seeme: be readie still & stand vpon yor guarde, trust not yor saffetie to

[1] A mistake for "from."

the Carelesse attendaunce of the Comon marriners, whoe will not losse their present pleasures, or ease, though the losse of their liues, o^r^ shipps & goode depend vpon yt. And albeyt we haue sett downe eu^r^y thinge what we remember and desier to be desire to be done: in ꝑticuler: Yett yf vpon due consideracõn you finde cause to alter any thinge, wch we heare haue sett downe, haueing wth good aduise resolued therevpon, we referr the same to yor discrecõns: And for yor better &[2] Assistaunce & warie ꝑceedinge therein, as alsoe in all other o^r^ affaires we appointe Willm Hawkins David Middleton & Anthony Marlow, & such others as you the principall Comaunder shall thinke ffitt to Consider and Consult wth you the Gen^r^all of all thinge needfull whome wee wish you to ymbrace & vse wth aloueinge respect, & freindlie and diligentlie to hearken to their Councells, puttinge in execution what shall wth good deliberation be soe agreed vpon. And soe we we Comend you & yor endevo^rs^ to gode ꝑvidence whoe guide you wth his feare & defend yo^u^ from all daungers. Amen.

Any thinge formerlie sett downe,[1] all thinges left to their discreccons.

post scriptum

48 AND furder o^r^ direccõn is That you our Gen^r^all at yor comeinge to Bantam doe (beside the ľre & p^r^sent to that kinge) giue vnto the Admirall & such other greate ꝑsonages theare as o^r^ ffacto^rs^ shall advise you to haue beene freindlie to them, such presente or gratificacõns as shall be thought ffitt.

49 AND further we wishe that some good course be taken att your comeing thither, that fewer of o^r^ people be kept theare, for ease of chardge: yett not whollie to be w^th^drawen thence.

That fewer of o^r^ people be kept ther.

50 AND alsoe we wish that a ffactorie, or att least some of o^r^ people be appointed to recyde att Pryamon, both for their better health & saffetie,[3] & for ꝑcureing for vs pepꝑ & other Comodities yf there shall be men & stocke there to ymploie.

A ffactorie at Priamon

[1] The word "notwithstanding" appears to have been omitted here.

[2] "And" has been inserted here by mistake.

[3] See note, page 26. "This [Priaman] is a place of good refreshing, and is very "wholsome and healthfull, and yet it lyeth within fifteene minutes of the Line." (Lancaster's Voyage in *Purchas*, Lib. III., ch. 3.)

51 ITEM o^{r} direccõn is that att yor retourne from Bantam you doe bringe thence for the Companie some small quantitie of the East India Tynn for the triall & proofe thereof.

52 ITEM for better p^{r}servacõn of health, o^{r} order is, that from tyme to tyme as the water Caske shall be emptied of fresh water [they] be forth wth agayne filled wth salt water, for prevencõn of leakeinge and Mustines.

53 ITEM o^{r} direction is that you make diligent inquirie att St Lawrence and Zanzabar, & all other places, in yor passadge & retourne of Tydingꝭ of the Suzan:[1] or yf any English shipp hath beene of late wthin theis twoe yeares either cast away or taken: or putt in for releefe, in any of those ꝑtꝭ, and receiueing any knowledge of her to vse the best meanes you may, for recou^{r}y of her her men & goodꝭ.

54 ITEM the ffacte Comitted in the Indies by Sr Edward Michelborne[2] thoughe we know o^{r} selues to be

[1] The *Hector* and *Susan* had sailed from Bantam on 4th March, 1605, the *Red Dragon* and *Assention* following six months later. On the 19th December, Middleton came up with the *Hector*, "driving up and down the sea about four leagues off the "Cape Boa Esperança, with ten men in her," and took her into Saldanha Road to refit. She had lost company of the *Susan* three months after they came out of Bantam Road, "which ship, the *Susan*, was never heard of since." (Clayborne's account of the *Second Voyage*, in *Purchas*, Lib. I.)

[2] Sir Edward Michelborne was a seaman of some note, who appears to have served under the Earl of Essex in the "Island Voyage" of 1597, and to have been subsequently concerned in the same nobleman's abortive rising in 1601. He was an original adventurer in the Company, his name standing fourth in the list contained in the charter; and he was strongly recommended by the Lord Treasurer for the command of the *First Voyage*. The merchants, however, expressed their desire to employ rather "men of their own quality," and Captain Lancaster was accordingly preferred to the post. Michelborne, perhaps offended at the refusal of his services, neglected to pay his share of the adventure, and was in consequence disfranchised in July, 1601. A few years later he became a gentleman pensioner to James I., and in June, 1604, that monarch, disregarding the exclusive privileges of the East India Company, granted Michelborne a license to trade to Cathaia, China, Japan, Corea, Cambaia and the adjoining countries. Armed with this authority, he equipped a small vessel and a pinnace, and, with the famous John Davis of Sandridge as pilot, sailed from Cowes on the 5th Dec. in the same year. After an unsuccessful attempt to trade at Priaman, Bantam was visited; and then a course was shaped for Patani, on the eastern side of the Malay Peninsula. On the way a leaky vessel belonging to a party of Japanese pirates was met with and assisted; in return for which, the pirates treacherously attempted to surprise the English and seize the ship. They were

meerelie[1] Innocent therein, yet yf by any meanes we or o^r^ goodꝭ should be dampnified thereby, we wish you to seeke to that kinge & magistratꝭ for redresse & recompence thereof. The wch yf you cannot obtayne. Then o^r^ will is, that you vse the benefitt of o^r^ kingꝭ ma^ties^ Comission giuen you in that behalfe.

55 ITEM after the depture of the said Witłm Kealeinge & Witłm Hawkins to diuers Coastes, as we haue by this o^r^ Comission ordered, yf the said Witłm Hawkins shall happen to die, wch God forbidd. Then we doe appointe in his place for ordering & effecting the busines by vs hereby Comitted vnto the said Witłm Hawkins chardge vnto Anthony Marlowe: but neu^r^thelesse yf the said Witłm Hawkins shall happen to die before he shall depte Companie wth the said m^r^ Witłm Kealinge for diuers places as aforesaid then o^r^ expresse will is That David Middleton be appointed in the place of the said Witłm Hawkins of Leiuetenaunte Generall in this present voyadge before any other. As alsoe by the death of the said m^r^ Witłm Kealeing now o^r^ Generall to succeede in his place & chardge in the absence of the said Witłm Hawkins by death or otherwyse till their meetinge together agayne in this voyadge.

finally overpowered after much stubborn fighting, and with the loss of Captain Davis and many of the crew. After a further short cruize, Michelborne turned homewards, and reached Portsmouth on 9th July, 1606.

During the voyage several native vessels were overhauled, including a Chinese junk bound for Bantam. Although Michelborne states that he paid for everything he took, his proceedings seemed to have caused much commotion at Bantam; and the Dutch admiral whom he met at Pulo Sumatra, told him that "the "English merchants in Bantam were in great peril, and that still they looked for "nothing else, than that the King of Iava would assault them because he [Michel- "borne] had taken the China ship, whereby the King of Bantam had lost his custom." (*Purchas*, Lib. III., ch. 1.)

The Company appear to have commenced a suit against Michelborne in the Admiralty Court on account of the damages likely to be sustained through his piratical actions in the Indies, but in July, 1607, it was determined that the suit should be dropped, on account of its great expense and uncertain issue. Shortly afterwards a reconciliation seems to have taken place, and in Jan., 1608, Michelborne gave the Company his advice as to the course to be adopted in the *Fourth Voyage*. (See note, page 247.) Two years later, a pinnace was ordered to be purchased from Sir Edward by the Company. He died, as will be seen from an entry on a later page, in the early part of 1609.

[1] Entirely.

56 ITEM we giue you o^r Gen^{r}all expresse order for examinac̄ōn of o^r ffacto^{rs} dealeing att Bantam in o^r gen^{r}all accompt & other wayes, & alsoe of all their private trade, vsed since their going thither: Wherein we vnderstand m^r Towerson hath beene a lardge dealer for him selfe, haueing sould to the Hollenders att one tyme 300 sackes of pepꝑ besidꝭ other thingꝭ very straunge vnto us. And yf vpon due examinac̄ōn thereof he doe not giue you good satisfac̄c̄ōn to yor content, then we praye you to reduce the same to the Comon stocke & the like Course to be taken herein wth all such others, that you shall finde faultie heerein for that the same is Contrarie to o^r expresse order formerlie geuen vnto them.

ffor examinacon of o^r ffacto^{rs} there.

57. AND for that we finde best ꝑffitt by the lardg sorte of pepꝑ both for the prices that you paye aswell for the one as for the other, we pray you att any hand, to buye soe much of the largest sorte, as by any meanes you cann gett, & lett the same be put by yt selfe into the shipp that yt be nott mingled wth any other. And thus not doubting of yor faithfull care & diligence herein Wee pray god to blesse you all & o^r affaires London the 11th of March 1606.

Wm Kealeing[1]
Wm Hawkins
David Middleton.

FIRSTE[2] yf yt please God to send yor shipps to the Cape Bona *Speranza* in time, that is by the first of Iune little more or lesse, & yor people standing in health, myne opinion is that you stay not att Saldania to water or refresh, but rather hould on your Course directlie for St Lawrence & touch att the ryver of St Augustine, for theare as I haue beene crediblie informed is as good meanes of refreshing as is att Saldania This Course will advantage you much in yor

Sr Iames Lancasters remembraunce for obseruacon of the tymes meete to be obserued in the East India voyadge.

[1] See page 38.

[2] See paragraph 10 of the preceding Commission. These notes are entered also on the Court Minutes of 13th Feb., 1606/7.

Navigacõn to the Coaste of the India : beside the avoydeinge of fowle whether, that in that monneth comonlie is in Saldania, haueing theare refreshed haue agreate care of the fflatt*e* of the Iland*e* of Iudea[1] for many shipps haue been lost theare, for the Currant setteth from the Coaste of St Lawrence right vpon them, soe that yf you be not very carefull to looke out night & daye you shall feele them before you see them. Therefore haue a diligent care of this pointe for I my selfe haueing twoe very sufficient m^rs^ in my shipp was by the said Currant much deceiued, but that was in the monneth of September.

IF by any misfortune you haue further neede of refreshing, you shall finde yt att the Iland*e* of Comoza[2] but looke to yor selues, for after their tournes are served of such thing*e* as they need they will imploye all their witt*e* to betray you in what they Cann, therefore trust noe men aland for the ffleming*e* haue lost men trice in theis Ilaund*e* & I my selfe once.[3] If the tyme soe serue you that yo^u^ cann gett into Indea by the 5th of Iulie, you may as you see cause, first touche in the mouth of the Redd Sea, for although you make yor staye there till the middest of October yett you shall haue wynd*e* to bring you to Indea but not longe after : but yf yt soe fall out that you see yt will be the midst of August or theareaboutes ere you shall gett into the Redd Sea, then I would take my Course directlie for Cambaia & follow my busines there, for by the 20th of Decemƀ or prime of Ianuarie att the ffurthest yf yo^u^ settle not yor trade theare, the Wynd*e* growe fayre to goe for the Redd Sea, whither at that tyme yf you take yor Course you shall haue 3 monnethes to staye, to see what you cann doe in setlinge yor trades. And aboute Aprill the West &

[1] See page 118.

[2] The Comoro group, between the northernmost point of Madagascar and the mainland.

[3] "From this place we went for an island called Comoro, vpon the coast of "Melinde, which standeth about 11 degrees to the south of the equinoctial: in which "island we stayed all Nouember, finding the people blacke and very comly, but very "treacherous and creuell: for the day before we departed from thence, they killed "thirty of our men on shore, among whom was William Mace, our master, and two "of his mates; the one of them being in the boat with him to fetch water, the other "being on shore against our ship; they hauing first betrayed our boat." (From Henry May's account of Lancaster's first voyage to the Indies in Markham's *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, page 26.)

Norwest wyndȩ begynning to blowe, soe that you may retourne agayne for the Coaste of Indea, but thinke not to touch vpon the Coaste for yt is exceeding daungerous at that tyme of the yeare, & from thence till August, & therefore come not neare yt, for till august yt is fowle weather, & verie thicke & stormye vpon the Coaste of Indea, & the wyndȩ sett right vpon the Coaste, May, Iune & Iulie, but theis wyndȩ will carrie you to Bantam, but take not too high or Sowtherlie a course for then you will hem [out] of the way of the Westerne Monsond that should helpe you in this Navigation, but comeing to Bantam before September you cannot goe for the Molloccos for the Westerne Monsonde reacheth but to Bantam. Therefore as you see cause you may touch att Pryamon where is good pepꝑ reasonable good cheepe & agood ayre. Note that yf you touch not vpon the Coaste of Indea before the 5th of November, you cannot doe yt till august or September come twelue monneth.

WHEREAS[1] 𝔄 𝔅. is enterteyned by vs the Gournor & Companie of mrchan[tȩ] of London trading to the East Indies to goe as one of or ffactors in this prsent voyadge now by vs prpared towardȩ the said Indies, & is allowed for his ymploymt in the said voyadge the some of

Bills of adventure to the factors. Se for the mrs fo 99.[2]

for his prparacõn to Sea the wch he hath received before his goeing forth. Now knowe yee that we the said Gournor & Companie for the further allowance wch the said 𝔄 𝔅 is to haue & receiue accordinge to or agreemt wth him doe acknowledge & testifie & doe ꝑmyse & agree by theis presentȩ that the said 𝔄 𝔅. shall haue & inioy for his further allowance & enterteynmt in the said voyadge vpon the gaine & ꝑffitt wch god shall send by the retourne of the same

[1] These two "bills of adventure" were read at a Court held the 17th Feb., 1600/1 and are entered on the minutes under that date.

[2] *i.e.* page 269. This has been added by another hand.

voyadge, The principall adventure thereof & all chardgꝭ of the voyadge first deducted, such rate & ꝑportion of proffitt as yf he had beene an adventuror of the some of ťi and as yf he had putt in soe much Readie money in stocke in the said voyadge, the said rate & ꝑportic̃on of proffitt to be paied vnto him after his retourne into England in such manner & forme as the gaine & proffitt of the said voyadge is paied to other the Aduenturors genrallie vppon the some of ťi by them adventured soe as he ꝑceede in the said voyadge, & doe not retourne before the voyadge be ended. And yf he happen to die before the retourne of the shipps from the said East Indies haueing liued & Continued in the said voyadge vntill the shipps shall be laden, or vntill he or other ffactors shall haue contracted & made ꝑvision for their ladinge then the said gaine proportioned the saide rate of ťi adventure to be paied to his Executors administrators or assignes, as yt should haue beene paied to him, yf he had retourned wth the shipps. Provided alwaies that yf he deceease before the shipps shall arrive in the East Indies that then the moneys ymprested & deliured him before his goinge to Sea shall be vnto him in full recompence of his interteynemt agreed vpon for the voyadge And vpon theis Condic̃ons & provisoes before mentioned We the Gournor & Companie vnder or Comon seale haue geven vnto the said 𝔄 𝔅 this present bill of Contract & adventure dated the 17th day of ffebruarie Anno Regni Rñe Eliz quadragesimo tertio.

WHEAREAS 𝔄 𝔅 one of the Adventurers & one of the brethren of the Gournor & Companie of mrchauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies haueing sett downe for his Adventure wth the said Company for their first voyadge into the East Indies the some of ťi starlinge hath not onelie paied the said some of ťi to ℭ 𝔇 Threr̃ of the said Company, but hath supplied accordinge to the Ordenances of the Company the

A bill of aduenture to the Company.

some of ℔i starlinge more wch is after the rate of ij^{s} the ℔ of his said Adventure. Wee therefore the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Company doe by this o^{r} present bill of Adventure promyse & agree to & wth the said A B. That wee the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Companie & o^{r} successo^{rs} shall & will vpon the retourne of the shipps or any of them sett out by vs in this present voyadge, or wthin Convenient tyme after their said retourne in the same deliuer vnto the said A B his executo^{rs} & admĩstrã a true & iust accompt & paym^{te} of such stocke, benefitt & proffitt of stocke as god shall send vpon the said voyadge according to the gen^{r}all distribution proporcõn & allotm^{t} wch shall be allotted disposed and geven to all & eu^{r}y the seu^{r}all Adventuro^{rs} in the said voyage ꝑportionall to their seu^{r}all adventures. In Witnes wheareof the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Companie haue heareto annexed their Comon seale The 17th daie of ffebruarie 1600.

THE CONDICON[1] of this Obligacõn is such That wheareas vpon the spetiall request and intreatie of the aboue bound A B. the Gou^{r}no^{r} and Companie of the marchaunte of London tradinge into the East Indies haue interteyned him the said A B. into their service. And alsoe the said A B hath agreed & ꝑmysed to serue the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Companie & their successo^{rs} as their ffacto^{r} & Couenaunt servant in all & eu^{r}y such their traffique of m^{r}chandize busynes & affaires whatsoeu^{r} as they or any by them authorized shall thinke ffitt to ymploy him in, as well att, in, vnto, & from the East Indies, as att or in any other place or places whatsoeu^{r} dureing the space of 5 yeares next ensueing the date aboue written, or dureing soe many & such tyme of the said ffiue yeares as the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Companie or their successo^{rs} or such as shall be by them

The factors bonde. bounde in 1000 m^{r}kes

[1] "Ytt is alsoe ordered that each ffacto^{r} giue his owne bonde for 1000 m^{r}ks, and "their freindes Bond for 200^{li}." (*Court Minutes*, 31st Dec., 1606/7.) This and the succeeding bond are entered on the minutes of the 14th and 19th Jan., 1606/7.

authorized shall thinke meete for such wageꝭ & Consideraco̅n as alredie is agreed vpon betweene the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Companie & him the said 𝔄 𝔅. And wch is specified & sett downe in the Courte booke of the said Companie. If therefore the said 𝔄 𝔅 doe henceforth during all the said terme of 5 yeares, or soe longe tyme thereof as the Gou^{r}no^{r} & Companie, or their Successo^{rs} shall reteyne him in their service well trulie & honestlie serue the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Companie their successo^{rs} & assignes as their ffactor in all & eu^{r}y such affaires & busines whatsoeu^{r} as they or such as shall be by them authorized shall thinke good to ymploy him. And doe from tyme to tyme dureing all the tyme of his service diligentlie ymploye & endevo^{r} himselfe to the vttermost of his power knowledge and skill and to the best ꝑffitt he can devise for the vse and behoofe of the said Companie in & aboute the mannageing excerciseing ꝑformaunce & execution of all & eu^{r}y such traffique busines matters affaires & thingꝭ whatsoeu^{r} as by the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Companie or by their assignes aucthorized for the tyme being he shall be directed or appointed to deale in, ꝑforme and doe. And alsoe yf the said 𝔄 𝔅. doe from tyme to tyme & att all tymes to the vttermost of his power strength and skill not onelie resist & wthstand all & eu^{r}y such ꝑson and ꝑsons as shall attempt or practise any matter or thinge whatsoeu^{r} to the hindraunce hurte or damadge of the said Companie, or of their goodꝭ m^{r}chandize trade or any of them or any parte thereof: but alsoe p^{r}vent and defeate all & euery such practizes attemptꝭ & acco̅ns whatsoeu^{r} wch shall or may tend to the damadge defraudinge or p^{r}iudice of the said Companie or of their goodꝭ or traffique or any ꝑte thereof in any wyse. And ffurder yf the said 𝔄 𝔅 doe from tyme to tyme giue true notice & intelligence by the spediest meanes he possiblie Cann vnto the Gou^{r}no^{r} & Comitties for the tyme being or to such as shall be by them authorized, or some of them, of all & eu^{r}y such deceiptꝭ wronges abuses & hindrances as he shall knowe or vnderstand, or crediblie heare to be att any tyme or tymes practized done or offered agaynst the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Company or their goodꝭ or trade, or any of them, by any ꝑson or ꝑsons in any place or places, together wth the names of those ꝑsons by whom the same shall be soe offered practised or ꝑpetrated. And alsoe yf the said 𝔄 𝔅,

doe from tyme to tyme wthin 14 daies next after eury resonable request to him to be made by the said Gournor & Comitties for the tyme being or by any by them in that behalfe to be auctho-rized not onelie make yeald & giue to the said Gournors & Comitties for the tyme being or to such of their Officers or mynisters as in this behalfe shall be authorized or appointed a true iust & pfect Accompte in writeinge of all & eury such money goodę mrchaundize & other thingę whatsoeur, as before the makeing of the same Accompt shall haue come to the handę chardge or possession of him the said A B. or shall haue beene Consigned vnto him for the vse or behoofe of the said Companie, and of the disposeing factorage and ymploymt of all the same money goodę mrchandize and other thingę whatsoeur & euery pte thereof, But doe alsoe vpon the makeing of the same Accompt, or wthin sixe daies then next ensueinge well & truelie deliur & paie vnto the said Gournor & Comitties for the tyme beinge, or their Officers or mynisters in that behalfe to be appointed, or to some of them. All & eury such money iewells pearles prcious stones Bezar stones muske & muske Coddę sivit amber greece, goodę wares & mrchandize whatsoeur as by the ffootte of the same Accompte shall appeare to be & remayne in his handę or possession and for wch he ought to be chardgable or aunswearable in any manner of wyse. And furthermore yf the said A. B. doe not att any tyme heereafter dureing the tyme of his service aforesaid directlie or indirectlie by himselfe or by any other deale in vse or practise any buieing selling trading or mrchandizeinge for the vse or benefitt of him selfe or of any other parson or psons whatsoeur (except what is now ordered lymitted & allowed him by the said Companie as by their Register appeth[1] [)] : but onelie

[1] "Yt is resolved & agreed . . . . . That yt shall be lawfull for every of the "said ffactors to Adventure and ymploie in eury voyadge for their private proffitt to "& agayne in the Companies shipps, the some, or value of xxvli starlinge in any "Comoditie of those partes, except spices and drugges, and all manner of pestering "Comodities, payinge freight and other ordenarie duties for the same, The wch 25li or "value whereof, is to be registred here in England befor shippinge of the same: as "alsoe how the same is ymployed in the partes beyond the Seas, & that in such manner "as the Company may haue publicke notice & knowledge thereof, The wch said "stock of 25li wth the proffitt of the same is to be retourned in eury voyadge wthout "any other private trade of the same & gaine thereof, dureinge the Continuance of

to & for the sole & ꝑpper vse & benefitt of the Companie aforesaid and their Assignes. And alsoe yf the said **A. B.** doe from tyme to tyme wth as much speede as possiblie he cann geue intelligence & notice to the said Gou^r^no^r^ & Comitties for the tyme being aswell of all & eu^r^y such ꝑson & ꝑsons, whoe being now or att any tyme hereafter shall be ymployed in the service & affaires of the said Companie, doe or shall vse exercyse or practise any secret or private tradinge buieing selling or m^r^chandizeing in any place or places whereby the said Companie shall or may susteyne or incurr any hindraunce or damadge, as alsoe of eu^r^y ꝑticuler of the same private tradinge & dealeing accordinge to his best knowledge & vnderstandinge. ^ And alsoe yf the said **A B.** at all tymes dureing the tyme of his service aforesaid doe gentlelie, faithfullie & diligentlie vse behaue & demeane him selfe as a good & dutifull servant towarde the said Gou^r^no^r^ & Comitties & those by them aucthorized. That then this present obligacõn &c:

And furder if the said A B do not at any tyme or tymes duringe his Contynuance in the seruice of the said Companie send any priuate or other lres from the said East Indies but that the same be inclosed in the publick lres to the Companie.

This ordered the 5 of Aprill 1608[1]

THE CONDICON[2] of this obligacõn is such That wheareas att the spetiall request and intreatie of **J. D.** the sonne of the aboue bound **R D.** the aboue named Companie of the East India m^r^chaunte

"their service wth the said Company, & furder to giue advice in eu^r^y voyadge "whereby the Companie may haue knowledge thereof, that the same may be "Registred accordingly for better satisfaccon herein & for performance of their Bondes "formerlie entred into for abstayneinge from all other private trade & such like." (*Court Minutes*, 20th Jan., 1606/7.)

[1] This marginal note has been inserted by a later hand. The text as it stands is that adopted for the factors of the *Third Voyage:* and it would appear that the same form was used for subsequent voyages, with the addition (after April, 1608) of the extra clause here given, which was inserted at the place marked by a caret. The entry in the Court Minutes ordering this insertion states that it was done "wth intent "that yt may appeare, what each man writeth thence, & that noe man doe write any "thinge of the generall affares of the Company to their freindes or others, but onelie "in their gen^r^all lres to m^r^ Gou^r^no^r^ and the rest of the Companie."

[2] See note, p. 140. From the entry on the Court Minutes it appears that

haue now hired him the said J. D. for one of the third sorte of their ffactors who by obligacon of the date aboue written is entred & become bound vnto the aboue named Sr Willm Romeny[1] & Thomas ffarrington[2] for thuse of the said Company in the some & penaltie of 1000 markes wth Condicon therevnto for his faithfull service to the said Company & pformance of sundrie other Condicons & thinges in the same Condition expressed as thereby att lardge appeth. Now therefore in Case any breach or breaches shall hereafter happen to be made of the Condicon of the said obligacon wherein the said J. D. standeth bound as is aforesaid, or yf any clause article condicon matter or thinge, in the Condicon of the same obligacon expressed specified or conteyned, or of any pte or pcell thereof Then yf the said R. D. & J. P. or either of them their or either of their[3] heires Executors or Administrators doe & shall from tyme to tyme wthin 14 daies next after notice in writeinge, to them or any of them in that behalfe geven by the said Sr Willm Romeny & Thomas ffarrington or either of them, their or either of their Executors admistrators or asss or by the Gourno r or Threr of the said Societie for the tyme being or by any other being substituted or aucthorized in that behalfe by the said Societie or Companie well and trulie aunsweare satisfie & paie, or cause to be aunswered satisfied & paied vnto the said Sr Willm Romeny & Thomas ffarrington or either of them, or to the Gourno r and Threr of the said Societie for the tyme beinge to thuse of the said Societie the ffull some and value of good & lawfull money of England That all & eu ry damadge losse & hindraunce whatsoeu r wch shall aryse or growe or be susteyned or incurred by the said Gourno r Threr and Societie of the m rchauntes of London

The suierties Bonndes bounde in 200li.

J. D. was John Dorchester, R. D. his father Richard, and J. P. John Periam or Peryam.

[1] See page 46.

[2] Thomas Farington, vintner, was one of the first adventurers, and was a committee from 1601. In 1607 he was elected treasurer, a post which he seems to have retained until his death in 1613 or 1614.

[3] "His" is written above this word in the MS, in would-be correction of the draughtsman's grammar.

trading to the East Indies or their successo^{rs}, or by any of them by reason of any breach or breaches happening of the Condicõn of the said obligation wherein the foresaid J. D. standeth bound, or yf any clause article condicõn matter or thinge therein mencioned expressed or Conteyned shall amounte vnto, & whereof & for wch he the saied Iohn Dorchester shall not then formerlie haue made fitt and sufficient recompense and satisfaccõn to the saied Gou^{r}no^{r} Threr and Societie or their successo^{rs} wthout fraude or further delaie. That then &c:

THE TENOR[1] of the Bondę of the said m^{r} Kealinge: m^{r} Hawkins & m^{r} Middleton in 500^{li} apeece: of the m^{rs} & m^{rs} matę in 200^{li} apeece & of the pursars & their matę in 200^{li} apeece: bound to Sr Willm Romeny & Thomas ffarrington to thuse of the Companie wth their seu^{r}all Condicõns as ffolloweth. Viz.

What the Gen^{r}alls: m^{rs}: mates: & Pursars are bounde in.

THE CONDICON of this obligacõn is such. That whereas the aboue bound Willm Kealinge is alredie hired & agreed wthall to be ymployed by the aboue named Gou^{r}no^{r} and Companie of m^{r}chauntę of London trading into the East Indies in this present voyadge by them intended into the said East Indies: yf therefore the saied Willm Kealinge shall not absent him self but willinglie goe in the said voyadge & shall well and faithfullie serve the saied Gou^{r}no^{r} & Comp: duringe his ymploym^{t} in the said voyadge, wthout deteynem^{t} or concealm^{t} of any money gould Iewells goodę wares or m^{r}chandizes that shall come to his handę or be bought or pvided, by waye of buyinge barter or exchandge wth any m^{r}chaunt or m^{r}chauntę people or forreine nation wth whome he shall haue Comerse or traffique during the Continuance of the said voyadge, or wch shall come to his handę by way of prize or other enterprize happeninge in the

The Captaines Condicon wthout suerties

[1] Entered on the Court Minutes of 24th Feb., 1606/7.

saied voyadge or by way of present or guift from any of the princes or others of those places. And alsoe shall vpon his retourne in the saied voyadge att any tyme after when he shall be therevnto required by the saied Gou^{r}no^{r} and Companie or their Assigne or Assignes giue atrue and iust accompt paym^{t} & deliu^{r}y of all such moneys gould Iewells wares and m^{r}chandizes that shall come to his hande by any the waies or meanes aforesaid duringe his said ymploym^{t} in the said voyadge. And shall not duringe his saied ymploym^{t} vse any private traffique or trade for him selfe or any other: but onelie for the Comon Adventure except what is allowed by the Register of the Companie.[1] That then &c:

THE CONDICON &c: That wheareas the aboue bound Hippon[2] is hired by the aboue named Gou^{r}no^{r} & Companie of m^{r}chaunte of London tradinge into the East Indies to goe m^{r} of the good shipp called the Read dragon or in any other shipp where he shall be appointed in their present intended voyadge to the said Indies. Yf therefore the said Anthonie Hippon doe not absent himselfe but willinglie goe in the said voyadge & therein accordinge to his best skill and knowledge guide the said shipp & gou^{r}ne the Marriners vnder his chardge in such sorte as belongeth to the place of a m^{r} during the said voyadge, and doe not during the said voyadge vse any private trade or traffique in m^{r}chandize for his owne proꝑ accompt, or adventure or Colo^{r} the priuate trade of any other. That then &c:

The mrs: & m^{rs} mates Condicon wthout suerties

[1] "Yt is alsoe resolued and agreed that yt shall be lawfull for the Captaines to "Aduenture in this voyadge for their priuate proffitt to & againe in the Companies "shipps theis somes followinge, or the valew thereof viz m^{r} Kealinge 100^{li}, m^{r} Haw-"kins 100 m^{r}kes & m^{r} Middleton 50^{li}: & that in manner how, the same is to be "entred & ymployed, as is expressed & yealded to the ffacto^{rs} the 20th of Ianuarie "last." (*Court Minutes*, 5th March, 1606/7.)

[2] Anthony Hippon (*see* page 114).

THE CONDICON &c: That wheareas the aboue bounde 𝔄 𝔅. is hired by the aboue named Gou^{r}no^{r} & Companie of m^{r}chauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies to goe Pursar of the good shipp called the in the present intended voyadge to the said Indies. Yf therefore the saied 𝔄 𝔅. doe not absent himselfe but willinglie goe in the said voyadge & doe accordinge to the place and chardge of a Pursar ymployed in such voyagꝭ keepe a true & ꝑfect accompt by Inventorie of all such ꝑvision, tackle, municõn, furniture, victualls, & other necessaries wch are or shall be duringe the saied voyadge brought abourd the said shipp, or ꝑvided for thuse of the same & the Companie thereof. And alsoe an Inventorie of all the goodꝭ wares & m^{r}chandize as shall be brought into or carried out of the said shipp duringe the said voyadge, aswell belongeing vnto the said Companie, or any other ꝑson or ꝑsons whatsoeu^{r} And doe likewyse keepe an Inventorie & Accompt of the expence & bestowinge of all such ꝑvision Tackle munition furniture and other necessaries wch shalle be brought into or carried out of the said shipp & of the remainder thereof, & doe att all tymes beinge theareto required deliuer vpp a true accompt of the same to the Gou^{r}no^{r} of the said m^{r}chauntꝭ or his deputie, and doe not in this voyadge vse any private trade or traffique in m^{r}chandize for his owne ꝑper Accompte or adventure, or Collo^{r} the priuate trade of any other That then &c:

The Pursar & pursars mates Condicon

wthout suerties

vide fo: 86[1]

A COPPIE of a l̃re sent to o^{r} loueing freindꝭ Gabriell Towerson Robert Browne and the rest of o^{r} ffacto^{rs} att Bantam vnder the Companies seale & m^{r} Gou^{r}no^{rs} hand by the Dragon: & a Coppie thereof vnder the Comp: seale & the Secretaries hand by the Hecto^{r} the 11th of March 1606.

[1] *i.e.* page 220.

A coppie of a l̃re sent to our louinge freindes Gabriell Towerson, Robert Browne and ye rest of our factors at Bantam the 11th of Marche 1606.

AFTER or hartie Comendacõns &c: yor l̃re of the third of March 1604.[1] by the Hector we haue received: but that by the Suzan[2] is not come to or hands, the wch shipp though we are in agreate doubt, to be miscarried for that hitherto we haue neur had any vnderstandinge of her, yet neurthelesse pray you to make diligent inquirie of her, & thereby you comeing to knowledge of her to vse all possible meanes for recoury and saffeguard of the shipp men & goodꝭ

ALSOE mr Sydalls l̃re of the first of October[1] by the Assencõn, & mr Towersons by the dragon of that date:[1] as alsoe mr Towersons of the 20th of Octob̄[1] & Sydalls of the 24th of the same monneth[1] sent by the Hollenders shipps, are like wyse come to or handꝭ. All wch we breeflie aunsweare as followeth.

FIRSTE touching or spices sent in or 3 shipps the last voyadge wee finde them to fall out exceeding light in weight of that wch we doe comonlie accompt, & especiallie in the Cloues, wch we finde to want aboue 18 or 20 Tunns weightꝭ, of wch wantꝭ we much marvell, And therefore pray you to advice & Consider amongest yor selues how to finde out the same: & thereof wth the first to geue vs informacõn, for trulie eyther there hath beene many more said to be paied for on the land, then hath been receiued into the shipp; or being putt into the shipps of necessitie by some indirect meanes they are missinge: But wee are rather ꝑswaded they were neur brought into the shipps, though we haue paied for them, & for that the shipps came not full home, the wch wante as the same is greate wee cannott endure.

TOUCHINGE the Condicõn & qualitie of or spices, you shall vnderstand first that the pepꝑ was reasonable Cleane, although we lost much by yor garblinge theare, wch Course notwthstandinge we rather wysh to be vsed, then to send yt home dustie & vnclensed, whereby wee are compelled to paie freight & Custome for garble yett desier that or spices yf yt be possible be soe bought in, as theare shall not be in Clensing thereof soe greate losse.

[1] Not now extant.

[2] See p. 134.

OUR Nutmeggꝭ were exceeding badd, beinge light, not haueinge their full ripnes, wch afterwardꝭ wth Carriinge & remoueinge tourned to dust, to o^{r} greate losse, as indeede not wth[1] the bringing home besidꝭ the freight & Custome we paied for them: Att wch ignoraunce of you, to buie such spices, we conceiue the Indians doe reioyce: But yf you shall be inforced to take such spice, or none att all, you are, as neare as you cann to make the price theareafter, and then haueing bought them, cause them to be theare clensed & garbled, to wch end & purpose we haue now as before sent you Garblers.

OUR mace bought att Bantam proueth indifferent good: but that ꝓvided att the Molloccos verie euill blacke & burned, soe as they will heare yeald noe money, Yf they were drie & well Collo^{r}ed when you putt them abourd: then yt must be that the ou^{r}much lyme you putt amonge the Nutmegꝭ & the macꝭ on or amonge them spoyled both thone and the other.[2] Therefore henceforth haue an espetiall care herevnto both in buieing of Nutmegꝭ & mace, & seu^{r}ing the mace from the Nutmeggꝭ in some Convenient place by them selues: Although yt be necessarie in the Nutmeggꝭ for the avoydeing of the worme, yet you are to be carefull not to ou^{r}lyme them: & for yor better helpe herein, & for choise of spices, wee haue now sent Symond Dickenson one of o^{r} ffacto^{rs} who can geue you good direccõn in this respect.

LYKEWYSE you are to be carefull as much as you may to avoied the buieing of Cloues when they are greene for p^{r}venting the losse that happeneth thereby: As alsoe to foresee that there be not much dust or sand putt into them by the Countrie people to make them weigh heavie, yet we wish you not to garble yor Cloues, not yett to refuse greene Cloues: yf either the vse be to buie them soe: or that the Hollenders would otherwyse prevent you of them.

WEE vtterlie dislike of yor ꝑticular advice to yor private freindꝭ either of what Comodities are theare requested, or there alsoe to be had, or of the prices, wherein you are altogether verie sparinge to advice the Gou^{r}no^{r} & Companie in yor gen^{r}all ƚres

[1] Worth. [2] See page 128.

vnto them: as we are yor m^rs & beare yor Chardge & sallarie theare, soe ought you to vs in gen^rall to giue adverticem^t of all theis thinge the wch we expect att yor hande: wherein we requier you to be more carefull & more diligent to write vs, then heretofore you haue beene as alsoe in seeking out what sorte & kinde of all Clothes, kersies & wollen Comodities are theare most vendible wth the Coullo^rs & kinde & in what place by name they may be best & in most aboundance vttered: As alsoe leade Iron Tynn safferon steele heedpeces long sworde kniues and glasses &c: & what els soeu^r of o^r Countrie Comodities are vsed & will vent in those places.

AND lykewyse to informe vs the quantitie kinde & prices of all Indea Comodities, & wheare they may be best had, namelie all sorte of spices Bezar stoanes, Diamonde, Rubies, pearles &c: Indico & booke Callicutte white wch are for England & all sorte and kinde fitting for the Mollocos And further yf Cheny silkes are not there presentlie to be had, that then you advise the Cheneses to bringe thereof thither both white soweinge silke, twisted of all sorte & sizes as also rawe & sleaue silke, of all wch we haue geuen m^r Keelinge examples: the wch silke yf you can ꝑcure to be brought thither att reasonable prices we suppose some good proffitt may be had thereby, of all wch you haue hithertoo kept vs ignorant, whereby we must conceiue you to be either vnskilfull in m^rchandizeinge, or vnwillinge to ꝑforme that for wch we keepe you theare: Not doubting but you will hereafter make yor ymploym^te theare more ꝑffitable vnto vs, & o^r Comon wealth, as the takeinge examples by the Hollenders whoe are verie carefull, industrious & diligent in this respect.

AND because o^r łres doe some tymes miscarrie, or are by some evill willers intercepted, we wish you to write vs as often as you may & then diuers łres att one tyme, & send the same by sundrie passengers geveing them speciall Chardge for the saffe & speedie deliu^ry there of. And yf in the absence of o^r owne shipps, you doe att any tyme write by the Hollenders we pray you deliu^r yor łres to their ffacto^rs theare, to inclose them in theirs wch they shall send either to m^r Arnold Verhoven to

Middleborrow,[1] or to mr Dericke von Osse or other their principalls att Amsterdam, but rather to Middleborrowe for that thereby they will come sooner to or handẹ.

WEE haue now in this or present voyadge sent mr Willm Kealinge wth Comission from his matie authorizeinge him as Generall, and wth Comission from vs for his directions in this ymploymt whome we will you to obey, & to yeald vnto him that obedience as hath beene formerlie yealded to his prdicessors in that place of Generall Sr Iames Lancaster, or Sr Henrie Middleton giueing accompt of all yor pceedingẹ since the depture thence of or last shipps: As alsoe the best advice you may for his better pceeding in that busynes we haue now comitted vnto him & the rest of or ffactors And as he shall thinke ffitt to dispose of any of you in or affaires or will is you obey his direccõn therein we haue espetiallie apointed him for this busynes, and traffique & trade in those places where we haue thought fittest wishinge him to take yor informacõn by yor aboade theare, yf you knowe of any place better for or trade, hopeinge that you haue made such good vse of yor staye theare all this whyle, as that you are able to direct & advise him for or best good.

AND touching the ffacte Comitted by Sr Edward Michelborne in the Indies,[2] though we knowe or selues to be meerelie innocent therein: yet yf by any meanes wee or or goodẹ should be dampnified thereby we wish you to seeke to that kinge & magistratẹ for redresse thereof, the wch yf you can not obtaine, then wee must [be] forced to seeke the best meanes we may for recompence & restitucõn thereof. Of wch pointe or Generall mr Kealinge doth vnderstand or resolucõn more att lardge.

AND for that we finde best proffitt by the lardger sorte of the pepp according to the prices that you paye, both for thone & for thother, we pray you att any hand to buie soe much of the lardgest sorte, as by any meanes you can gett, & lett the same be putt by yt selfe into the shipp that yt may not be mingled wth any other.

[1] Middelburg, on the island of Walcheren, about five miles from Flushing, was at this time one of the most important trade centres of Northern Europe.

[2] See page 134.

AND thus not doubting of yo[r] faithfull care & diligence herein we pray God to blesse you all & o[r] affaires.

Yo[r] loueing freindę[1] the Gou[r]no[r] Comitties & gen[r]alitie of the Companie of m[r]chauntę tradinge into the East Indies.

from the Comp: of East India marchaunts to Capt: Dauid Middleton at Plymouth.

AFTER[2] o[r] hartie Comendac̃ons &c: yo[r] ł̃re dated att Plymouth the 19[th] of this instant we haue rec[d] whereby we are verie sorrie to vnderstand of yo[r] want of men, but espetiallie of the evill Condic̃on of yo[r] shipp, w[ch] we hope, as she shall growe lesse laden by expence of her victuall soe she will become in a better trym. ffor yo[r] resoluc̃on yf you heare not of yo[r] Admirall & the Hecto[r] you will doe yo[r] best endevo[r] to gett sufficient men, & begon to Sea wth the first: we

[1] This familiar and affectionate valedictory form was observed by the Right Honourable the East India Company of England in all their letters to the employes in their trade, and continued to be used by them to the very close of their rule [1858] over British India. It implies, as did the Company's whole treatment of their employes, a humane and conscientious recognition of the risks to health and life incurred by those who were engaged in the promotion of their interests in the East; and who repaid tenfold, in steadfast faithfulness and zeal in the discharge of most trying duties, the regard and consideration extended to them by the Company. It was by these relations of staunch loyalty between employer and employed that the vast fabric of the Indian Empire was gradually built up; and this fact should always be borne in mind by the successors of the Company in the administration of the government of British India, and equally by the responsible Ministers and the subordinate officials of the Crown; for if servants are what their masters make them, masters are also just what their servants make them:—

"Nam ut servi volunt esse herum, ita solet,
Bonis boni sunt; improbi qui malus fuit."

2 "At this court was red a lre from Captaine David Middleton dated at Plymouth "the 19[th] of this instant, importeing his staie theare for the Dragon & Hecto[r], w[ch] "he dailie expected, w[th] intimacon of the want of some of his men, & his intencon to "take vp moneys to hier men, & to departe on the voyadge w[th]in 3 daies. wherevnto "order was geuen to o[r] Secretarie for aunsweare thereof, & for goeing not to Saldania, "but to St Augustine: and in what manner &c: *As by the Register of lres &c: at lardge "appereth.*" (*Court Minutes*, 28th March, 1607.)

doe approue & like thereof, & the rather in reguard, you feare yor shipp will be hardlie able to keepe Comp: wth the rest: yett we doe wish you not att any hand to goe for Saldania, but directlie accordinge to yor Comission for the porte of St Augustine in St Lawrence, & there haueing refreshed yor selues (& the other shipps comeing not thither in due tyme) or order is that seing you are alone you shape not yor Course to the Iland of Sacatrina, or towardꝭ Cambaya but to keepe the high Seas, & goe directlie to Bantam. And being theare to Conferr wth or ffactors aswell for sale there in Bantam of such Comodities as you carrie wth you, as alsoe for yor goinge to the Iland of Banda, to lade Nutmeggꝭ and Mace & to Tornato & Tedore to lade Cloues & to take wth you such of or stuffꝭ as are alredie att Bantam, of or old remayndꝭ: as alsoe such other thingꝭ & mrchandizes as you now carrie from hence, or shall thinke ffitt to buie in Bantam to carrie wth you for or most proffitt: And likewyse some of or ffactors theare as are best acquainted wth theis businesses & places: doing yor best endevors to bringe thence onelie Cloues Mace & Nutmeggꝭ or what els you shall finde there to be ꝑfitable, for yor better direction wherein we wish you to ꝑvse the booke that we gaue you of the discription of the Molloccos & Banda[1] wth the Comodities that are to be carried thither, or to be bought theare. And thus haueing theare gotten yor lading of Cloues Mace & Nutmeggꝭ to retourne to Bantam. In the meane season we would haue you geue or ffactors theare greate chardge to make ꝑvision of ladinge for the Dragon and Hector against their comeing thither. Yet we leaue all all thingꝭ to yor good discrecōn (in this yor absence from the rest) where otherwyse Convenientlie you cannot doe: Praying you for prvencōn of the daungers of Sea & Land: & inquirie for the Suzan &c: diligentlie to ꝑvse or genrall Comission, & to make good observacōn thereof. Wherein as we doubt not of yor vigilant & faithfull care we pray god prosꝑ you. London the 28th of March. 1607.

Yor loueing ffreindꝭ the
Companie of East
India mrchauntꝭ.

[1] Possibly the notes on pages 73-80 of the present volume.

from the East India Comp: to mr Wm Kealing Generall abourd or shipps [1]

AFTER or hartie Comendacons &c: forasmuch as amongst other thinges: Wee vnderstand by tres from mr David Middleton at Plymouth, that he intendeth (yf you come not thither wthin 3 daies) to doe his best endevor to furnish himselfe wth men as he doth want & to goe directlie forward to Sea, & the rather in reguard that by the evill condicon of his shipp he maketh doubt she will hardly keepe Companie wth the rest, wthout some hindraunce to the voyadge. Wee haue thought good to advertise you thereof, & to that end we doe send you herewth the Coppie of mr Middletons said tre vnto vs, & of ors in aunsweare of his, whereby you may be the better furnished to dispose yor busines accordinglie: Yett least padventure he be forced, or through some occasion should not psecute his intended depture, we pray you in any wyse to send one of yor Boates into the sound of Plymwoth to call him & take him wth you. And furder we wysh you att yor arrivall att the porte of St. Augustine & finding the Pynnace there, & her saileinge soe amended as she may be ffitt to keepe Companie wth you, then to proceede on yor voyadge alltogether, according to yor first genrall Comission from vs, of wch we desier you to make good observacon but yf her sayleing shall not be to yor likeing: but should hinder yor voyadge yf you should take her wth you, then wee pray you send her alone [by] the high Seas directlie to Bantam: And doe you pceede towardes Sacatrina, Aden & Cambaya as to yor good discrecons shall be thought most fittinge. Where vnto we refer vs, as not doubtinge of yor wysedome & greate care to dispose all thinges to or best good, wherein God giue you the most of his diuine pvidence. London the 28th of March 1607.

[1] Keeling seems to have been at this time in the Downs.

A REMEMBRANCE[1] of the Conference & agreem^{t} betweene the Gou^{r}no^{r} and others of the *East India* Comp: & the ffarmo^{rs} of his ma^{ties} Customes in the presence of the Lo: Thrēr the 5th of Aprill. 1607.

THAT wheareas question is made touching the validitie in lawe of the Patent of the East India Companie for that pointe of transportac̄on free of Custome, of such goodꝭ brought in by them haueing form^{r}lie paied Custome inwardꝭ[2]: & the matter in some sorte debated before his L^{p}: betwixt the Gou^{r}no^{r} of the said Companie & the ffarmo^{rs} of his ma^{t}ꝭ Customes, soe as his L: is pleased to write his ꝉre to the kingꝭ Atturney gen^{r}all for his opinion touchinge the same.

Note that his Lp: is furder to be remembred according vnto his expresse pleasure that yf the said Pattent be founde insufficient in Lawe that then his Lp: is pleased to ꝑcure a privie seale from his ma^{tie}, that the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Companie, or any free brother of the said Comp: that shall buy any of the said Companies goodꝭ, may in gen^{r}all & in ꝑticuler transporte all or ꝑte of the said goodꝭ brought in by them free of Custome wthin thirteene monnethes after the dischardginge of the said goodꝭ, soe as the subsidie & Custome for the same haue beene paied or Compounded for inwardꝭ. And that for such goodꝭ as haue latelie beene brought in by the said Companie for wch the Custome is paied for & Compounded, may wthin 13 monnethes after the dischardge of the said goodꝭ be freelie transported by any brother of the Companie, or any other of the kingꝭ ma^{t}ꝭ subiectꝭ wthout any further paym^{t} of Subsidie, or Custome for the same. And further to expresse in the said privie seale, that yt may be lawfull for the said Gou^{r}no^{r} and Companie to shipp out their goodꝭ for the East Indies free of Custome: 4 voyages accordinge to the Teno^{r} of their Charter.

[1] This memorandum is entered, but without explanation or comment, on the Court Minutes for 9th May, 1607. At the next meeting (13th May) it was ordered that "consideracon be had howe farr the agreem^{t} . . . . . be followed, & by whome "& when," but no further reference to the matter can be traced.

[2] See page 179.

ORDINANCES[1] established and Confirmed for standinge Lawes, to be holden and observed by this Societie, vppon the seu^{r}all penalties thereby seu^{r}allie lymitted. As ffolloweth. viz.

ITT IS ordeyned & decreed that all the p^{r}paracõn of moneys m^{r}chandizes and other provision for this present voyadge and all Comodities, moneys Iewells & other m^{r}chandize retourned in the said voyage, shall be holden reputed & accompted, and be carried mannaged ordered and handled as one entire, ioynt and Comon stocke of adventure Where in noe private traffique barter exchandge or m^{r}chandizeing shall be vsed practized or admitted by any ꝑticular Gou^{r}no^{r} Captaine Marchant Agent, ffacto^{r}, m^{r}, Mariner, Officer, or any other ꝑson whatsoeu^{r} ymployed in the said voyadge, or ꝑmitted to goe in the same, vpon paine of the losse and forfecture to thuse of the Generall Comp: the Adventures in this voyadge of all somes of money Iewells wares, goodę or m^{r}chandizes wch shall be found in the said shipps, or elswheare carried forth, or retourned home by any private or ꝑticuł man, & not Conteyned & brought into the gen^{r}all & Comon accompt and ioynt Aduenture of the said voyadge. And to thend this preiudice of private traffique may the better be avoyded. It is alsoe ordeyned & appointed, that due inquisicõn be made in all & eu^{r}y the seu^{r}all shipps of the said voyadge, and elswheare by search of all such Chestę boxes packes Packettę bookes writeingę & other meanes whereby discou^{r}y may be made of the breach of this Ordinance.

Ordenances for the trade to be carried in a ioynte stocke onelie.

forfecture of all such aduentures as are traded priuatelie.

AND YT is in like manner ordeyned and decreed for the avoiding of all vnfaithfulnes & deceipt to be vsed in the said voyadge in the defraudinge of the generall Adventure wch is p^{r}pared and sett forth att the greate Costę & Chardgę, of such as

[1] "At this Co^{r}t the companie accordinge to ther priviledg proceading to establish "and enacte certain Decrees and lawes fitt for the present occasion. and to be vsed "as directions. for the guiding of the trade and traffique belonging to ye present "voyage. nowe to be sett forth Do at this assemblie ordeine and Decree thes severall "ordinaunces to be holden and kept as standing ordinaunces to be vsed in the voyages "wthout alteration or chaunging the teno^{r} whereof hereafter ensue videlt. . . . ." (*Court Minutes*, 10th Feb., 1600/1.)

repose their trust and Confidence in the Officers & ministers ymployed in the said voyadge, that what ꝑson soeu^{r} shall be found vnfaithfull or vniust in the said voyadge by ymbecillinge or wthdrawinge of any the goodꝭ wares m^{r}chandizes Iewels or other Comodities whatsoeu^{r} either belongeinge to the Adventure sent out, or being ꝑcell of the retourne of the same, wch was, is, or shall be eyther p^{r}pared bought or belongeinge to the comon or gen^{r}all stocke or Adventure, that such ꝑson shall be barred & excluded to demand of the Gou^{r}no^{r} & Companie of the said marchauntꝭ of London tradinge to the East Indies any accompt reckoninge or paym^{t} of any wagꝭ sallarie Contracte or interteinem^{t} for his ymployment in this voyadge where vnto he was or otherwyse might haue beene interessed yf such Offence had not beene Comitted. And furder that eu^{r}y such ꝑson soe offendinge shall be ꝑsecuted by the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Companie of the said m^{r}chauntꝭ of London tradinge into the East Indies, accordinge to the qualitie of his offence in that behalfe by the lawes and statutꝭ of this Realme.

agaynst ymbezellinge.

vppon paine to be excluded from demaunde of any sallarie for their ymployment.

further punishment by the lawe accordinge to his offence.

AND furthermore yt is ordened that yf vpon the deliu^{r}ie of her ma^{ties} ŧres to the Princes of those places where o^{r} ships shall arriue The Generall & ffacto^{rs} shall be peaceablie rec^{d} & interteyned as m^{r}chauntꝭ to Comerce & traffique wth the people of those Countries or places, & be secured & warranted hereafter to frequent & visitt those ꝑtꝭ. Then yt is ordeyned & decreed that there shall be elected out of the youngest sorte of ffacto^{rs}, or others interteyned or voluntarilie suffered to goe in the voyadge such and soe many of the aptest, & towardest of them as o^{r} principall m^{r}chauntꝭ shall thinke meete, & wch shall [have] best approued themselues fitt for the ymploym^{t} of the said Companie, to resyde & abide in the said places where they shall be soe peaceablie rec^{d} yf they may be ꝑmitted there vnto Takeinge sufficient & carefull order for the defraying, & supplyinge of their chardgꝭ, vntill theis places shall be heere after visited wth another ffleete from hence. And leaueing wth them such advise & direccõn for the better Informacõn how to carrie themselues in

leaueinge of factors in the East Indies

those places, as by the good direccōn of o^{r} principall m^{r}chaunt wth thadvise of such as he shall Consult wthall thereof shall be thought meete as tyme & experience of those places shall direct them whilst the shipps doe lye in those ꝑt℮.

WHEARAS[1] the Queenes most excellent ma^{tie} by her grac℮ ĺres Pattent℮ vnder the greate seale of England beareing date the 31th day of Decemƀ in the 43th yeare of her ma^{ties} Raigne hath incorporated this Societie by the name of the Gou^{r}no^{r} and Companie of m^{r}chaunt℮ of London tradinge into the East Indies, & hath geuen them the sole trade of the said Indies by all such waies & passages as they shall thinke meete to visitt those ꝑt℮, either by the way & passadge alreadie found out wch is by the Cape *bona spei* or by such wayes and passages as shall be heereafter found out by the part℮ of America to enioy the said trade for the terme of 15 yeares from the ffeast of the nativitie of o^{r} Lord God. 1600. And whereas this Societie in their settinge forth of their late voyadge by the Cape of *bona Spei:* toward℮ the Iland℮ of Sumatra, Iava, and other the ꝑtes theareabout℮ intendinge to trade those Iland℮, and places, for Pepꝑ spic℮ Gould and other m^{r}chandizes wch are

Norwest passadge

[1] "According to the gen^{r}all order taken at the last gen^{r}all Courte touching the "devysing and conceaving of lawes and ordinaunces for the better governm^{t} of the "state of the trade, the Comitties then appointed did at this Court present ther "opinions by certein ordinaunces by them devysed and offered the same to the "Consideration of the Gen^{r}alytie wch severall ordinaunces being divers tymes "distinctly read and waighed and in some pointes reformed by this Court in ample "number assembled and throwghly digested and severally putt to Scruteny and "erection of handes the same severall lawes are agreed vppon establyshed and "confirmed for standing lawes and ordinaunces to be holden and observed by this "Soscyety vppon the severall paines and penalties therin severally Limited the teno^{r} "of wch Lawes Do followe in thes wordes videlt: . . . . . ." (*Court Minutes*, 11th Jan., 1601/2)

There are a few variations in the copy entered on the Court Minutes but none of any importance.

See also Preface to *Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies*, p. xiv, and the note on page 21 of the present volume.

likest to yeald the most pfitable retourne for the Adventuro^rs in the same voyadge haue sett forth the greatest pte of their Aduenture in English money Coyned a purpose for the said voyadge,[1] & other forreyne Coyne currant in those Ilande, wch moneys & Coyne they could not p^rpare but wth greate difficultie & trouble, and not w^thout some mislike of the transportacon of Treasure out of this land. They therefore being desirous to vse the priviledge to them graunted, rather for the good of the Comon weale of their Countrie, then for their private benefitt, & to maintaine the trade of the East Indies, yf yt be possible by the transportacon and vent of Cloth, & other the Natiue Comodities of this Realme, w^thout any money att all, or ells soe little as may be Convenientlie tollerated, doe resolue to attempt the discou^rie of a passadge by Seas into the said East Indies, by the Norwest thorough some pte of America, wch yf they finde Navigable then shall they by that passadge arryue in the Countries of Cataya and China being the East pte of Asia and Affrica Climatte of that temperature, wch in all likelihood will afford amost liberall vent of Englishe Clothes and kersies to the gen^rall advauncem^t of the traffique of m^rchandize of this Realme of England. And to thend to putt in execucon aswell this their resolucon of discou^rie of the said passadge, as other wyse to bringe them selues and their trade generallie to any Conformitie and order They doe accordinge to the libertie to them geaven by the said łres Pattente for the makeing of Lawes, constitucons, orders and Ordenances for the better advauncem^t & contynuaunce of their trade and traffique, make, ordeyne and Constitute theis seu^rall lawes constitucons, orders, & ordenances, following Viz.

FFYRSTE yt is ordered and decreed by & wth the gen^rall Consent of this Courte for a standing & vnchangable decree that w^thall convenient expedicon there shall be p^rparacon made for the attemptinge of the discou^ry of the Norwest passadge to the East Indies: wherein shall be vsed twoe shipps or pynnace of such burthen & makeing as shall be heereafter Considered of & resolved to be ffitt for the said voyadge, & manned victualled

[1] See page 13.

furnished & pvided wth such numbers of men & municõn, furniture victuall m^rchandize, & other thinge as the Comitties hereafter nominated, & appointed for the pvision thereof shall thinke meete & for the levyinge of such moneys as shall defrey the Charge of the p^rparacõn of the said shipps or Pynnasses, & all other thinge incident to the said voyadge. And for the bringing in of the said moneys: It is ordered that eu^ry brother of this ffellowshipp that hath Contributed & adventured in the former voyadge to the East Indies by the Cape of *bona Spei:* shall contribute to the settinge forth of this present voyadge after the rate of xij^d att the least vpon eu^ry pounde of his former Adventure by him adventured, or wherein he is interessed wth out supply. And yf any brother of this ffellowshipp shalbe willinge voluntarilie to bringe in agreater contribucõn, then after the said rate of xij^d in the pound of his said Adventure in the former viadge yt shall be att his pleasure. And to thend to stirr vpp men the rather to enlardge their said contribucõns to this enterprize. It is alsoe ordered & agreed that after what rate or pporcõn soeu^r any man shall Contribute in this discou^ry, yf the passadge be found out, That he shall in all viages hereafter to be made by the said passadge be aporcioned or stinted in his Aduentures according to the same pportion or rate And noe otherwyse. And yt ys alsoe ordered and agreed that the said contribucõn shalbe brought in by eu^ry the Contributo^rs in this manner Viz^t. The one halfe before the xx^th day of Ianuarie next comeinge, & the residue or soe much thereof as shall be found necessa[rie] att the goinge away of the shipps to be paied to the hande of m^r Ald Cambell[1] appointed Thr̄er for the same viadge.

The bringinge in of the money.

[1] Thomas—afterwards (1603) Sir Thomas—Cambell, Alderman, Sheriff (1600-1), and Lord Mayor (1609-10), was one of the most prominent of the early adventurers, and was governor of the Company in 1602-3. He acted as treasurer for the voyage to the North-West here referred to, and the first court-book contains numerous references to his services in that capacity. He was one of those nominated for the post of governor in 1609, but was not elected. During the year of his mayoralty, he preferred a demand for 100 lbs. of pepper at 2*s*. per lb., but the Company refused to comply "for precedent's sake"; in recognition, however, of his favours towards them about the Bridgehouse, Leadenhall, &c., they sent him half the quantity asked for, as a free gift. He died on the 13th Feb., 1614.

Provided alwaies that yf any brother of this ffellowshipp [shall deny] to bringe in his said Contribucõn att the Rate of xij^{d} the pounde of his form^{r} Adventure, or doe not bringe in the same att or before the daies & tymes before lymitted That then he or they that shall make default on that behalfe shall satisfie & paye for a fine by way of deduccõn out of his stocke adventured in the laste viadge fyue tymes the value of the Contribucõn by him payable by vertue of this Act. The same to be ymployed to the ffull furnishinge of the said discou^{r}y. And yf there remaine an ou^{r}plus to the vse of the Adventuro^{rs} in this intended voyadge ꝑporcionably according to their seu^{r}all Adventures.

forfecture of fyue tymes the value.

ITT IS alsoe ordered and decreed by the gen^{r}all Consent of this Co^{r}te concerninge the generall trade of this Societie and the p^{r}paracõn of all voyadgꝭ, Contributions, and generall adventures of this ffellowshipp heereafter to be sett forth That yf any daies or tymes be lymitted and appointed by order of anie gen^{r}all Courte for the bringing in of of any contribucons, adventures or supplies and that default be made in the ꝑformeinge of those paym^{t}ꝭ contribucõns and supplies att the daies lymitted, by any of the Adventurers or Contributors of such voyagꝭ that the stockes or adventures of such Contributors shall be taxed and chardged to aunsweare to the comon Treasure or vse of this socyetie such damagꝭ chardgꝭ & Allowaunces for not ꝑformeinge of such paym^{t}ꝭ att the daies lymitted as the Audito^{rs} of the Companie for the tyme being appointed to audite the gen^{r}all accomptꝭ shall finde to be equall, and that the Gou^{r}no^{r} deputie & Comitties, or the most of them shall censure to be fitt to be paied wthout any abatem^{t}.

The stocks of the Aduenturo^{rs} to be chardged for not bringing in moneys of the daies lymitted

IT YS alsoe ordered & agreed by like gen^{r}all consent of this Societie That yf any brother of this Companie shall be sumoned or warned by the Officer of this ffellowshipp thereto appointed, to appeare att any gen^{r}all Courte of this Societie, or att any other meeting of m^{r} Gou^{r}no^{r} his Deputie, & the Comitties, & the said summons or warninge geaven to the ꝑtie him selfe, or left att his howse: yf then such ꝑson shall make defaulte, & not appeare att all or not appeare att the hower assigned, he shall forfect for eu^{r}y

forfetures for default of apparance & late comeing to Courtes.

M

default of non apparaunce 12^{d}, & for eu^{r}y default of comeing late 6^{d}. vnlesse he can giue a sufficient reason of his absence or or late comeinge, & the same to be allowed by the gen^{r}all consent of the Assemblie or the more ꝑte of them present, either att a gen^{r}all Courte or meeteinge of Comitties

forfecture for often speakeing to matters propounded.

FFOR the better and more orderlie ꝑceedinge in the deliberacōn of matters propounded in gen^{r}all Courtę eyther for the establishing of any Actę or Ordenancę, or in any other matters concerning the Companie. It is ordered, that yt shall not be lawfull for any brother of this Companie to speake to any one matter ꝑpounded aboue three sundrie tymes, vpon peyne of fforfecture [of] iij^{s} iiij^{d} for eu^{r}y such excesse in speache.

agaynst vncivill & intemperate speaches or behauiour.

YT IS alsoe ordered by late Consent of a gen^{r}all Courte that yf any brother of this Companie shall in any contencōn or Argument houlden wth any other ꝑson either in gen^{r}all Courte or meeting of Comitties vse any vncivill, or intemperate speaches or behavio^{r} & soe censured by the gen^{r}all Courte, or the ꝑsons assembled in Comittie, he shall forfeict for eu^{r}y such Offence x^{s}.

Against confusion of speach or discourse in deliberacon of matters.

AND for the avoydeinge of Confusion of speach or discourse in the deliberacōn of matters to be handled in any gen^{r}all Courte or meeteinge of Comitties concerninge the Affaires of the Companie. It is ordered that noe brother of this ffellowshipp shall interrupt any other in his declaracōn or discourse of any matter declared or discoursed to the Companie nor duringe such declaracōn or discourse hould ꝑvooke Whisperinge, speach or talke wth any other to the disturbaunce of him that speaketh. But yf he be disposed to aunsweare or reply to the speaches ꝑpounded, then to direct his aunsweare or reply to m^{r} Gou^{r}no^{r} or his deputie vpon peine of fforfecture of ij^{s} vj^{d} for euery such Offence.

Against lowde and confused Speaches.

IT YS alsoe ordered for the pacificacōn of contencōn in argum^{t} in gen^{r}all Courtę and other meetingę, and of lowde or confused speaches, that when m^{r} Gou^{r}no^{r} or his deputie comaundeth scilence by the strooke of the Hammer, that then eu^{r}y ꝑson keepe scilence vpon peine of forfecture of vj^{d} for euery Offence.

AND yt ys alsoe ordered that yf any brother of this ffellow-

Comitment to prisson vppon forfectures

shipp shall vppon comaundm^{t} or demaund of m^{r} Gou^{r}no^{r} or his Deputie refuse to pay such fynes, or fforfetures as he shall haue fallen into by the breach of any of the ordenaunces, or Acte of this fellowship or doe not pay them beinge required that then such ꝑson shall be Comitted to prizon, theare to remayne duringe the pleasure of the Generalitie.

Agaynst departure out of ye Courte.

AND yt is furder ordered that yf any brother of this Societie shall att any gen^{r}all Courte or meetinge of Comitties deꝑte out of the Courte or meetinge before the Courte shall breake vpp or the busines be ended, except yt be by lycence asked of m^{r} Gou^{r}no^{r} or Deputie, and by their lycence graunted that he shall forfeite for eu^{r}y default, deꝑteing wthout lycence xij^{d}.

All forfetures to be paide and geaven to the generall and comon use of this societie.

AND yt is lastlie ordered that all fynes and forfectures forfeted and lost by any brother of this ffellowshipp by the breache of any ordenance now heretofore, or heereafter to be made shalbe paied & geaven to the gen^{r}all & comon vse of this Societie, & to be ymployed to the beareinge of the comon chardge of the same, & to the releefe of the poore, to dispose accordinge to order from tyme to tyme to be geaven in that behalfe.

A PRIUILEDGE[1] for xv^{teene} yeares graunted by her ma^{tie} to certeine Aduenturors for the discou^{r}y of the trade for the East Indies.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God Queene of England ffraunce and Ireland defendor of the faith &c: to all o^{r} Officers mynisters and subiecte, and to all other people aswell wthin this o^{r} Realme of England as elswheare vnder o^{r} obedience and Iurisdiccõn or otherwyse vnto whom theis o^{r} ɫres Pattente shalbe seene shewed or read

[1] This is the famous first Charter of the Company, granted by Queen Elizabeth on the last day of the sixteenth century. In the absence of the original (of the fate of which nothing is known) the above is the oldest and most authoritative version in the India Office collection. There is another manuscript copy among the "Parchment Records" (No. 2), but it is of later date, and, so far as can be judged, of inferior

greetinge, wheareas o^r most deare and loueing Cozen George Earle of Cumberland, & o^r welbeloued subiect℮ Sr Iohn Harte of London knight, Sr Iohn Spencer of London knight Sr Edward Michelborne knight Willm Cavendish Esquier, Paule Banninge, Robt Lee, Leonard Hollyday, Iohn Watt℮[1] Iohn more[2] Edward Holmeden Robt Hampson Thomas Smyth & Thomas Cambell Cittizens and Ald of London. Edward Barker Esquier, Thomas Marshe Esquier, Samuell Backhowse Esq, Iames Lancaster Richard Stap Thomas Cordall, Willm Garway Oliu^r Style, Willm Quarles Bartholomew Barnes Willm Offley Robt Chamberlyn, Iohn Harby[3] Richard Wyseman Willm Stone ffrancis Chery,[4] Tho: Allabaster, Richard Barrett, Iohn Swinarton the younger Tho: Garway Willm Romeny, Iames Deane,[5] Iohn Eldred,[6] Andrew Baninge, Edward Leanynge, Thomas Iaxon,[7] Nichis Leate, Iohn Wolstenholme, Nicholas Peard, Willm Chamber, Rowland Backhowse, Humfrey Smyth Robt Sandie, Henrie Robinson, Richard Pointell, Iohn Highlord, Willm Harryson, Humfrey Style, Humfrey Robinson, Nichis fferro^r Thomas ffarrington Iohn Combe, Robt Offley, Roger How, Iohn Hewet, Iames Turno^r, Morrice Abbott,[8] Robt Carill, Robt

accuracy. As, however, it is evidently taken from an independent source, the two have been carefully compared, and the differences noted, where at all important. Besides these, there is a very early copy, in excellent preservation, in vol. 306 of the *Harleian MSS.* in the British Museum; this also has been collated with the present text, and all variations (except where the difference is merely one of spelling) have been recorded in the footnotes. Finally, the version printed by Purchas has been consulted in cases where the others disagree; and thus, it is hoped, the materials for a fairly reliable text of this most important document have been obtained and placed on record.

[1] Afterwards Sir John Watts, Sheriff in 1596-97, and Mayor in 1606-7. He was governor of the Company from 11th April, 1601, to 6th July, 1602.

[2] Moore (*Harl. MS.*).

[3] Haruy (*Purchas and Parch. Rec.*)

[4] Cherie (*Harl. MS.*); Cherry (*Purchas*).

[5] Beane (*Parch. Rec.*)

[6] Whilom (1583) a pioneer of trade in the East, in company with Fitch and Newbery, though he did not himself go farther than Bassora; now "a graue, rich and principall Citizen" (*Purchas*). He was a large subscriber to the early voyages of the Company, and one of the first committees (see page 169).

[7] Iuxon (*Harl. MS. and Parch. Rec.*); Jackson (*Purchas*).

[8] Maurice Abbott, brother of George, Archbishop of Canterbury, and of Robert, Bishop of Salisbury. In 1615 he visited the East Indies; and on his return was made deputy governor of the Company, to which post he was re-elected 8 times. He was one of those appointed to treat with the Dutch Commissioners in London in 1619, and in the following year was sent, with Sir Dudley Digges, on a special

Brooke Richard Chamblyn George Chamblen, Leonard White, Iohn Cornelius, Raphe Busbie,[1] Willm Iennynge, Gyles Paslowe Robt Bell, Thomas Whyte, Nichis Lynge, Willm Palmer, Ellis Crippes, George Bowles[2] Nichis Crispe[3] Iohn Merricke Humfrey Hanford, Thomas Symonde, Robert Coxe, Willm Wastall,[4] Iohn Humfrey, Thomas Bostocke, Bartholomew Holland, Richard Cockes, Willm Walton, Willm ffreeman, Thomas Southacke, Iohn ffryre, ffrancis Dent, Richard Ball,[5] Richard Pearce, Roger Heminge,[6] Robt Cobbe Robert Robinson, ffrauncis Evington, ffrancis Taylor, Thomas Westwray,[7] Iohn Middleton Robt Gore Raphe Gore, Willm Cater, George Cater, Iohn Busbridge, Thomas Horton, Willm Bond,[8] Willm Cotton, Iohn, Stockley, Roger Ofield, Augustyne Skinner, Richard Wiche[9] Robert Towerson, Richard Talby, Robt Middleton, Robt Bateman, Richard Gosson, Robt Waldoe Richard Wragge, Iohn Wragge Willm Dale, Lawrence Waldoe,[10] Henrie Bridgman, Samuell Armitage, Edward Harrison, Edmond[11] Nicholsonn, Clement Moseley, Iohn Newman, Humfrey Wallcott[12] Thomas Richardson, Thomas Boothby, Iohn Cowchman,[13] Reynold Greene, Richard Burret,[14] Robert Mildmay, Willm Hinde, George Chandlor, Edward Lutterford, Willm Burret,[15] Stephen Harvy, Thomas Henshawe Willm fferris, Willm Aldersey, Willm Hewett, Willm ffysher, Iosephe Salbucke, Nichis Manley Nichis Salter Wylliam Willaston, Willm Angell, Nicholas Barnestey,[16] Iohn Hawkins Roger Dye, Richard Clarke, Thomas Hewett, George Whitmore,

embassy to Holland on the same business. He became governor of the Company in March, 1624, and held that post until some time in 1638 or 1639, the period of his mayoralty. He was a member of parliament for several years, and spoke often in defence of the Company. He was knighted on the accession of Charles I., who, some 14 years later, made him "king's lieutenant" of London and suburbs during his Majesty's absence in the expedition against the Scots. He died 10th Jan., 1641/2.

[1] Basby (*Purchas*).
[2] Bolles (*Harl. MS.*).
[3] *Purchas* omits both this and the preceding name.
[4] Walstall (*Parch. Rec.*); Wustall (*Purchas*).
[5] Bull (*Purchas*).
[6] Henyng (*Purchas*).
[7] Westrow (*Purchas*); Westrowe (*Parch. Rec.*).
[8] *Purchas* and *Parch. Rec.* add "Merchant Tayler of London."
[9] Wise (*Purchas*).
[10] Waldore (*Purchas*).
[11] Edward (*Purchas*).
[12] Wallott (*Purchas*).
[13] Coachman (*Purchas*).
[14] Barret (*Harl. MS.*).
[15] Barret (*Harl. MS.*); Burrell (*Purchas and Parch. Rec.*).
[16] Barnesly (*Harl. MS. and Purchas*); Barnesley (*Parch. Rec.*).

Henry Polsteed,[1] Willm Greenwell, Robt Johnson, Barth: Haggett[2] Humfrey Basse, Robt Bucke, Ambrose Wheeler, Willm Hale Richard Hale[3] Iunior, Iohn Hodgson, Alphonsus ffowle,[4] Edmond Spencer, Robt Ducie,[5] Richard Pyott, Willm Bonham, Edward Barkam, George Coles,[6] Raphe Hamor, Iames Cullimore,[7] Samuell Hare, George vtley, Gregorie Allen, Henry Archer, Ieoffrey Kirby, Iohn Cason, Richard Beale, Thomas Shipton, Iohn ffletcher Thomas Talbott, Robt Pennyngton, Humfrey Milward, Richard Hearne, Raphe Allen, Iohn Brooke, Anthonie Gibson, Robt Kayes, Hugh Crompton Richard Washer, George Holman Morrice Lewellen, Richard Persons, ffrancis Barker, Willm Turnor, Iohn Greenwood, Richard Deane, Richard Ironside, George Smythes, Iames Dunkin, Edward Walter, Andrew Chamblyn, Robt Stratforde[9] Willm Millett, Symon Lawrence, Thomas Lydall Stephen Hodgson, Richard Wright,[10] Willm Starkey, Willm Smyth, Iohn Ellacott Robert Bayly & Roger Cotton haue of or crteine knowledge beene petitioners vnto vs for or Royall assent and lycence to be graunted vnto them, that they of[11] their owne Adventures Coste & chardges aswell for the Honor of this our Realme of England as for the increase of or Navigacon and advauncemt of

George Vtley disfranchised the 6th of Iulie. 1601.[8]

[1] Polstee (*Purchas*).

[2] Huggott (*Purchas*).

[3] Hull (*Purchas*).

[4] Foote (*Purchas*).

[5] Dewsy (*Harl. MS.*).

[6] Colles (*Harl. MS.*).

[7] Colymer (*Purchas*).

[8] For non-payment of his adventure (see Court Minutes of that date). Curiously enough the marginal entry occurs in all four texts; possibly it had been noted on the original charter.

[9] Anto. Stratford should follow this name (*Harl. MS.*, *Parch. Rec. and Purchas*).

[10] Richard Wright was the first secretary of the Company, mention being made of him in that capacity on the 8th Oct., 1600, and he was still secretary in July, 1602. The loss of the second Court Book prevents us from saying how long he held this post, but there is reason to think that it could not have been to a later date than July, 1606. In 1615 he married the widow of John Stockley, who had been also a freeman of the Company, and a committee in 1608-10. Mrs. Stockley seems to have been a woman of some wealth, for at her husband's funeral the governor, deputy and committees were invited to dinner (*Court Minutes*, 29th Jan., 1614), and in the same year she adventured £1200 in the Company's stock (*Ibid.*, 18th Feb., 1614). On 13th May, 1618, "Lyonell, son of Richard Wright, of Walthamstow," was admitted to the freedom of the Company, and as the admission was by patrimony, this entry probably relates to a son of the whilom secretary.

[11] At (*Harl. MS. and Purchas*).

trade of merchandize, wthin or said Realmes and the dominions of the same might Adventure and sett forth one or more voyagę wth Convenient number of shipps and Pynnasses by way of traffique & mrchandize to the East Indies in the Countries and partę of Asia and Affrica & to as many of the Ilandę Portę Citties Townes and places theareaboute, as where trade and traffique of mrchaundize may by all liklihood be discoured established or had. Diuers of wch Countries & many of the Ilandę Citties and portę thereof, haue longe sithence beene discoured, by others of or subiectę: albeit not frequented in trade of mrchandize. KNOWE yee therefore that we greatelie tendringe the Honor of or Nacōn, the wealth of or people, and the encourradgment of them and others of or loueing Subiectę in their good enterprises for the encrease of or Navigacōn and the advauncemt of lawfull traffique to the benefict of or Comonweale haue of or speciall grace crteine knowledge and meere mocōn geven and graunted, and by theis prsentę for vs or heires and Successors doe giue and graunte to or[1] loueinge subiectę before in theis presentę expreslie named. THAT they

a bodie politick

and eury of them from henceforth be and shall be abody Corporate & politicke in deede and in name by the name of the Gournor and Companie of mrchauntę of

the style of the corporacon

London tradinge into the East Indies, & them by the name of the Gournor and Companie of mrchauntę of London tradinge into the East Indies one body Corporate & pollitiсke in deede & in name reallie, and fullie for vs or heires and successors we doe erect make ordeine constitute establish and declare by theis presentę. And that by the same name of Gournor & Companie of mrchauntę of London trading into the East Indies they shall haue succession, and that they and their Successors by the name of the Gournor & Companie of mrchauntę of London tradinge into the East Indies be & shall be at all tymes heereafter ꝑsons able & capable in Lawe and a body corporate and polli[ti]cke & capable in lawe to haue, purchase, receiue, possesse, enioy & reteine landę, tēntę,[2] priveledgę, liberties, Iurissdiccōns, ffranchises, & hereditamtę of whatsoeur kinde,

[1] The other three texts insert "said."

[2] Rents (*Parch. Rec.*)—an obvious blunder.

nature, and qualitie soeu^r^ they be, to them and their Successo^rs^ And alsoe to giue, graunte,[1] alien, assigne, and dispose landę, Tentę, and hereditamentę, and to doe & execute all and singuler other thingę by the same name, that to them shall or may apperteyne to doe. AND that they and their Successo^rs^ by the name of the the Gou^r^no^r^ & Comp: of m^r^chauntę of Londondon tradinge into the East Indies may plead & be ympleaded aunsweare and be aunsweared defend & be defended in whatsoeu^r^ Courtę & places and before whatsoeu^r^ Iudgę and Iustices and other ꝑsons & officers in all and singuler accons pleas suitę quarrells causes and demaundę whatsoeu^r^ of whatsoeu^r^ kinde nature or sorte in such manner and forme as other o^r^ Leidg people of this o^r^ Realme of England beinge ꝑsons able & capable in lawe, may or can haue purchase receiue possesse enioye reteyne, giue graunte, demyse alien assigne dispose plead & be ympleaded, aunsweare & be aunsweared defend & be defended release & be released doe ꝑmitt & execute And that the said Gou^r^no^r and Companie of m^r^chauntę of London trading into the East Indies and their successo^rs^ may haue a comon seale to serue for all the Causes and busynes of them and their successo^rs^. AND that yt shall & may be lawfull to the said Gou^r^no^r & Companie & their successo^rs^ the same seale from tyme to tyme att their will and pleasuer to breake chandge & to make new or alter as to them shall seeme expedient.

A Comon seale.

AND further we will and by theis presentę for vs o^r^ heires and successo^rs^ we doe ordeine that there shall be from henceforth one of the same Companie elected and appointed in such forme as heereafter in theis presentę is expressed wch shall be called the Gou^r^nor of the said Company, and that there shall be from hencforth Twenty ffower of the said Companie elected & appointed in such forme as heereafter in theis presentę is expressed, wch shalbe called the Comitties of the said Company[2] for the tyme beinge shall haue the direccon of the voyagę of or for the said Company and the ꝑvision of the shippinge and m^r^chaundizes thereto belongeinge, and alsoe the

The office of the Committies

[1] Insert "demise" (*Harl. MS. and Purchas*).

[2] *Purchas* and *Parch. Rec.* add here "who together with ye Govr of ye said Comp^a^."; but the *Harl. MS.* agrees with the text as it stands.

sale of all m^r^chaundizes retourned in the voyagℓ, of or for the said Companie, and the manageing and handling of all other thingℓ belongeing to the said Company, and for the better execution of this o^r^ will and graunte in this behalfe, We haue assigned, nominated, constituted and made, & by theis presentℓ for vs o^r^ heires and sucesso^rs^ we doe assigne nominate constitute and make the said Thomas Smyth Ald: of London to be the first & present Gou^r^no^r^ of the said Company to continue in the said office from the date of theis presentℓ vntill an other of the said Companie shall in due manner be chosen and sworne vnto the said Office accordinge to the ordenances and ꝑvision heereafter in theis presentℓ expressed and declared yf the said Thomas Smyth shall soe longe lyue, And alsoe we haue assigned nominated and appointed and by theis presentℓ for vs & o^r^ heires and successo^rs^ Wee doe assigne nominate constitute & make the said Paule Ɓannynge Leonard Holliday, Iohn Moore, Edward Holmeden, Richard Staꝑ Thomas Cordell, Wiƚƚm Garway, Olyuer Style, Iames Lancaster,[1] Richard Wyseman, ffrancis Chery, Thomas Allabaster, Wiƚƚm Romeny, Roger Howe, Wiƚƚm Chambers, Roƀt Sandy, Iohn Eldred, Richard Witche, Iohn Highlord, Iohn Middleton, Iohn Combe, Wiƚƚm Harrison, Nicƕis Lynge, and Roƀt Bell to be the Twentie ffower first and present Comitties of the said Company to Continue in the said Office of Comitties of the said Company from the date of theis presentℓ for one wholle yeare next ffollowing

Thomas Smyth Alder: the first Gouernor

the first Committies for the direccon of the affaires of the Company being xxiiij in Nomber

AND furder we will and graunte by theis presentℓ for vs o^r^ heires and successo^rs^ vnto the said Gou^r^no^r^ and Companie of m^r^chauntℓ of London tradinge into the East Indies and their successo^rs^ that yt shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Gou^r^no^r^ and Comp: for the tyme beinge or the more parte of them present at any publick assembly Comonly called the Courte houlden for the said Company, The Gou^r^no^r^ of the said Company being alwaies one from tyme to tyme, to elect nominate & appointe one of the said Company to be Deputie to the said Gou^r^no^r^ wch Deputie shall take a corporall Oath before the Gou^r^no^r^ and ffyue or more of the Comitties of the said Companie for the tyme being

A dep^tie^ to the Gour-no^r^ to take an Oath before 5 or more of the Comitties

[1] Lanchaster (*Harl. MS.*).

well faithfullie and trulie to execute his said Office of Deputie to the Gou^{r}no^{r} of the said Company, and after his Oath soe taken shall & may from tyme to tyme in the Absence of the said Gou^{r}no^{r} exercyse and execute the Office of Gou^{r}no^{r} of the said Company in such sorte as the Gou^{r}no^{r} ought to doe.

The first day of Julie or wthin 6 daies after the yearelie eleccon of the Gou^{r}no^{r}.

AND further we will & graunte by theis presentꝭ for vs our heires and successo^{rs} vnto the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Companie of m^{r}chauntꝭ of London tradinge into the East Indies & their successo^{rs}, that they or the greater ꝑte of them, whereof the Gou^{r}no^{r} for the tyme being or his Deputie to be one from tyme to tyme & at altymes heereafter shall and may haue aucthoritie and power yearelie & eu^{r}y yeare on the first day of Iulie, or at any tyme wthin 6 daies after that day to assemble and meete together in some Convenient place to be appointed from tyme to tyme by the Gou^{r}no^{r} or in his absence by the Deputie of the said Gou^{r}no^{r} for the tyme being. And that they being soe assembled yt shall & may be lawfull to and for the said Gou^{r}no^{r} or Deputie of the said Gou^{r}no^{r} and the said Comp: for the tyme beinge or the greater ꝑte of them, wch then shall happen to be present whereof the Gou^{r}no^{r} of the saide Companie to be one,[1] or his deputie for the tyme being, to elect and nominate one of the said Companie, wch shall be Gou^{r}no^{r} of the said Company for one wholle yeare from thence next followinge: wch ꝑson being soe elected and nominated to be Gou^{r}no^{r} of ye said Comp: as is aforesaid before he be admitted to the execuc̄on of the said Office shall take a corporall Oath before the last Gou^{r}no^{r} being his predicesso^{r}, or his deputie, & any sixe or more of the Comitties of the said Company for the tyme beinge, that he shall from tyme to tyme well and trulie execute the Office of Gou^{r}no^{r} of the said Company in all thingꝭ concerninge the same, & that imediatelie after the Oath soe taken he shall and may execute and vse the said Office of Gou^{r}no^{r} of the said Companie for one whole yeare from thence next ffollowinge,

eu^{r}y brother to take a corporall oath

And in like manner[2] we will and graunte that aswell eu^{r}y one aboue named to be of the said Companie, or ffellowshippe as al others heereafter to be admitted,

[1] *Purchas* and *Parch. Rec.* transfer "to be one" to the end of the clause, after the word "being," but the *Harl. MS.* agrees with the text.

[2] Sorte (*Harl. MS.*); sort (*Purchas and Parch. Rec.*).

or free of the said Companie shall take a corporall oath before the Gournor of this said Company or his Deputie for the tyme being being to such effect as by the said[1] Gournor & Comp: or more ꝑte of them In any publicke Courte to be held for the said Company shall be in reasonable manner sett downe & devised before they shall be allowed or admitted to trade or traffique as a ffreeman of the said Company.

xxiiij Comitties to be yearelie elected on the first of Julie or wthin 6 daies ffollowinge.

AND further we will & graunte by theis presentꝭ for vs or heires and successors vnto the said Gournor & Companie of mrchauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies & their successors that the said Gournor, or the Deputie of the said Gournor and the Comp: and their successors for the tyme beinge or the greater parte of them whereof the gournor or the Deputie of the Gournor from tyme to tyme to be one, shall & may from tyme to tyme and att altymes heereafter haue authoritie and power yearelie & eury yeare on the first day of Iuly, or att any tyme wthin sixe daies after that day to assemble & meete together in some convenient place to be from tyme to tyme appointed by the said Gournor of the said Company, or in his absence by his Deputie And that they being soe assembled yt shall &may be lawfull to & for the said Gournor or his Deputie & the Company for the tyme being, or the greater ꝑte of them wch then shall happen to be prsent whereof the Gournor of the said Companie or his Deputie for the tyme being to be one to elect & nominate Twentie ffower of the said Comp: wch shall be Comitties of the said Company for one whole yeare from thence next ensueinge, wch ꝑsons being soe elected & nominated to be Comitties of the said Companie as aforesaid before they be admitted to the execucõn of their said Offices shall take a Corporall Oath before the Gournor or his Deputie & any 6 or more of the said Comitties of the said Company being their last predicessors for the tyme beinge that they & eury of them shall well & faithfullie ꝑforme their said Office of Comitties in all thingꝭ concerning the same. And that ymediatelie after the[2] Oath soe

The Comitties shall take a corporall Oath.

[1] Not in *Harl. MS.*

[2] *Parch. Rec.* and *Purchas* interpolate "said," but the *Harl. MS.* agrees with the text.

taken they shall & may execute and vse their said Offices of Comitties of the said Companie for one whole yeare from thence next ensueinge.[1] And moreou^r^ o^r^ will & pleasuer is and by theis presentꝭ for vs o^r^ heires and successo^rs^ we doe graunt vnto the said Gou^r^no^r^ & Company of m^r^chauntꝭ of London tradinge into the East Indies, & to their successo^rs^ that when and as often as yt shall happen the Gou^r^no^r^ of the said Company for the tyme beinge att any tyme w^th^in one yeare after that he shall be nominated elected & sworne to the Office of the Gou^r^no^r^ of the said Companie as is aforesaid to die or to be remoued from the said Office, wch Gou^r^no^r^ not demeaneinge him selfe well in his said Office, we will to be remoueable att the pleasure of the said Company, or the greater ꝑte of them, wch shall be present at any their publike Assemblies, comonly called their[2] gen^r^all Courte houlden for the said Company. That then & soe often yt shall & may be lawfull to & for the residue of the said Company for the tyme being, or the greater ꝑte of them, w^th^in convenient tyme after the death or remoueinge any such Gou^r^no^r^ to assemble themselues in such convenient place as they shall thinke ffitt, for the eleccõn of the Gou^r^no^r^ of the said Companie, and that the said Company, or the greater parte of them being then and there present shall and may then & theare before their deꝑture from the said place elect & nominate one other of the said Companie to be Gou^r^no^r^ of the said Company in the place or steede of him that soe died or was soe remoued wch ꝑson beinge soe elected & nominated to the office of Gou^r^no^r^ of the said Company shall haue and exercise the said office for & during the residue of the said yeare takeing first a corporall Oath as is aforesaid for the due execucõn thereof, and this to be done from tyme to tyme soe often as the case shall soe requier.

yf the Gou^r^no^r^ die, or be remoued a new to be chosen

AND alsoe o^r^ will and pleasure is and by theis presentꝭ for vs o^r^ heires and successo^rs^ we doe graunte vnto the said Gou^r^no^r^ & Company of m^r^chauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies and to their successo^rs^ that when and as often as yt shall happen any of the

If any of the Comitties die or be remoued a new to be chosen

[1] Followinge (*Harl. MS.*, *Parch. Rec. and Purchas*).
[2] The (*Harl. MS.*).

said[1] Comitties of the said Company for the tyme being at any time w^th^in one yeare next after that they or any of them shalbe nomynated[2] & sworne to the Office of Comitties of the said Company (as is aforesaid) to die or be remoued from the said office, wch Comitties not demeaneinge them selues well in the said Office we will to be remoueable att the pleasuer of the said Gou^r^no^r^ & Company or the greater ꝑte of them whereof the Gou^r^no^r^ of the said Company for the tyme being or his dep^tie^ for the tyme being to be one. That then and soe often yt shall & may be lawfull to & for the said Gou^r^no^r^ and Company for the tyme beinge or the greater ꝑte of them, whereof the gou^r^no^r^[3] or his Deputie to be one w^th^in Convenient tyme after the death or remoueinge of any of the said Comitties to assemble themselues in such convenient place as is or shall be vsuall or accustomed for the eleccõn of the Gou^r^no^r^ of the said Companie, or whereells the Gou^r^no^r^ of the said Companie for the tyme being or his deputie shall appointe and that the said Gou^r^no^r^ & Companie or the greater ꝑte of them, whereof the Gou^r^no^r^ for the tyme being, or his deputie to be one being then and theare present shall & may then and theare before their deꝑture from the said place elect & nominate one or more of the said Companie to be Comitties of the said Company in the places and steedꝭ, place or steede of him or them that soe dyed or were or was soe remoued, wch ꝑson or ꝑsons soe elected[4] to the office or offices of Comittee or Comittees of the said Company shall haue & exercyse the said Office and Officees for and during the residue of the said yeare takeinge first a corporall Oath, as is aforesaid for the due execucõn thereof and this to be done frome tyme to tyme soe often as the case shall requier.

AND ffurther we doe by theis p^r^sentꝭ for vs o^r^ heires and successo^rs^ will and graunte vnto the said Gou^r^no^r^ & Company of m^r^chauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies & their successo^rs^ that they and all that are or shall be of the said Companie of m^r^chauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies

[1] Not in the other three texts. [2] The other three texts add "elected."

[3] *Parch. Rec.* and *Purchas* add "for the time being." *Harl. MS.* agrees with the text.

[4] The other three texts add "and nominated."

& eury of them and all the sonns of them, & eury of them att their seurall ages of Twentie one yeares or vpwardes. And further all such the apprentices ffactors or servauntę of them and eury of them, wch heereafter shall be ymployed by the said Gournor & Comp: in the said trade of mrchandize of or to the East Indies beyond the Seas or any other the places aforesaid in any ꝑte of the said East Indies shall and may by the space of xvteene yeares from the feast of the birth of or Lord God last past before the date hereof ffreelie traffick & vse the trade of mrchandize by Seas in & by such waies and passages already found out and discoured and [1] wch heereafter shall be found out and discoured as they shall esteeme and take to be fittest into and from the said East Indies into the Countries and ꝑtę of Asia & Affrica and into & from all the Ilandę portę Havens Citties Creekę Townes & places of Asia Africa & America or any of them beyond the Cape of Bona Esperansa to the straightę of Magalan̄ where any trade or traffique of mrchaundize may be vsed and [1] had and to & from eury of them in such order manner forme libertie and Condicōn to all ententę & purposes as shall be from tyme to tyme at any publique assemblie or Courte held by or for the said Gournor or Companie, by or betweene them of the said Company of ffellowshipp of mrchauntę of London trading into the East Indies, or the more ꝑte of them for the tyme being present at such assemblie or Courte The Gournor or his Deputie being alwaies present att such Courte or Assemblie lymitted and agreed: and not otherwyse wthout any molestacōn impeachmt or disturbance any statute vsage diursitie religion or faith or any other cause or matter whatsoeur to the Contrarie notwthstandinge; soe ☞ alwaies the same trade be [2] vndertaken nor addressed to any Country, Iland, porte, Haven Cittie Creeke Towne or place alreadie in the lawfull and actuall possession of any such Christian Prince or state as att this present is or at any tyme heereafter shalbe in league or amity wth vs or heires or successors and who doth not or will not accept of such trade but doth ourlie declare and publish the same to be vtterlie against his or their good will and likeinge

[1] The other three texts read "or."

[2] Be not (*Harl. MS., Parch. Rec. and Purchas*).

AND further o[r] will & pleasuer is, and by theis present℮ for vs o[r] heires and successo[rs] we doe graunte vnto the said Gou[r]no[r] & Company of m[r]chaunt℮ of London trading into the East Indies and to their successo[rs], that yt shall & may be lawfull to and for the said Gou[r]no[r] & Company of m[r]chaunt℮ of London tradinge into the East Indies & their successo[rs] from tyme to tyme to assemble themselues for or aboute any the matters causes affaires or busines of the said trade in any place or places for the same convenient during the said terme of ffifteene yeares w[th]in o[r] dominions or elswheare, & there to hold Courte for the said Companie and the affaires thereof, & that alsoe yt shall & may be lawfull to & for them or the more ꝑte of them being soe assembled, & that shall then & theare be present in any such place or places whereof the Gou[r]no[r] or his deputie for the tyme being to be one, to make, ordeine & constitute such and soe many reasonable lawes constituc̃ons, orders & ordenances as to them or the greater ꝑte of them being then and theare present shall seeme necessarie and convenient for the good gou[r]nm[t] of the same Companie & of all ffacto[rs] m[rs] Mariners & other Officers ymployed[1] in any of their voyag℮, and for the better advauncement & continuance of the said trade and traffique, and the same lawes constituc̃ons orders and ordenaunces as by them or the greater ꝑte of them shall be thought necessarie being[2] soe made to putt in vse, & execuc̃on accordinglie, & at their pleasuer to revoke or alter the same, or any of them, as occasion shall requier and that the said Gou[r]no[r] & Companie soe often as they shall make ordeine or establish any such lawes constituc̃ons orders & ordenances in forme aforesaid shall & may lawfullie ympose, ordeine lymitt & ꝑuide such peines punishment℮ and Penalties by ymprisonm[t] of bodie, or by fynes or[3] amercement℮, or by all or any of them vpon & against all Offenders contrary to such lawes Constituc̃ons orders and orden-

That the Comp: may assemble in any convenient place.

Authoritie to make reasonable lawes by the greatest part of a gen[r]all assembly.

To punish offenders eyther in body or purse soe as the same be not contrary to the lawes of the Realme.

[1] The other three texts add "or to be imployed."

[2] *Parch. Rec.* and *Purchas* omit "as . . . . being." *Harl. MS.* agrees with the text.

[3] And (*Harl. MS.*, *Parch. Rec. and Purchas*).

ances or any of them as to the said Gou^r^no^r^ & Companie for the tyme being, or the greater ꝑte of them then & there being present the said Gou^r^no^r^ or his Deputie being alwaies one shall seeme necessary requisite and Convenient for the observacōn of the same lawes constitucōns orders and ordenances, & the same fynes, & amercem^t^ꝭ, shall and may levy fyne take & haue to the vse of the said Gou^r^no^r^ and Cōmpanie & their successo^rs^ w^th^out the ympedim^t^ of vs o^r^ heires or successo^rs^ or of any the Officers or mynisters of vs o^r^ heires or [1] successo^rs^, or w^th^out any accompt to vs o^r^ heires or successo^rs^ to be rendred or made. All & singuler wch lawes, constitucōns, orders, and ordenances soe as aforesayd to be made we will to be dulie observed and kept vnder the peines and penalties therein to be conteyned: Soe alwaies the said lawes Constitucōns orders ordenancꝭ ymprisonm^t^ꝭ fynes and amercem^t^ꝭ be reasonable & not contrary or repugnant to the lawes statutes or Customes of this o^r^ Realme

ffreedome of Custome of goodes outwardes graun-[2]

AND forasmuch as the said Gou^r^no^r^ & Company of m^r^chauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies haue not yet experience of the kindꝭ of Comodities and m^r^chandizes wch are or will be vendible or to be vttered in the said ꝑtꝭ of the East Indies and therefore shall be driven to carrie to those ꝑtꝭ in their voyadgꝭ dyvers & sundry Comodities wch are likelie to be retourned againe into this o^r^ Realme. WEE therefore of our speciall grace certeine knowledge and meere mocōn for the better encourageing of the said Gou^r^no^r^ and Companie of m^r^chauntꝭ of London trading into the[3] East Indies and for the advauncem^t^ of the said trade doe graunt vnto the saide Gou^r^no^r^ and Company, and to their successo^rs^ that they and their successo^rs^ during the fower first voyagꝭ wch they shall make or sett forth for or towardes the said East Indies shall & may transporte and carrie out of o^r^ Realme of England, & the portꝭ Creekꝭ & havens thereof all such and soe much goodꝭ & m^r^chandizes, being goodꝭ and m^r^chandizes lawfullie passable & transportable out of this Realme and not prohibited to be transported by any lawe or statute of this Realme as shalbe by them their ffacto^rs^ or assignes shipped in any shipp or shipps vessell or

[1] And (*Harl. MS.*). [2] Granted? [3] Said (*Harl. MS.*).

vessels to be ymployed in any of the said fower first voyagę free of Custome subsidie or Pondage or any other duties or paymᵗę to vs or oʳ successoʳˢ due or belonging for the shippinge or transporting of the same or any of them: And yett neuʳthelesse our will & pleasure is and we doe by theis presentę straightly chardge & Comaund that all & euʳy such goodę & mʳchandizes soe to be transported out of this Realme from tyme to tyme during the[1] ffower first voyagę as ys aforesaid shall from tyme to tyme be dulie entered by the Customer Comptroller or other officer of such porte Creeke or place where the same goodę or mʳchaundizes shall happen to be shipped and laden before such tyme as the same shall be shipped or laden to be transported as aforesaid.

6 & 6 monnethes tyme for paymᵗ of Custome & subsidie inward

AND alsoe of oʳ further espetiall grace certeyne knowledg and meere mocōn we doe for vs oʳ heires and successoʳˢ graunte to & wᵗʰ the said Gouʳnoʳ & Company of mʳchauntę of London trading into the East Indies and their successoʳˢ that when & as often at any tyme during the said terme and space of ffyfteene yeares as any Custome pondage subsidie or other duties shall be due & payable vnto vs oʳ heires or successoʳˢ for any goodę wares or mʳchandize whatsoeuʳ to be retourned out or from any the Ilandę & portę Havens Citties Townes or placę aforesaid vnto the porte of London or any of the Havens Creekę members or places to[2] the said porte belongeing that the Customers and all other officers for the tyme being of vs oʳ heires or successoʳˢ for or concerning receiptę of Custome Pondage subsidies or other duties vnto whom yt shall apperteyne shall vpon the request of the Gouʳnoʳ & Company of the said mʳchauntę of London tradinge into the East Indies or any their Agentę ffactoʳˢ or assignes[3] sixe monnethes tyme for the payment of the one halfe, and after those sixe monnethes ended other sixe monnethes tyme for the payment of the other halfe of their said Custome pondage or other subsidie or duties receyueing good & sufficient bondę wᵗʰ suertie to the vse of vs oʳ heires & successoʳˢ for the true pay-

[1] The said (*Parch. Rec. and Purchas*).

[2] Of (*Harl. MS.*).

[3] *Parch. Rec.* and *Purchas* add "give unto the said Govʳ and Compᵃ Their Agents ffactors or Assigns." *Harl. MS.* agrees with the text.

ment of the same accordinglie and vpon the receipt of the said bondꝭ wth suertie from tyme to tyme to giue vnto the said Gourno & Comp: of mrchauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies for the tyme being their Agentꝭ ffactors or Assignes their Cockettꝭ or other warrantꝭ to take out & receiue on land the same goodꝭ wares & mrchandizes by vertue thereof wthout any disturbaunce. And that alsoe as often as at any tyme duringe the said terme of ffifteene[1] yeares any goodꝭ wares or marchandizes of the said Gourno & Company for the tyme being Laden from or porte of London or any the Creekꝭ members or places to[2] the same porte belongeing to be transported to or towardꝭ any of the portꝭ Ilandꝭ Havens Citties townes or places aforesaid shall happen to miscarrie or be lost before their safe arrivall or dischardge in the Portꝭ for and to wch the same shall be sent that then and soe often, soe much Custome pondage subsidies or other duties as they aunsweared to vs for the same before their goinge forth of or said portꝭ Havens or Creekꝭ shall after due proofe made before the Thrēr of England for the tyme beinge of the said losse and the iust quantitie thereof be by vertue hereof allowed by the said Gourno and Company their Agentꝭ or ffactors by warrant of the said Thrēr to the said Customers or officers in the next goodꝭ wares or mrchandizes that the said Gourno & Company or their successors shall and may shipp for or towardꝭ those places[3] accordinge to the true ratꝭ of the Customes pondage or subsidies before paid for the goodꝭ wares or mrchaundizes soe loste or myscarrying or any ꝑte thereof and for yt the[4] Gourno & Company of mrchauntꝭ of London tradinge into the East Indies are like to bringe into this or Realme a much greater quantetie of forreine Comodities from the partꝭ of the said East Indies then can be spent for the necessarie vse of the same or Realme wch of necessitie must be transported into other Countries and there vented, We for vs or heires and successors of or espetiall grace crteine knowledge & meere mocōn doe graunte to and wth the said Gourno

If goodes miscarry going outward the value of Custome shall be allowed in other goodes afterward shipped

[1] Blank in *Parch. Rec.*

[2] In (*Harl. MS.*).

[3] Partes (*Harl. MS., Parch. Rec. and Purchas*).

[4] The said (*Parch. Rec, and Purchas*).

The Custome of goodes being paid at the comeinge into this Realme it shalbe lawfull for any naturall subiect to shipp yt out againe vpon the first Custome wthin 13 monnethes

& Companie of marchauntę of London trading into the East Indies and their successors that at all tymes from tyme to tyme during the space of thirteene monnethes next after the dischardge of any of the said forreine Comodities soe to be brought in the subsidies pondage Customes & other duties for the same being first paied or compounded for as afore said, It shall be lawfull for the said Gour nor & Company and their successors or any other naturall subiectę of this or Realme wch may or shall buie the same of them or[1] transporte the same in English Bottoms freelie out of this Realme aswell vngarbled as garbled wthout paymte of any further Custome, pondage, or any further subsidie to vs or heires or successors for the same whereof the subsidy pondage Customes or other duties shall be soe formerlie paid or Compounded for as aforesaid and soe prouided[2] and the said Customer or other officer or officers to whome yt shall in that behalfe appteine for the tyme being by vertue hereof shall vpon due and sufficient prooff thereof made in the Customes[3] howse[4] or belonging to the said[5] port of London giue them sufficient cockett or certificate, not[6] for the safe passinge out therof accordinglie. And to theend noe deceipt be vsed therein[7] to vs our heires or successors Certificate shalbe brought from the Collector of the Custome, subsidie, pondage, or other duties inwardes of vs our heires or successors that the said goodę wares or mrchandizes haue wthin the tyme lymitted aunsweared their due custome subsidy pondage or other duties for the same inwardes vnto the Collector[8] of the Custome subsidy pondage or other duties outwardę of vs or heires or successors.[9]

AND moreour we of or further espetiall grace certeine

[1] The other texts read "to."
[2] Proved (*Parch. Rec.*). The others agree with the text.
[3] Custome (*Harl. MS. and Parch. Rec.*).
[4] *Parch. Rec.* and *Purchas* add "of."
[5] The other texts read "same."
[6] Omitted in the other three texts.
[7] Herein (*Parch. Rec. and Purchas*).
[8] Collectors (*Harl. MS.*).
[9] In *Parch. Rec.* and *Purchas*, this last clause ("vnto . . . . . . successors") is made to precede the words "that . . . . inwardes." In the *Harl. MS.*, however, the arrangement is the same as in the text.

That yt shall be lawfull in the first voyadge to carry out in forreine coyne procured by the Comp: or bullion the value of xxx mll soe as 6 mll thereof be new coyned in the mynt

knowledge and meere mocõn haue graunted & by theis presentꝭ for vs or heires & successors doe graunte vnto the said Gournor & Company of marchauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies that yt shall & may be lawfull for them their ffactors or Assignes in their first voyadge or ffleete wch is now in prparinge for their first Adventure to the said East Indies to transporte out of this or Realme of England all such forreine Coyne of sylver, eyther spannish or other forreine sylver as they haue ꝑcured prpared & gotten, or shall procure prepare or gett as likewyse all such other Coyne of sylver as they haue ꝑcured or shall ꝑcure to be coyned in or mynte wthin or Tower of London out of such plate or bullion as ys or[1] shall be ꝓuided for[2] the said Gournor and Companie of mrchauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies their ffactors or assignes before the goinge forth of the same ffleete in[3] this their[4] first voyadge[5] soe as the whole quantetie of Coyne & moneys to be transported in this their said first voyadge[6] doe not exceede the value or some of Thirtie Thowsand poundꝭ starlinge And soe as the some of sixe thowsand poundꝭ att the least ꝑcell of the said some of Thirtie thowsand poundꝭ be first Coyned in or minte wthin our Tower of London[8] before the same shall be transported as aforesaid any lawe restrainte or ꝓhibition in that behalfe notwthstandinge. And in like mannr of or espetiall grace crteine knowledge & meere mocõn, we haue graunted and[9] doe for vs or heires and successors graunte vnto the said Gournor and Company of mrchauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies & their successors. That yt shall and may be lawfull to & for the said Gournor & Companie and their successors after the said first voyadge sett forth yearelie for and during the residue of the

After the said first voyadge in all the rest of the voyages they may carry but[7] in eury vyadge xxx mll of such forreine Coyne as they bringe into the Realme soe as thereof 6 mll be new coyned in the mint.

[1] As it (*Purchas*). [2] By (*Parch. Rec.*).

[3] Altered to "if" in *Harl. MS.*, probably in consequence of the omission noticed in note 6, which destroyed the sense of the passage.

[4] Their said (*Harl. MS.*). [5] In these three first voyages (*Purchas*).

[6] *Harl. MS.* omits this clause ("soe . . . . voyadge"). [7] Out?

[8] See page 13.

[9] The other texts read "and by these presents."

said terme of ffifteene yeares to shipp and transporte out of this o^{r} Realme of England or dominions of the same in any their other voyadgȩ to or towardȩ any the partȩ aforesaid in forme afore mencioned all such forreine Coyne of sylver, spannish or other forreine sylver or bullion of sylver, as they shall duringe the said terme bringe or cause to be brought into this Realme of England in[1] the ꝑtȩ beyond the Seas, eyther in the same kinde sorte stampe or ffashion wch yt shall haue when they bringe it in, or any other forme, stampe or fashion to be coyned wthin o^{r} Mint wthin o^{r} Tower of London at their pleasuer, soe as the whole quantities of coyne or moneys by them to be transported in any their said voyagȩ during the residue of the said terme doe not exceede the value or some of Thirtie Thowsand poundȩ in any one voyage, and soe as the some of sixe thowsand poundȩ at the least ꝑcell of the said some or value of xxx m^{li} soe to be transported as aforesaid, be first coyned wthin o^{r} said Tower of London before the same shall be transported in any of the said voyagȩ any lawe statute restrainte or ꝓhibicōn in that behalfe in any wyse notwthstandinge.

That the trade shalbe traded according to ye Ordenances of the Company & not otherwyse

AND further we of o^{r} ample and aboundant grace, more[2] mocōn and certeyne knowledge haue graunted by[3] theis presentȩ for vs o^{r} heires and successors, doe graunt vnto the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Company of m^{r}chauntȩ of London trading into the East Indies & their successo^{rs} that they and their successo^{rs} and their ffacto^{rs} servantȩ or assignes in the trade of m^{r}chandize for them & on their behalfe & not otherwyse shall for the said terme of ffyfteene yeares, haue, vse, and enioy the wholle entyre & onelie trade & traffique and the wholle entire & onelie libertie vse & priviledge of tradinge & traffiqueing & vsinge feat & trade of m^{r}chandize to & from the said East Indies & to & from all the Ilandȩ Portȩ Havens Citties Townes and places aforesaid in such manner & forme as ys aboue mencioned And that[4] the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Company of m^{r}chauntȩ of London tradinge into

[1] The other texts read "from."

[2] Mere (*Harl. MS.*, *Parch. Rec. and Purchas.*).

[3] And by (*Harl. MS.*, *Parch. Rec. and Purchas*).

[4] That they (*Harl. MS. and Parch. Rec.*).

the East Indies, & eury ꝑticuler & seurall ꝑson that now is, or that heerafter shalbe of that Company or incorporac̄on shall haue full and free authoritie libertie facultie lycence & power in forme aforesaid to trade & Traffique to & from the said East Indies, & all & eury the ꝑtꝭ thereof in forme aforesaid according to the orders ordenances & agreemtꝭ heereafter to be made & agreed vppon by the said Gournor & Companie of mrchauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies & their successors or the more ꝑte of them present at any Courte or publique assemblie of or for the said Companie the Gournor of the said Companie or his Deputie for the tyme beinge alwaies present att such Courte or assembly & not otherwyse.

And for that the shipps sayleing into the said Indies must take their due & propꝑ tymes to ꝑceede in theis voyagꝭ wch otherwyse as we well ꝑceaue cannot be ꝑformed in the rest of the yeare followinge. THERFORE we of or especiall grace certeine knowledge & meere moc̄on for vs or heires & successors do graunt to & wth the said Gournor & Company of mrchauntꝭ of London tradinge into the East Indies and their successors, that in any tyme of restrainte sixe good shipps & sixe good Pynnaces well furnished wth ordenance & other munic̄on for their defence, & fiue hundred Mariners Englishmen to guide & sayle in the same sixe shipps & sixe Pynnaces att all tymes during the said terme of fyfteene yeares shall quietlie be ꝑmitted & suffered to departe & goe in the said voyages accordinge to the purport of theis prsentꝭ wthout any stay or contradicc̄on by vs or heires or successors or by ye Lo: High admirall or any other officer or subiect of vs or heires or successors for the tyme being in any wyse any restrainte lawe statute vsage or matter whatsoeur to the contrarie notwthstandinge.

That 6 good shipps & 6 pinnaces shalbe yearelie permitted to goe into the East Indies & 500 mariners any restraint notwthstandinge except the *Nauie Royall* goe forth.

PROUIDED neurtheles that yf we shall att any tyme wthin the said terme of fifteene yeares, haue iust cause to arme our Navy in warlike manner in defence of or Realme or for Offence of or enymies or that yt shall be found needfull to ioyne to the Navy of vs or heires or successors the shipps of or subiectꝭ to be alsoe armed for the warres to such a number as can not be supplied yf the said sixe shipps and sixe Pynnasses should be ꝑmitted to

departe as aboue is mentioned then vpon knowledge geven to[1] vs o^{r} heires or successo^{rs} or by any[2] Admirall to the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Company aboute the xxth day of the monneth of Iulie, or three monnethes before the said Gou^{r}no^{r} and Companie shall begynn to make readie the same sixe shipps and sixe Pynnasses, that we may not spare the said sixe shipps & six Pynnasses & the Mariners requisite for them, to be out of o^{r} Realme during the tyme that o^{r} Navy shall be vpon the Seas. That then the said Gou^{r}no^{r} and Company shall forbeare to send sixe such shipps & sixe Pinnacꝭ for their trade of m^{r}chandize, vntill that we shall revoke or wthdrawe o^{r} said Navy for this[3] service. And we of o^{r} further royall favo^{r} and of o^{r} especiall grace certeine knowledge and meere moco͞n haue graunted, and by theis presentꝭ for vs o^{r} heires & successo^{rs} doe graunte vnto the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Company of m^{r}chauntꝭ of London tradinge into the East Indies and to their successo^{rs} That the said East Indies nor the Ilandꝭ Havens Portꝭ Citties Townes or places thereof, nor of any ꝑte thereof shall[4] be visited frequented or haunted by any of the subiectꝭ of vs o^{r} heires or successo^{rs} during the said terme of xv^{teene} yeares contrarie to the true meaneing of theis presentꝭ. And by vertue of o^{r} p^{r}rogatiue royall, wch we will not in that behalfe be argued or brought in question: We straight chardge comaund and ꝓhibitt for vs o^{r} heires & successo^{rs} all the subiectꝭ of vs o^{r} heires or successo^{rs} of what degree or qualitie soeu^{r} they be, that none of them directlie or indirectlie visitt haunte frequent or Trade, traffique or adventure by way of m^{r}chandize into or from any of the said East Indies, or into & from any of the Ilandꝭ, Portꝭ Havens, Citties Townes or places aforesaid other then the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Company of m^{r}chauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies, and such ꝑticuler ꝑsons as now be or heereafter shall be of that Companie their Agentꝭ ffacto^{rs} & assignes duringe the said terme of fyfteene yeares[5] vnles

A prohibicon to all other subjectes not free of this comp: for trading into those partes upon seuerall peines wthout the licence & assent of the Companie.

[1] By (*Parch. Rec.*). [2] Our (*Parch. Rec.*).

[3] From the said (*Parch. Rec.*).

[4] *Parch. Rec.* and *Purchas* read "shall not"; *Harl. MS.* agrees with the text.

[5] "This prohibition reacheth to all englishe men w^{o} do adventer thither amonge "the duche men yf there goodes should be brought into England that we might seaze "on it." (*Note in another hand in the margin of Harl. MS.*)

yt be by & wth such licence and agreement of the said Gou^rno^r & Companie of m^rchaunte of London tradinge to the East Indies in wryting first had & obtayned vnder their Comon seale to be graunted, vpon payne that euery such pson or psonns that shall trade or traffique into or from any of the said East Indies other then the Gou^rno^r & Company of m^rchaunte of London & their successo^rs shall incurr o^r indignacon and the forfecture & losse of the goodes m^rchaundizes & other thinge whatsoeu^r wch soe shall be brought into this o^r Realme of England or any the dominion[s] of the same contrarie to o^r said phibition, or the purporte or[1] true meaneing of theis presente as alsoe the shipp and shipps wth the furniture thereof wherein such goode m^rchaundizes or thinge shalbe brought: The halfe[2] of all the said forfectures to be to vs o^r heires and successo^rs, and the other halfe of all & eu^ry the said forfecture[s] we doe by theis presente of o^r espetiall grace certeine knowledge & meere mocon clearlie and whollie for vs o^r heires and successo^rs giue and graunte vnto the said Gou^rno^r and Companie of m^rchaunte of London trading into the East Indies. And further all & eu^ry the said Offendo^rs for their said Contempt to suffer imprisonment duringe o^r pleasure and such other ponishm^t as to vs o^r heires or successo^rs for soe high a Contempt shall seeme meete & convenient & not to be in any wyse deliu^red vntill they & eu^ry of them shalbe come bound vnto the said Gou^rno^r for the tyme being in the some of 1000^li att the least at noe tyme then after during this present graunte to sayle or traffique into any of the said East Indies contrarie to o^r expresse Comaundement in that behalfe herein sett downe & published. And further for the better encouragem^t of m^rchaunt[3] straungers & others to bringe in Comodities into this our Realme, we for vs o^r heires and successo^rs doe graunt vnto the said Gou^rno^r & Companie of m^rchaunte of London tradinge into the East Indies that they & their successo^rs shall from tyme to tyme for any Consideracon or benefitt to be taken to their owne vse graunt or giue

forfecture of goodes & shipps

Diuision of the forfectures.

Imprisonm^t.

entring into bond of 1000^li

How the Comp: may graunt lycence to others & what tymes.

[1] And (*Harl. MS.*).

[2] One halfe (*Parch. Rec.*).

[3] Merchauntes (*Harl. MS.*).

licence to any ꝑson or ꝑsons to sayle trade or traffique into or from any of the said East Indies soe as such licence be graunted or geuen before such goodꝭ wares & m^r^chaundizes be laid on land, & soe as such lycence be made by the said Gou^r^no^r^ & Company of m^r^chauntꝭ of London tradinge into the East Indies for the tyme beinge vnder their Comon seale. And further of o^r^ especiall grace certeyne knowledge, & meere mocõn, we haue Condescended and graunted, and by theis presentꝭ for[1] o^r^ heires and successo^rs^ wee doe condescend & graunt vnto the said Gou^r^no^r^ & Companie of m^r^chauntꝭ of London tradinge into the[2] East Indies and their successo^rs^ that we o^r^ heires & successo^rs^ during the said terme of xv^teene^ yeares will not graunte libertie licence or power to any ꝑson or ꝑsons whatsoeu^r^ contrary to the Teno^r^ of theis o^r^ ŀres Pattentꝭ to sayle passe trade or traffique to the said East Indies or into or from the Ilandꝭ portꝭ Havens Citties Townes or placꝭ aforesaid or any of them contrarie to the true meaneinge of theis presentꝭ w^th^out the Consent of the said Gou^r^no^r^ & Company of m^r^chauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies or the most ꝑte of them. And o^r^ will and pleasure is and hereby we doe alsoe ordeyne that that yt shall & may be lawfull to & for the said Gou^r^no^r^ & Company of m^r^chauntꝭ of London tradinge into the East Indies or the more ꝑte of them whereof the Gou^r^no^r^ for the tyme being or his deputie to be one to admitt into, & to be of the said Company all such apprentises to any of the said ffellowshipp or company and all such servauntꝭ & ffacto^rs^[3] of or for the said Company, & all such others as to them or the more ꝑte of them present at any Courte held for the said Company the Gou^r^no^r^ or his deputie being one shalbe thought ffitt and agreeable wth the orders and Ordenances to be made for the Gou^r^nm^t^ of the said Company PROUIDED alwaies that yf any of the ꝑsons before named and appointed by theis presentꝭ to be free of the said Companie of

That her ma^tie^ will not graunt lycence to any others to enter into the partes aforesaid during the terme of xv^teene^ yeares

That the Company may admitt others att their pleasures into this fredome

That yf any named in the pattent doe not bring in his promysed aduenture sett downe yt shall be lawfull for

[1] For Us (*Parch. Rec. and Purchas*).

[2] The said (*Harl. MS.*).

[3] "We may by generall consent admyt & make free our other servantes w^o^ were "not employed as ffactors; and all suche other persons as we thinck good." (*Marginal note on Harl. MS.*)

ye Companie to disfranchyse him.

mrchauntꝭ of London tradinge into the East Indies shall not before the goinge forth of the ffleete appointed for this first voyadge from the porte of London bringe in & deliur to the Thrēr or Thrērs appointed, or wch wthin the space of Twentie daies next after the date hereof shalbe appointed by the said gournor & Company or the more ꝑte of them, to receiue the Contribucõns and adventures sett downe by the seurall Aduenturors in this first[1] & present voyadge now in hand to be sett forth such somes of money as haue beene by any of the said ꝑsons by theis presentꝭ nominated to be of the said Company expressed sett downe & written in a booke appointed for that purpose, & left in the handꝭ of the said Thomas Smyth Gournor of the said Company or of the said Paule Bannynge Ald of London and subscribed wth the names or[2] of the same aduenturors vnder their handꝭ & agreed vpon to be aduentured in the said first voyadge that then yt shall be lawfull for the said Gournor and Companie or the more ꝑte of them, whereof the said Gournor or his deputie to be one at any their generall Courte, or generall assembly to remoue disfranchise & displace him or them att their wills and pleasures. And the said Gournor & Company of mrchauntꝭ of London tradinge into the East Indies for them and their successors doe by theis presentꝭ couenant ꝑmyse & graunte to & wth [3] or heires & successors that they the said Gournor & Company and their successors in all & euery such voyagꝭ as they att any tyme or tymes heareafter duringe the said tearme shall make out of this Realme by vertue of this or graunt and lres Pattentꝭ the first voyadge onelie excepted shall & will vpon euery retourne wch shall be made backe agayne into this or Realme or any of or dominions or wthin sixe monnethes next after euery such retourne bringe into this or Realme of England from the said East Indies or from some other partꝭ beyond the seas out of or Dominions, as greate or greater value in bullion of gould or syluer, or other forreyne Coyne of gould or silver respectiuelie for euery voyadge, the first voyadge

The Companie doe promyse to bring in after eury voyadge retourned wthin 6 monnethes as great a quantetie of silver gould or forraine Coyne as they shall carry out th first viadg excepted

[1] The other three texts read "last."

[2] Omitted in the other texts.

[3] The other texts add "Us."

onelie excepted as shall be by force of theis presentꝭ transported and carried out of this Realme by them or any of them in any kinde of sylver abouesaid whatsoeu^r in any of the said voyadgꝭ and that all such sylver as by vertue of this o^r graunte & ɫres Patentꝭ shall be shipped or laden by the said Gou^rno^r & Company or their successo^rs to be transported out of this Realme in any of the said voyagꝭ, shall from tyme to tyme at the settinge forth of eu^ry such ꝑticuler voyadge be shipped or laden att the Portꝭ or Havens of London Darmouth or Plymouth, or at some of the same portꝭ or havens, & at no other porte or haven whatsoeu^r wth in this o^r Realme or the dominions thereof and that all & eu^ry such syluer as from tyme to tyme shall be shipped & laden in the said Portꝭ of London Dartmouth or Plymouth, or any of them to be by force of theis presentꝭ transported out of this Realme as[2] aforesaid shall from tyme to tyme be dulie entered by the Customer Comptroller Collecto^r or other officer to whome yt shall apꝑteyne of eu^ry such Porte or Haven where the same shall happen to be shipped or laden in the Custome booke belonging to the said porte or Haven before such tyme as the same shall be shipped or laden to be transported as aforesaid wth out any Custome or subsydie to be paied for the same. And that in like manner all & all manner of gould & sylver whatsoeu^r wch shall be brought into this realme or any of o^r dominions by the said Gou^rno^r & Companie or any of them accordinge to the true meaneinge of theis presentꝭ shall be likewyse[3] from tyme to tyme dulie entered by the Customer Comptroller or other officer of eu^ry such Porte Creeke or place where the same gould or silver shall happen to be vnshipped or brought to land before such tyme as the same gould or silver, or any ꝑte thereof shall be vnshipped or brought to land as ys aforesaid. PROUIDED alwaies neu^rtheles & o^r will & pleasure is that theis o^r ɫres Patentꝭ or any thinge therein Conteyned shall not in any sorte extend to giue or

All sylver or gould[1] carried forth by the Comp: shalbe shipped att the portes of London Dartmouth or Plymouth.

This priuiledg shall not extend into any place being in the actuall possession of any prince in league or amytie wth her ma^tie:

[1] "We haue not any liberty granted to carry out any gold by name but only syluer." (*Marginal note on Harl. MS.*)

[2] The other texts add "is."

[3] The other texts transpose this and the preceding word.

graunte any lycence power or aucthoritie vnto the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Company of m^{r}chaunt℮ of London trading into the East Indies or to any of them to vndertake or addresse any trade vnto any Countrie Port, Iland, Haven, Cittie, Creeke Towne or place being alreadie in the lawfull & actuall possession of any such Christian Prince or state as at this present is or at any tyme heereafter shall be in league or amytie wth vs o^{r} heires or successo^{rs}, or wch doth not or will not accept of such trade but doth ouertlie declare and publishe the same to be vtterlie against his or their good will & likeing any thinge beinge[1] before in theis present℮ conteyned to the Contrarie thereof notwthstandinge.

If this priviledge be found vnproffitable for the Realme then wthin 2 yeares warning geven vnder ye privie seale the same shall be voyde, but yf it shalbe found beneficiall then ye same to be renewed wth some addicons &c:

PROUIDED alsoe that yf yt shall heereafter appeare to vs o^{r} heires or successo^{rs} that this graunte, or the Continuance thereof in the wholle or in any ꝑte thereof shall not be ꝑffitable to vs o^{r} o^{r} heires and successo^{rs} & to this o^{r} Realme that then and from from thenceforth vpon & after two yeares warneinge to be geven to the said Company by vs o^{r} heires or successo^{rs} vnder o^{r} or their priuie seale or signe Manuell, this present graunt shall cease, be voied, and determined to all entent℮ construccōns & purposes. And further of o^{r} espetiall grace certeine knowledg & meere mocōn we haue Condescended and graunted, and by theis present℮ for vs o^{r} heires and successo^{rs} doe Condescend & graunte to the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Company of m^{r}chaunt℮ of London trading into the East Indies & their successo^{rs} that yf att the end of the said tearme of fifteene yeares yt shall seeme meete & Convenient vnto the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Company or any the ꝑties aforesaid that this present graunte shall be continued. And yf that alsoe it shall appeare vnto vs o^{r} heires and successo^{rs} that the Continuance thereof shall not be preiudiciall or hurtfull to this o^{r} Realme but that we shall finde the further continuance thereof proffitable for vs o^{r} heires and successo^{rs} and for our Realme wth such Condicōns as are herein mencioned, or wth some alteracōn or qualificacōn thereof that then we o^{r} heires or successo^{rs} at the instaunce and humble peticōn of the said Gou^{r}no^{r} and Company or any of them

[1] Omitted in the other three texts.

to be made vnto vs o^r^ heires & successo^rs^ will graunte and make vnto the said Gou^r^no^r^ and Company or any of them soe suinge for the same and such other ꝑson or ꝑsons o^r^[1] subiect₍ as they shall nominate and appointe or shall be by vs o^r^ heires or successo^rs^ newly nominated not exceadinge in number fower & Twentie new ɫres Patent₍ vnder the greate seale of England in due forme of lawe wth like graunt₍ couenant₍[2] clauses & articles as in theis present₍ are conteyned or wth addicõn of other necessarie articles or changeinge of theis into some other part₍ for and duringe the full terme of ffyfteene yeares then next followinge Willinge hereby and streightlie chardgeinge and Comaundeinge all & singuler o^r^ Admiralls viceadmiralls Iustices Maiors Sheriff₍ Escheato^rs^ Cunstables bayliff₍ and all & singuler other o^r^ Officers ministers leidgmen and subiect₍ whatsoeu^r^ to be aydeinge favo^r^inge helpeing and assistinge vnto the said Gou^r^no^r^ and Company and to their successo^rs^ and to their deputies officers ffacto^rs^ servaunt₍ assignes & mynisters and eu^r^y of them in executeing and enioyeinge the premisses aswell on land as on Sea from tyme to tyme when you or any of you shall there vnto be required any statute, acte, ordenance provisoe proclamacõn or restrainte heretofore had made sett forth ordeyned or ꝓuided, or any other matter cause or thinge whatsoeu^r^ to the Contrarie in any wyse notw^th^standinge Although expresse mencõn of the true yearelie value or certeinetie of the premisses or of any of them, or of any other Guift₍ or graunt₍ by vs or any of o^r^ progenito^rs^ to the said Gou^r^no^r^ & Company of m^r^chaunt₍ of London tradinge into the East Indies, or to any of them before this tyme made in theis present₍ is not made Or any statute Acte ordenaunce ꝓvision ꝓclamacõn or restrainte to the Contrary hereof heretofore had, made, ordeyned or ꝓuided, or any other thinge cause or matter whatsoeu^r^ in any wyse notw^th^standinge.

IN WITNES whereof wee haue caused theis o^r^ ɫres to be made Patent₍ Witnes o^r^ selfe att Westminster the xxxi^th^ day of December in the three & forteth yeare of o^r^ Reigne

ꝑ ƀre de privato sigillo &c^a^
Huberd.

[1] Or (*Harl. MS.*). [2] The other texts transpose this and the preceding word.

An agreem^t [1] wth Wiłłm Cobreth for discou^ry of the Norwest Passadge wth C: [2] Waymouth.

THIS Indenture made the xx^th day of Aprill Anno Dni 1602. & in the 44th yeare of the Reigne of o^r sou^reigne Ladie Elizabeth by the grace of god Queene of England ffraunce & Ireland defendo^r of the faith &c: Betweene Thomas Cambell of London Alderman on thone ꝑtie & Wiłłm Cobreth of Ratliffe in the Countie of Midds̄ Mariner on thother ꝑtye. Witnesseth that whereas a c^rteine voyadge is p^rtended by godę grace, to be made from hence into the Norwest ꝑtę of China, Cataia, or Iapan or any other land in the latitude of 50 Degres Northward in the ꝑtę of [3] beyond the Seas. It is Couenanted, condescended, and now fullie agreed by and betweene the said ꝑties to theis presentę in manner and forme following that is to saie. The said Wiłłm Cobreth for him his Executo^rs and Administrato^rs & for euery of them doth Couenant and graunte to and wth the said Thomas Cambell his Executo^rs & Administrato^rs & eu^ry of them by theis p^rsentę. That he the said Wiłłm Cobreth shall and will be readie in the Cittie of London & goe on the said voyadge, & therein Contynue for the discou^ry of the said Norwest ꝑtę, from hence of China Cataia or Iapan or any other land in the latitude of 50 Degres Northward at the Comaundem^t will & appointm^t of Capt: George Waymouth in such a ship as the same Capten shall thinke good. And on the same voyadge shall proceede and saile effectuallie to thutmost of his skill or knowledg w^thout fraude or Coven, and not deꝑte or goe from the said voyadge w^thout the spetiall lycence of the said Capt: George Waymouth first had and obtayned in that behalfe. In Consideracōn whereof the said Wiłłm Cobreth hath receiued in hand at thensealeing & deliu^ry hereof the some of xx^li of &c: in ꝑte of paym^t of his wages for the said pretended voyadge, whereof he acknowleth himselfe fullie satisfied and contented. And the said Thomas Cambell for him his [executors] and Adminī & for eu^ry of them doth Couenante & graunte to & wth the said Wiłłm Cobreth his Executo^rs & Admī by theis p^rsentę That he the said

[1] See page 21.

[2] Captain.

[3] A word has been omitted here.

Thomas Cambell his Execū or Ass^s shall well and trulie paie or cause to be paid vnto the said Wiłłm Cobreth his Execū or Ass^s vpon the discou^r y of the said Norwest passadg or ꝑtę of China, Cataia, or Iapan, or any other land in the latitude of 50 Degres Northward and retourne from thence into the Realme of England the some of six poundę of &c, for eu^r y monneth that the said Wiłłm Cobreth shall be vꝑon the said voyadge (the said xx^li paid in hand as aforesaid being reconed as ꝑte & ꝑcell thereof[)]. Provided alwaies that yf the said Wiłłm Cobreth & his Comp. shall not fortune to discou^r the said Norwest ꝑtę of China, Cataia or Iapan or any other Land in the Latitude of 50 Degres Northward as aforesaid: Then the said Thomas Cambell his Execū or Assignes shall well & trulie paie or cause to be paid vnto the said Wiłłm Cobreth his Executo^rs or Assignes, onelie the some of iij^li of &c: for eu^r y monneth that the said Wiłłm Cobreth shall be vpon the said voyadge the said xx^li paid in hand as aforesaid being alwaies accompted as ꝑte & ꝑcell thereof. In Witnes &c:

A Coppie of a łre of Reprisall for the East Indian Marchauntę.[1]

CHARLES Earle of Notingham[2] Baron of Effingham knight of the most noble order of the Garter, Lord Leiuetenante of her ma^ties Counties of Sussex & Surrey Constable of hir ma^tę honor[3] and Castle of Windsor Ld: High Admirall of England Ireland and Wales and the Dominions & Iles of the same, Of the Towne of Callis & m^rches thereof Normandy Gascoyne and Guines & Capteine Gen^rall of her ma^ties Seas & Navy royall. To all Christian People to whome theis presentę shall come or other wyse apꝑteyne greeting in o^r Lord god eu^rlasting. Whereas o^r souereigne Lady

[1] See note on the subsequent document.

[2] Well known as the commander of the English fleet in its conflict with the Armada of 1588.

[3] Cp. *Stow*, speaking of Whitehall, "King Henry VIII. ordained it to be called an *honour*."

Elizabeth by the grace of god Queene of England ffraunce & Ireland defendor of the faith &c: beinge Crediblie adverticed that the kinge of Spaine hath of late made staye of the shipps goodꝭ & mrchandizes of hir maties: loueing subiectꝭ wthin the Realme of Spaine & Portingale & other places of his Dominions, & hath caused them their[1] being for the trade of mrchandizes to be reteyned & kept in prizon Contrary to the order of Lawe & Iustice. Upon the humble and pitifull sute of hir maties said subiectꝭ the mrchauntꝭ owners & others interessed in the said ships goodꝭ and ꝑsonns soe stayed made to hir matie for ƚres of Reprisalls to be graunted vnto them and that they not haueing any other meanes by order of Iustice to be yealded vnto them might by lycenced to stay apprehend and take the shipps goodꝭ & mrchandizes of the kinge of Spaine, or any his Subiectꝭ wheresoeur vpon the Seas to aunsweare and satisfie the losse and damadge by them susteyned by reason of their ships and goodꝭ soe taken and reteyned hath by her maties: ƚres Patentꝭ beareing date the ninth day of Iulie—1585. vnder her maties: seale willed and authorized me as hir matꝭ Admirall to graunt Comission for the apprehending and takeing the shipps goodꝭ & mrchandizes of the kinge of Spaine, or any his subiectꝭ to such hir mates loueing subiectꝭ soe dampnified & in such manner and forme and according to such articles & orders as by the lordꝭ & others of her matꝭ privie Councell or by any six of them should be agreed vpon & set downe vnder their handꝭ. And whereas tenn of the Lordꝭ & others of her maties: privy Councell haue agreed upon Certeine articles & orders in that behalfe & haue set downe the same in writeing vnder their handꝭ & haue deliuered the same to me for my direccõn herein wch arcles & orders be & remaine wth me of recorde. And whereas further the Gourنor and Assistantꝭ & Companie of the mrchauntꝭ of London trading for the East Indies, haue made proofe before me that certeine of their goodꝭ shipps & mrchandizes, were of late stayed arrested & deteyned in the ꝑtꝭ of Spaine by the kingꝭ order & authoritie there, & that the losse & damadge thereof vnto them by reason of the said stay & seasure ariseing doth amounte to the some of 2000li ster: or thearaboutꝭ wherevpon the said Gournor & Assistauntꝭ & Company of the mrchauntꝭ of London trading for

[1] There.

the East Indies aforesaid haue reedy victualled & furnished to the Seas one Shipp Called the Suzan[1] of London of the burthen of 250 Tonnes or thereaboutes whereof Iohn Havard goeth Capteine & Samuell Spencer m^{r} wth mariners & menn of Warr being victualled for monnethes & furnished wth Caste peeces & haue likewyse entred into bond in hir ma^{ties} high Courte of the Admiralty that neither the said shipp nor any the Company thereof shall not attempt against any hir ma^{ties} loueing subiectꝭ the subiectꝭ of the ffrentch kinge the kingꝭ of Scotland Denmarke or Sweden or any the Inhabitants of the United provinces of the Haunce Townes or lowe Countries or the subiectꝭ of any other Prince or potentate being in good league and amity wth her ma^{tie}, but onelie against the Subiectꝭ of the kinge of Spaine: And alsoe shall bring or cause to be brought all such shipps goodꝭ or m^{r}chandizes as they shall soe take & apprehend of the kinge of Spaine or any his subiectꝭ together wth three or fower of the Company of eu^{r}y such prize as shall be of most accompte whereof the m^{r} & Pilott to be twoe to some porte of this hir ma^{ties} Realme of England as shall be most Convenient for them, And shall not breake, bulke, waste, spoyle, sell or diminish any such shipps & goodꝭ soe taken vntill the shall be adiudged in hir ma^{ties} high Courte of the Admiraltie to be lawfull prize. And therevpon an Inventorie to be taken by the viceadmirall of the place or his Deputie & other publique Officers of the same, And appraisment made of the same goodꝭ by some six honest menn Inhabitantꝭ of the said Porte where they shall soe arriue, and that the same Inventory & appraism^{t} shall be retourned into hir ma^{ties} high Courte of the Admiraltie wthin six weekꝭ then next ensueing. Know ye therefore that I the said Charles Earle of Notingham Lord High Ad^{ll} aforesaid by vertue of her ma^{ties} said ƚres Pattentꝭ to me directed doe lycence and authorize the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Assistauntꝭ & Company of the m^{r}chauntꝭ of London trading for the East Indies to sett forth to the Seas the said shipp called the Suzan, soe as is aforesaid

[1] This commission is only for the one vessel, the *Susan.* But in the letter of instructions to the Judge of the Admiralty Court, which follows the present document, all the four ships are mentioned. It seems probable therefore that a separate commission was issued for each ship, of which this particular one was entered as a specimen.

furnished & munited and therewth to sett vpon and by force of Armes to staie & apprehend of the ships goodꝭ & m^{r}chandizes of the kinge of Spaine, or any his subiectꝭ in as ample manner as if it were in the tyme of open warr betwixt her ma^{tie}: & the said kinge of Spaine, & the said ships goodꝭ & m^{r}chandizes soe taken and brought into some porte of this hir ma^{ties} Realme of England, & thereof an Inventory taken, appraism^{t} made & iudgm^{t} geven in the said high Courte of the Adm^{tie}: in the said high Courte of the Admiralty for the Approbac̃on of the same to be agood & lawfull prize in manner & forme aforesaid. Then the said ships goodꝭ & m^{r}chandizes to keepe and reteyne in his or their possession & to make sale & dispose thereof in open m^{r}kett or howsoeu^{r} els to their best benefitt in as ample & beneficiall manner, as if the said ships goodꝭ & m^{r}chandizes had bene Come by, through the lawfull traffique & trade of m^{r}chauntꝭ or of iust prize in the tyme of open warr betwixt hir ma^{tie} & the said kinge of Spaine soe that neither the said Capteine master nor any the Company thereof that shall in his or their owne ꝑsonn serue in the shipp aforesaid, or otherwyse bear Chardge in the Adventure, or in any other sorte further or sett forewardꝭ the said enterprize in manner & forme aforesaid, shall not be reputed or challendged for any offendo^{r} against hir ma^{ties} lawes and that alsoe it shall be lawfull for any manner of ꝑson to buye the said ships goodꝭ & m^{r}chandizes soe as aforesaid taken prayzed Inventoryed & adiudged wthout any daunger losse hindraunce trouble molestac̃on or incumbraunce whatsoeu^{r} Provided alwaies that yf by Colo^{r} of this Comission there shall be taken any shipps goodꝭ or m^{r}chandizes of any hir ma^{ties}: loueing subiectꝭ the subiectꝭ of the ffrench kinge, the kingꝭ of Scotland Denmarke or Sweden or any the Inhabitantꝭ of the united prouinces of the hance Townes or lowe Countries or the subiectꝭ of any other Prince or Potentate being in good league & amity wth hir ma^{tie} & the same or any other shipps taken by authoritie hereof shalbe spoyled sould imbeaselled or dyminished before they shall be adiudged in her ma^{ties} high Courte of the Ad^{ty}: to belong to the king of Spaine, or any of his subiectꝭ that then this Comission to be void and of noe sufficient authoritie, either to take the said shipps & goodꝭ or to warrante

or saue harmlesse such as shall receiue, bye or intermeddle therein, but that alsoe both the prizes soe taken, & the shipps of warr shall be Confiscate to o^{r} vse. Prouided alsoe that the said shipps goodꝭ and m^{r}chandizes soe as is aforesaid, after an Inventory taken, appraism^{t} made & iudgment geven in manner and forme aforesaid shall be equallie devided into three ꝑtꝭ, whereof one ꝑte to goe to the m^{r}chauntꝭ & owners of the said shipp, another ꝑte to the victuallers & the third parte to the Captaine master mariners & souldiers thereof. Provided further that this Comission shall remaine and be in force during this their present voyadg, & noe longer In witnes whereof I haue herevnto caused the greate seale of myne office to be affixed: Yeven at London in hir ma^{ties} high Courte of the Ad^{ty} aforesaid the 23th day of Aprill. 1601. And in the 43th yeare of the Reigne of o^{r} sou^{r}eigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of god Queene of England ffraunce & Ireland defendo^{r} of the faith &c:

A łre from the Earle of Notingham to m^{r} Ceasar[1] Iudge of the high Courte of the Ad^{ty}:

Mr Ceasar the marchauntꝭ of London haueing prepared fower good shipps for the voyadg to the East Indies in the trade of m^{r}chandizes haue beene suto^{rs} vnto me[2] for Comission to take any shipps or goodꝭ belonging to the king of Spaine or to any of his subiectꝭ either in their way outwardꝭ, or in their retourne, wch I haue beene Contented to graunte vnto them. Therefore I doe pray you to cause Comission to be drawen for them, to furnish vnto the

[1] See note 2, page 25.

[2] Nothing can be traced in the Court Minutes as to this application. The only reference to the matter is under date of 22nd Jan., 1600/1, when, the question having been raised of the mariners' share "upon such reprisals as may happen in the "voyage," it was answered that there was "no intention to make any attempt for "reprisals, but only to pursue the voyage in a merchantlike course. Yet notwith-"standing if any opportunity be offered without prejudice or hazard of the said "voyage" Captain Lancaster was to take such course therein as he should think meet.

Seas in warlike manner for that purpose, the Read Dragon of London, whereof Iames Lancaster goeth Capteine, The Hecto^{r} the Assencōn & the Suzan of the same Porte vnder such articles & Caucōn as are prescribed by hir ma^{tie} for reprisalls, for wch yor soe doing this shall be yor warrante, ffrom the Courte at Whitehall the 14th of Ianuary 1600.

Yo^{r} loueing freind
Notingham

Lres Pattenteꝭ[1] for transportacōn of 20000^{li} in money to the Gou^{r}no^{r} of East India 1606.

IAMES by the grace of God kinge of England ffraunce and Ireland defendo^{r} of the faith &c: To all to whome theis presenteꝭ shall come greetinge. Wheareas o^{r} late deare sister Q: Elizabeth by her ƚres Patenteꝭ vnder the greate seale of England beareing date at Westminster the xxxjth day of Decemƀ in the xliijth yeare of her Reigne vpon peticōn made vnto her by diu^{r}s her loueing Subiecteꝭ, for her Royall assent and lycence to be graunted vnto them. That they at their owne Adventure Costeꝭ and Chardgeꝭ aswell for the Honor of this Realme of England, as for increase of Navigacōn & Advancem^{t} of Trade of m^{r}chandize wthin the same, might Adventure and set forth c^{r}teine voyadgeꝭ wth a Convenient nomber of shipps and Pinnaces by way of Traffique & m^{r}chandize into the East Indies in the Countries and Porteꝭ of Asia & Africa did incorporate the said Peticioners into abodie pollitique by the name of the Gou^{r}no^{r} and Companie of the m^{r}chaunteꝭ of London trading to the East Indies. To haue hould and enioye the sole benefitt of the trade and traffique of the said East Indies for the space of xv yeares from the byrth of o^{r} Lord God then last past before the date of the said ƚres Patenteꝭ. And

[1] There is no entry of this document in the *Calendar of State Papers, E. Indies*, 1513-1616, and it would seem that the copy here printed is the only one extant. The origin and scope of the Patent are clearly explained in the document itself.

whereas by the same ł̃res Patentę lycence was graunted to the said Gou^{r}no^{r} and Companie of m^{r}chauntę of London tradinge into the East Indies to transporte out of this Realme into the said Indies in eu^{r}y of their voyadgę duringe the said terme of 15 yeares all such fforreigne Coyne of silver, spanish or other fforraine sylver, or bullion of sylver, as they should duringe the said tearme bringe or cause to be brought into this Realme of England, from the ꝑtę beyond the Seas, either in the same kinde, stampe, sorte or fashion, wch yt should haue when they brought it in, or in any other forme, stampe, or fashion coyned in the Mynte wthin the Tower of London; soe as the whole quantities of Coyne or moneys by them to be transported in any their said voyagę during the said tearme should not exceed the value of 30000^{li} in any one voyadge, and soe as the some of vj^{m} poundes at the least ꝑcell of the said some or value of 30000^{li} to be transported as aforesaid should be first Coyned wthin the same Tower of London, before the same might be transported in any of the said voyadgę as by the said ł̃res Patentę more at lardge appeareth.

Now forasmuch as the said Gou^{r}no^{r} and Companie of the said m^{r}chantę since the said ł̃res Patentę to them graunted, haue made 2 seu^{r}all voyadgę into the said East Indies, & retourned their ships from thence laden wth sundrie kindę of m^{r}chandizes ꝓffitable for o^{r} kingdomes, and haue alsoe prepared & are readie to set forth an other voyadge into the said East Indies, & haue humblie besought by petic̃on, & shewed vnto vs, that by experience they haue form^{r}lie found that they could not wthout greate difficultie, & losse vnto them in the value of their moneys new coyned, make trade for their m^{r}chandize into the said East Indies, because they were not such as the people of those ꝑtę were acquainted wthall: but stamped wth an Image or suꝑscripc̃on straunge & vnknowne vnto them.[1] And that they haue beene and are desierous by all good meanes to manadge, & carrie their said trade as neare as they Cann for the benefitt of o^{r} kingdomes and dominions rather by the transportac̃on of the Natiue Comodities of the same and by bartringe & exchaunge of them for fforreine Comodities wch now they purpose more

[1] See note, page 13.

lardglie to attempt and haue good hope to accomplish, then by vsing the whole libertie graunted to them by the said ŀres Patentę for carrieing out of the full some of 30000^{li} in eu^{r}y voyadge in manner aforesaid. And that they will content them selues in this their now third entended voyadge into the East Indies, wth the libtie of transportinge xx^{mli} onelie in forreine Coynes wthout transportacon of any other Coyne, bullion, or silver. In reguard whereof they did humblie pray in their said peticon that we would be graciouslie pleased to graunte them lycence that they may transporte the value of xx^{mli} of forreine Coyne in this their entended voyadge, wthout new coyninge the same or any ꝑte thereof. Know yee therefore that we favoringe the said m^{r}chantę, & being desierous to giue them all furtherance & encouradgm^{t} to proceede & goe forward in their trade of o^{r} especiall grace, certeine knowledge and meere mocon, haue geven and graunted, and by theis presentę for vs, o^{r} heires & Successo^{rs} doe giue and graunte lycence vnto the said Gou^{r}no^{r} and Companie of m^{r}chauntę of London tradinge into the East Indies. That it shall and may be lawfull for them their facto^{rs} & Assignes in his[1] now p^{r}tended voyadge into the East Indies to transporte out of this o^{r} Realme of England all such forreine Coine or sylver, either spannish or other forreine silver, as they haue prepared, ꝑcured, or gotten, or shall prepare ꝑcure or gett being alredie brought or to be brought from the partę beyond the seas, before the deꝑture of their shipps out of the Ryver of Thames. Soe as the whole quantitie of the Coyne and moneys by them to be transported in this their p^{r}sent intended voyadge towardę the said East Indies, doe not exceed the said value of 20000^{li}. The same to be transported in the same kinde, sorte, stampe, or fashion, as the said moneys, are or shall be ꝑcured, gotten, or brought into this Realme of England, and that wthout any new coyninge or altringe the said moneys or any ꝑte thereof, from the stampe it beareth, any statute restrainte or ꝑhibicon in that behalfe made to the Contrarie in any wyse notwthstandinge. In Witnes whereof we haue caused theis o^{r} ŀres to be made Patentę. Witnes o^{r} selfe at Westminster the vth day of Ianuarie

[1] Should evidently be "this."

in the 4th yeare of o^{r} Reigne of England ffraunce & Ireland, & of Scotland the xlth.[1]

Ravencroft

ꝑ b̄re de priuato sigillo &c:

A COPPIE[2] of the Patent for mitigacõn of the Statute for garbling spices.

IAMES by the grace of God king of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland defendo^{r} of the faith &c: To o^{r} high Treasurer, and Admirall of England, and to all other o^{r} Admiralls Viceadmiralls Captaines and others seruinge vpon the Sea. And to all Maiors Sheriffꝭ Constables Customers Comptrollers Surveyo^{r} Searchers, Keeꝑs of o^{r} Portꝭ, Creekꝭ and Passadgꝭ and to all others o^{r} Officers Ministers, and subiectꝭ whatsoeu^{r} to whome in that behalfe it shall or may apꝑteyne and to eu^{r}y of them greetinge. Wheareas in the first Session of o^{r} Parliament holden at Westminster, in the first yeare of o^{r} Reigne of England ffraunce and Ireland and of Scotland the seaven and thirteth one Acte[3] was made intituled an Acte for the well garbling of Spices wheareby it was ordeyned & enacted that from and after the last day of September then next ensueing the end of that Session of Parliam^{te}, All spices wares druggꝭ and other m^{r}chandizes garbleable, that is to say Pepꝑ, Cloues, Mace, Nutmeggꝭ, Cynamon, Ginger Long Pepper, Wormeseedꝭ[4], Comynseedꝭ, Annyseedꝭ, Colyanderseedꝭ, Bynny pepꝑ Almondꝭ

[1] 5th Jan., 1606/7.

[2] The original grant is preserved among the India Office "Parchment Records" (No. 3); it is, however, in so damaged a condition that it has not been found practicable to collate it with the present document. A Minute of the License is in the Public Record Office (*Grant Bk., Jac. I.*, p. 28). For the petition which led to its issue, see page 205.

[3] 1° Jac. I., c. 19.

[4] Semen Contra, Semen Cinæ, Semen Sanctum, Santonin, the seeds of *Artemisia maritima* (*Afsantin*-[*ἀψίνθιον*]-*ul-bahar*), *A. valhiana*, *A. judiaca* and other species of *Artemisia*. It would seem (see note 2 on next page) that wormseed was at this time occasionally included under the term "Zedoary."

Dat℮ Galles Gumes of all sort℮ and kind℮ garbleable Spikenard Galingath[1] Turmericke, Setweth[2] Cassia fistula Gynny Pepꝑ

[1] Galangal (*Kulanjan*), the tuberous root of *Alpinia Galanga* and other species of *Alpinia* (see note 2).

[2] Obviously the copyist's corruption of *Setwall*, the "cetewale" and "setewale" of Chaucer and "setuale" of Spenser, corruptions of the Low Latin *zedoaria*, a corruption of the Arabo-Persian *djedwar*, a denomination which in the mediæval commerce of Europe with India originally included Zedoaria rotunda, the tuber of *Curcuma Zedoaria*, Zedoaria longa, the tuber of *Curcuma Zerumbet*, Zedoaria flava, or Cassumanar, the tuber of *Zingiber Cassumanar*, and Zerumbet, the tuber of *Zingiber Zerumbet*, the last trade denomination being a corruption of the Arabo-Persian *zurumbad*. Chaucer and Spenser, however, by Setwall probably meant either the "Common Valerian" (*Valeriana officinalis*) or "Spanish Valerian" (*V. pyrenaica*); and our English botanists of the seventeenth century also included under the term the drug Spikenard, the *sumbul* or *jatamansi* of the bazaars of India, the fleshy rhizome of the "Himalayan Valerian" (*Nardostachys Jatamansi*), the *νάρδος πιστικος* of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. John, where the qualifying adjective (meaning in Greek "faithful," "genuine") obviously came to be attached to the substantive *νάρδος* (the Persian *nard* from the Sanskrit *nar*, "a perfume") from its phonetic resemblance to the Sanskrit *pisita*, "fleshy." As, however, "Spikenard" is separately denominated in the previous line of the present list of drugs, while "Setweth" is named after "Galingath" and "Turmericke," it is clear that in the early trade of the Company, Setwall still continued to stand for one or more of the varieties of Zedoary above enumerated.

"A chambir had he in that hostillerye
Alone, withouten eny compaignye,
Ful fetisly i-dight with herbes soote,
And he himself as swete as is the roote
Of lokorys, or eny cetewale."

Chaucer: *Milleres Tale*.

"Ther was eke wexing many a spice,
As clowe-gelofre, and lycorice,
Gyngevre, and greyn de Parys,
Canelle, and setewale of prys."

Chaucer: *Romaunt of the Rose*.

"Embathed Balme and chearfull Galingale
. . . . .
Dull Poppy and drink quenching Setuale."

Spenser: *Muiopotmos*.

"Went forth when May was in her prime (O: S:)
To get sweet Setywale."

Drayton: *Pastorals*, Ec: IV.

See also John Gerarde's *Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes* (London, 1633); and the *Nomenclator* of Adrianus Junius (London, 1585), in which the entry regarding Zedoary is:—"Zadura *vulgo* Zedoaria. Cretonart. Zedoarie, or [as some say]

Senie[1] Barbaries[2] Rise[3] Erius[4] Stavisaker[5], Calamus ffemyquicke[6] Cassia Lignum Graines[7] Carrowaie seedꝭ and all other spices druggꝭ wares and other m^{r}chandizes that had beene vsuallie garbled, or ought to be garbled clensed seuered sorted or deuided in the Cittie of London and the lib̄ties thereof, should for the ffees vsuallie allowed in that behalfe be sufficientlie clensed seuered garbled and deuided, and afterwardꝭ setled[8] by the Garbler therevnto appointed for the tyme being, or by his sufficient Deputie or Deputies servant or servantꝭ before that the same or any ꝑte thereof should be sould vpon payne of fforfecture of all and eu^{r}y such spices druggꝭ wares or other m^{r}chaundizes, or the value thereof wch should be sould as by the said Acte more at lardge apꝑeth. And whereas the true intent and meaneing of the said Acte was that none of the said spices druggꝭ wares and m^{r}chandizes brought into this Realme should be vttered or sould to the end to be vsed in meatꝭ drinkꝭ, or other needfull occasions amongst o^{r} subiectꝭ wthin this Realme before such tyme as the same were sufficientlie clensed seuered garbled and deuided as is

wormseede." In Florio's *Worlde of Wordes* (London, 1598), it is:—"Zedoaria, the herbe Zederie, or wormeseede;" and in Skinner's *Etymologicon* (London, 1671): —"Setwall, Valeriana sic dicta vel quod seratur circa Muros, vel quod Muros sponte sua obsideat." The term "Cretonart" in the above quotation from the *Nomenclator* of Adrianus Junius I find again only in Vansleb's *Present State of Egypt* (London, 1678), where it follows Ginger, in the list of druggists' roots exported from Egypt in the seventeenth century.

[1] Senna, the leaves of *Cassia elongata, C. Senna,* and other species of *Cassia:* or possibly Radix Chinæ, the root of *Smilax China,* enumerated by Vansleb under the name of "Sine," in French "Squine," among the exports from Egypt in the seventeenth century.

[2] "Barbaries" may here stand for Aleppo Senna (*Cassia obovata*), as in the case of Barbary Wormseed; but most probably the drug indicated is the extract (*rusut*) of the wood of *Berberis Lycium* and other species of Barberry.

[3] Rice.

[4] Perhaps *erindi,* the seeds of *Ricinus communis,* the Common Castor Oil plant.

[5] The seeds (*hub-ul-jabhul*) of *Delphinium Staphisagria,* Stavesacre.

[6] Fennugreek, the seeds of *Trigonella Foenum Græcum.*

[7] Grains of Paradise ("greyn de Parys" in the extract from the *Romaunt of the Rose* quoted above), called also "Attare" and "Malaguetta Pepper," the seeds of *Amomum Grana Paradisi, A. grandiflorum, A. xanthioides,* and other species of *Amomum;* and Cardamoms, the seeds of *Alpinia,* now *Elettaria Cardamomum,* are sometimes included under the term.

[8] "Sealed" in the Act, which is evidently the proper reading.

aforesai[d] And the true meaneing of the same Acte did not in any wyse extend to the clensing seuring garbling and deuiding of any such of the said spices druggꝭ wares and mrchandizes, as should be transported out of this Realme in such sorte as they were brought into the same And wheareas yt is found that by some generall wordꝭ that passed in the said Acte, no wares marchandizes or Comodities that are garbleable being brought into this Realme can be sould betweene mrchaunt and mrchaunte vngarbled to the intent to transporte the same into the ꝑtꝭ beyond the seas but the seller therof by the strict łre of the said statute shall thereby be in danger to forfect all the said spices druggꝭ wares and marchandizes wch he shall soe sell vngarbled. And wheareas or loueing subiectꝭ the Gournor and Companie of mrchauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies, haue crediblie informed vs that they haueing latelie brought from the said East Indies into this or Realme a greate quantitie of spice and other wares and comodities garbleable more then can be vttered and spent wthin this Realme in many yeares, & haue been therefore humble suiters to vs to haue or lycense to sell some of the same spices in grosse to other mrchauntꝭ to be transported in grosse into diurs placꝭ beyond the seas wch by reason of the said Statute they make doubt to doo wthout or spetiall lycense in that behalfe, wch favor if we graunte them not, and that verie speedelie other mrchantꝭ of other nac̃ons will happilie prevent them in serueing those places wth such like spices & soe theirs shall lye vpon their handꝭ to their greate losse and damadge. Know ye therefore that we gratiouslie tendring the welfare and Comoditie of or said loueing subiectꝭ the Gournor and Company of mrchantꝭ of London trading into the East Indies. And to the end they may be the better enabled to maineteyne and Continue their trade and traffique in the said East Indies of or espetiall grace crteine knowledg and mere motion haue geuen and graunted & by theis presentꝭ for vs or heires and Successors doe giue and graunt full and free liƀtie licence power & authoritie vnto the said Gournor & Company of mrchauntꝭ of London tradinge into the East Indies and to their Successors that it shall & may be lawfull to & for them & eury of them hereafter to vtter sell and put to sale any of the said spices druggꝭ wares and mrchandizes by them

or any of them alreadie brought from any ꝑtꝭ of the said East Indies into this Realme or any ꝑte thereof in whole packes sackes or Caskꝭ vnbroken vngarbled & not clensed seu^{r}ed sorted or deuided to any m^{r}chant or m^{r}chauntꝭ aswell o^{r} naturall borne subiectꝭ as Aliens Benicens[1] or Straungers that shall wthin the space of 3 monnethes next after the date thereof transporte the same in whole packꝭ sackꝭ or Caskꝭ vnbroken as aforesaid into any the ꝑtꝭ beyond the Seas wthout any damadge losse forfecture and penaltie against the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Company of m^{r}chauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies, or against any of them by vs o^{r} heires or successo^{rs}, or to o^{r} or their vse and behoofe to be had lost forfected or incurred or wthout any manner let interrupc͞on or disturbance of any other ꝑson or ꝑsons whatsoeu^{r} The said statute or any other thinge to the Contrarie thereof in any wise notwthstanding. And we doe further for vs o^{r} heires and Successo^{rs} of o^{r} like especiall grace certeine knowledge and mere moc͞on giue and graunte full free and lawfull power & authoritie vnto all and eu^{r}y m^{r}chant and m^{r}chantꝭ whatsoeu^{r} aswell o^{r} naturall borne subiectꝭ as Aliens Denizens & straungers that they and eu^{r}y or any of them shall and lawfullie may bargaine for buy receiue and take of the said Gou^{r}no^{r} and Company of marchauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies and their Successo^{rs} for the tyme being, or of any of them, any of the said spices druggꝭ wares and m^{r}chandizes in whole sackꝭ packꝭ or Caskꝭ not broken as aforesaid vngarbled and not clensed seu^{r}ed sorted or deuided & the same spices Druggꝭ wares & m^{r}chandizes soe ƀgayned for, bought receiued & taken & eu^{r}y ꝑte and ꝑcell thereof in such and the same sorte as the same shall be bought in whole packꝭ whole sackꝭ or in Caske not broken up wthin this o^{r} Realme of England or any ꝑte thereof after the same shall be soe sould by the said Gou^{r}no^{r} and Companie of m^{r}chauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies as is aforesaid shall and may lawfullie and freelie wthin the space of three monnethes next followinge after the said date thereof transporte carrie or Convey out of any porte haven Creeke or other place of

[1] An error for "Denizens."

lading or vnlading wthin o^{r} Realme of England into any the partꝭ beyond the seas and theare at their free wills liberties and pleasures vtter sell distribute and dispose the same to their or any of their most proffitt Comoditie and aduantage wthout any damadge losse forfecture or penaltie against them or any of them by vs o^{r} heires or Successo^{rs} or to o^{r} or their vse and behoofe to be had lost forfected or incurred and wthout any manner lett interrupcõn or disturbance of any other ꝑson or ꝑsons whatsoeu^{r}, The said statute or any other thinge to the Contrarie thereof in any wise notwthstandinge Paying vnto vs o^{r} heires and Successo^{rs} from time to tyme all and eu^{r}y such Customes subsidies, somes of money, and other duties as are or ought to be aunsweared and paid vnto vs o^{r} heires and successo^{rs} for or by reason of the transportacõn of any of the said spices druggꝭ wares and m^{r}chandizes so to be transported as aforesaid.

Provided alwaies neu^{r}thelesse that if there shall not be from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter sufficient quantitie or store of the said spices druggꝭ wares and Merchandizes to be garbled clensed seuered sorted and deuided left and being wthin this o^{r} Realme of England & to be vsed spent and occupied by o^{r} loueing subiectꝭ wthin the same Realme in their meatꝭ drinkꝭ and other needfull occasions, and the sane to be sould vttered and put to sale to any of o^{r} said loueinge subiectꝭ at reasonable and indifferent prices That then and from thence forth aswell the said Gou^{r}no^{r} and Companie of m^{r}chantꝭ of London tradinge into the East Indies shall cease and forbeare to sell and vtter any of the said spices druggꝭ wares and m^{r}chandizes vngarbled as is aforesaid as alsoe the said m^{r}chantꝭ and others shall cease and forbeare to buy receiue and take the same vngarbled any thing before in theis presentꝭ to the Contrarie in any wyse notwth-standinge.

Although expresse mencõn of the cleire yearelie value, or c^{r}teynetie of the premisses or of any of them or of any other guiftꝭ or grauntꝭ by vs or any of o^{r} progenitors to the said Gou^{r}no^{r} and Company of m^{r}chantꝭ heretofore made in those[1] presentꝭ is not made, or any statute Acte Ordinance ꝑvision proclamacõn or restrainte to the contrarie thereof made ordeyned

[1] These?

or prouided or any other thing cause or matter whatsoeu^r to the contrarie notw^th standing. In witnes whereof we haue caused theis o^r ℓres to be made Patentℓ. Witnes o^r selfe at Westminster the ix^th day of August in the fourth yeare of o^r reigne of England ffraunce & Ireland & of Scotland the xl^th.[1]

ꝑ ℓre de priuato sigillo. Tho: Ravenscrofte.

1606

To the kingℓ most excellent ma^tie:

The humble peticōn[2] of yor ma^tℓ faithfull Subiectℓ the m^rchantℓ of London trading [into] the East Indies.

MAY it please yor sacred ma^tie: to be informed that in the first year of yor most happie reigne there passed an Acte against vttering of c^rteine spicℓ vngarbled vsed in meatℓ drinkℓ and other needfull occasions amongest yor ma^tℓ Subiectℓ whereby greate deceite hurte & damadge happened to such as bought and vsed the same: ffor remedie whereof, the said Acte was purposely made & not for garbling such spicℓ as should be transported out of yor Realmes But by some generall worde in the said Acte it is comprized contrarie to the true meaneing thereof that noe comodities brought into this Realme garbleable cann be sould betweene m^rchaunt and m^rchaunt vngarbled to thintent the same may be transported into fforreine ꝑtℓ, but the seller thereof, by the strict ℓre of the said statute is in danger to forfect all the said spicℓ he shall soe sell vngarbled. Now soe it is most Excellent ma^tie:

Humblie praying that yor ma^tie wilbe pleased to grant them a *non obstante* vpon the statute for garbling made in the first yeare of yor highnes Reigne for such spices & other m^rchandize vngarbled as shall be transported out of the Realme according to their chart^r w^thout danger of lawe: And for yor ma^tes better satisfaccon & informacon y^t this their request is iuste and reasonable, & according to thintent of ye said statute they humblie desier that the consideracon thereof may be by yor highnes referred to the Lo:

[1] 1606.

[2] The loss of the second volume of Court Minutes prevents us from tracing the events that led up to this petition; but the reasons for it are explained very clearly in the document itself, and the result of the application is shewn by the preceding entry, which is that of the letters patent issued in compliance with the Company's prayer.

cheefe iustice of England, & the Lord cheef iustice of the comon plees, or such other learned in the lawe as yor matie shall thinke fitt.

That yor mrchantꝭ of London trading [into] the East Indies, haueing latelie brought from thence into this kingdome a greate quantitie of spices more then this land can vtter in manie yeares, or the Garblers can garble in any due tyme fitt for the sale thereof: They are desirous to sell some ꝑte thereof vngarbled to be transported beyond the Seas as by Charter they are allowed: But by reason of the said statute they make doubt to doe the same, for avoieding of danger By meanes whereof the shall be much inabled[1] to furnish the like voyadge againe in any convenient tyme the wch will proue hurtfull vnto yor matie in yor Customes and to yor people, & a greate discouradgmt to yor mrchauntꝭ to proceed in the same Trade, whoe in verie truth, hartelie doe desier aboundantlie to supplie the wantꝭ of the land wth the best of their spices, at reasonable ratꝭ & not to haue any of the same spent wthin yor Realme, but what shall be garbled according to the said statute: But those onelie to be exempt that by way of mrchandize shalbe sent beyond the Seas. May it therefore please yor sacred matie: That for yor highnes better informacõn what was the true intent of the said statute, to referr the Consideracõn thereof to the Lo: cheefe iustice of England & the Lo: cheefe iustice of the comon plees & such other learned in the Law as yor matie: shall thinke fitt. And if they vpon due examinacõn thereof shall soe hold it reasonable. That yor matie would then be pleased to graunte vnto yor Peticioners a *non obstante* vpon the said statute for selling of spices & other mrchandize vngarbled, soe as the spices be transported, & not retailed or spent wthin the Realme. And as most bound we pray God giue yor matie: a long & most happie reigne ovr vs.

A reference from his matie:

The kꝭ matie is pleased that the Lo: Threr & Earle of Salisburie shall vpon conference wth the twoe LL cheefe Iustices consider whether this desier of the mrchantꝭ be against [the] true intent of the statute, or noe: & whether it be wthout priudice to

[1] The sense seems to require "disabled."

the Realme that such a *non obstante* vpon the said statute be graunted & if they finde it reasonable to be done that they giue order to his ma^{t}ꝭ Atturney to drawe such a booke as shall be requisite

Tho: Lake.

1606.[1]

To the right Ho: the Lordꝭ of his ma^{ties} most
Ho: privie Councell.

The Peticõn of the Comp: of m^{r}chantꝭ trading into the
East Indies humblie shewing.

THAT wheares by o^{r} Charter we are lycensced to carrie for the said Indies eu^{r}y voyadge to the some of 30000^{li} of all such fforreine Coines as we shall bring into this kingdome soe as 6000^{li} theareof be heare first Coyned: Now soe it is right Ho: that the Companie haueing made twoe voyadgꝭ wth retournes verie comodious to his ma^{tie} in his Customes and his Realmes, & haue alsoe now alredie sent forth a 3 voyadg & are in a redines to sett forth a 4th voyadge, aswell for those placꝭ where they haue form^{r}lie beene as for discou^{r}y of furder trade in those ꝑtꝭ, & are desirous to manadge & carrie their trade as neare as they can rather by the transportacõn of o^{r} Natiue Comoditie[s] then by vsing the benefitt granted them for transportacõn of fforreine coine as aforesaid: But thingꝭ soe stand that as yett noe trade cann be theare driuen wthout some moneys, & espetiallie such fforreine coines as they are acquainted wthall. In consideracõn whereof & forasmuch as in o^{r} c^{r}teine knowledge diu^{r}s of o^{r} Company haue latelie brought into this Realmes greate somes of fforreine Coines farr exceeding that w^{ch}

[1] This date is evidently wrong, even if it is to be read 1606/7. The ships of the *Third Voyage* did not sail till March, 1606/7, and preparations for the *Fourth* were not commenced until the following May. Taken in connection with the related documents, it seems more likely that the present petition should be assigned, at the earliest, to the autumn of 1607.

we now requier: We humblie beseech that by yor ho: good favo^{rs} his ma^{tie} may be moued to vouchsaffe vs his highnes graunte for transportacõn in theis o^{r} shipps for theast Indies the some of 15000^{li} onelie in forreine coines, wthout new coyning any ꝑte thereof: & the rather in reguard y^{t} forasmuch as we haue form^{r}lie had in the first voyadge, much difficultie and losse in such moneys as weare heare coyned by reason those people ar altogether vnacquainted wth the stamp of this kingdome, besideꝭ the stay of o^{r} shipps now for coyning thereof wilbe to thutter ou^{r}throw of the voyadge. And we as most bound beseech god to geue yor Lo^{ps}: all health and happines.

To the right Ho: the Lordꝭ of his ma^{ties}: most Ho: priuie councell.

The Peticõn of the Company of m^{r}chauntꝭ trading into the East Indies humblie shewinge.

THAT whearas of late vpon o^{r} humble Peticõn it pleased yor lops: for the reasons therein mencioned to conceiue it fitt we should be ꝑmitted to transporte 15000^{li} in fforreine Coines of those 30000^{li} graunted vs by o^{r} Charter, & that wthout new coyning any ꝑte thereof. The wch some of 15000^{li} vpon better advice & Consideracõn of o^{r} intencõn furder to discou^{r} & enlardge that trade, we vnderstand will not be be sufficient (notwthstanding the comodities we now carrie of dyvers sortꝭ) to manadge the same wth good order, & for retournes in this present voyadge. We therefore humblie pray that by yor honorable good favo^{rs} his ma^{tie} may be now moued to vouchsaffe vs his highnes graunte for transportacõn in theis o^{r} ships for the East Indies the some of 20000^{li} in forreine Coines in place of the said 15000^{li} wthout new coyning any ꝑte thereof. And as most bound we pray god giue you all health & happines.

WHEAREAS[1] we haue hired diurs saylors to goe in or voyadg now intended for the East Indies who haue not onelie subscribed to or Bookꝭ, to ꝑforme the same but alsoe haue receiued wagꝭ of vs & some ymprest moneys, and yet we may doubt (as in formr tyme hath beene vsed) that aswell before the shipps were readie to deꝑte, as at their deꝑture some of such a nomber may be missing not onelie wth or losse, but alsoe tending to the ourthrowe of the wholle voyadge: ffor prevencõn thereof we humblie pray that a warrant may be graunted, or some convenient meanes vsed for apprhencõn & ponishmte of such as are or shall goe away or deꝑte & absent them selues from their placꝭ and service in this present voyadg after they shall be hired and agreed wthall.

ffor apprhencon of such saylers as shall goe away.

To the Lord High Admirall of England

WHEAREAS we are informed that there now is a presse for men to be sent downe to Chatham & we are in doubt that thereby or men appointed for bringing in one of or shipps into the docke at Debtford may be pressed thither, the wch will proue an exceeding hindrance vnto the voyadge wch we are now in hand to prepare for theast Indies. We humblie pray that yor Lop: wilbe pleased to graunte yor warrant that or men may not be taken from vs in this tyme of necessitie: & soe much the rather as the omitting of this oportunitie of bringing the said shipp now into the Docke may be the ourthrow of or said intended voyadge.

A peticon not to presse men from or shipps.

[1] No date or superscription is given, but from the almost literal agreement of the wording with the resolution recorded in the Court Minutes of 23rd Jan. 1606/7 (see page 110, note), it seems probable that the present document is a copy of the application that was then ordered to be made to the Judge of the Admiralty, or, if necessary, to the Lord High Admiral.

To the kinge most excellent ma^tie:[1]

THAT wheareas now after a longe & chardgable voyadge such retournes as we made from thence is for the most pte pepp, & in such quantitie as we shall not be able to vent the same neither at home nor abroade, but wth intollerable losse, and discouradgm^t to follow that trade any furder vnlesse Restraint be made that noe pepp be brought hither from any the pte beyond the Seas till we shall be able to haue made sale of o^rs, and soe much the rather for that how willing soeu^r we shalbe to afford the same at any lowe rate, yet the Netherlanders studious how to wearie vs out of that trade by prevencõns in o^r sales & retournes both in theast Indies and heare at home, will soe watch their times as they will much hurte vs either by affording to o^r People bad pepp better Cheepe, to beate downe the prize of o^r better pepp wth the hurte of the comons of this land whoe buie the same for their owne spendinge, or by some other deuice, as by experience we daylie finde. Now forasmuch as we will be eu^r readie to afford o^r best pepp at such rate as shall be reasonable not exceeding ij^s a pounde we most humblie beseech yor sacred ma^tie: of yor gratious clemencie in consideracõn hereof, to vouchsaffe vs yor most Princelie warrant for restrayning aswell yor ma^te subiecte, as any other to bring any pepp into any yor ma^te dominions from any forreine pte for the space of   yeares next ensueing vnles it be by vs from theast Indies. And we as most bound beseech thalmightie God to giue yor ma^tie : a longe and happie reigne ou^r vs.

for restraint of bringing in of pepper

[1] The date of this petition may be fixed as some time in November, 1609. There are several references in the Court Minutes to the negotiations on the subject, which resulted in the issue, on the 30th November of that year, of a Royal Proclamation inhibiting the importation of pepper from foreign parts by any other persons than those of the East India Company, and limiting the price at which they should sell it to two shillings and sixpence per pound. [*See Cal. S. P., East Indies*, 1513-1616, pages 196-199, and *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton* (Hakluyt Society, 1855), Appendix, page 43, where the proclamation is printed at length.] It appears that the Company had offered to pay a tax of sixpence per pound on all pepper sold under this monopoly, and this no doubt had a great influence in obtaining for them the desired favour.

To the right ho: the lordę of his matę most
hono: priuie Councell.

The peticõn of the Company of East India mrchantę humblie
shewing vnto yor Lops:[1]

THAT wheareas we haue alredie wth or greate chardge & Adventure setled a trade in the East Indies verie pffitable for this comon wealth & for furder enlardgmt thereof, are even now prepareing of shipps & other puicõns wth good hope that the same will proue dailie more & more Comodious aswell for ventinge of or natiue Comodities, as for retournes of thingę verie needfull for this or land at reasonable ratę.

That none but ye Company may trade to theast Indies.

Soe it is right Hono: that ptelie by reason of Sr Edw: Michelbornes hard dealingę in the East Indies[2] by surprising the ships & goodę of some such as we haue & of others whome we intend to haue trade wthall, vpon prtence they ar Infidells: & ptlie for that there is some reporte that theare are others suiters alsoe for Commission to doe the like: Not onelie the most of the cheefest of the Companie are discouradged to Adventure any more: but alsoe such as haue alreadie sett downe their Adventures begynn to drawe backe whereby vnlesse some good course be taken herein, that trade will whollie decay wth the intollerable hurte & dishonor of this or land & nation.

In consideracõn whereof & forasmuch as we giueing our the trade yt will remaine whollie in the handę of the Hollenders: whoe as they haue endevored to bringe the same to passe by diurs kindę of meanes: soe it is not to be doubted but that they will then sell such thingę, as now are, or shalbe brought thence at what Ratę them please. Wee humblie beseech: That by yor honorable good meanes some convenient course may be entred into, to take away theis & such like obstacles as may hinder soe good & honorable an endevor: the wch wilbe easilie effected, if that from hencforth noe way be geven to any such Comission and that by some publick edict, all others his matę subiectę be

[1] 1606 or 1607.

[2] See note, page 134.

ꝑhibited from any manner of trade or dealing in those ptꝭ, during the time of o^{r} graunte. And further more right ho: it would be agreater incouradgm^{t} vnto vs cherefullie to ꝑceed herein yf that for o^{r} better saffitie in theis doubtfull occasions, his ma^{tie} by yor ho: good favo^{rs} would alsoe be moued to graunte vs Comission to repell force by force if the same be offered vs. As alsoe that we may wthout doubt of any lett or danger of the statute to send wth o^{r} ships soe much forreine Coine as shall be needfull for vs, the wch wilbe now much lesse then formerlie we haue done by vertue of o^{r} Charter And furder that in some convenient sorte the states of the Low Countries may be alsoe dealt wthall: That notwthstanding their Peoples contencõns wth the Portugalls whoe should haue all the trade in those ptꝭ we may freelie trade wth them in all placꝭ theare as neighbo^{rs} and ffreindꝭ wthout excepcõn. And &c:

To repell force by force.

That we may carry forreine Coine

A peticõn to the Lord Thrẽr.[1]

HUMBLIE declareing vnto yor Lo^{p}: That amongst other Comodities now brought from thence we finding the Nutmeggꝭ of such evill Condicõn as they are for the greater ꝑte Rumps & noe Nutmeggꝭ we thought good to make o^{r} entries thereof in the Custome house accordinglie The wch entries the ffarmo^{rs} altogether seekinge their owne priuate proffitt wthout haueing any reguard to the quallitie of the same or of o^{r} longe and chardgable voyadge & Adventure refuce to take: vrging vs to enter them all for Nutmeggꝭ the wch paith more then twice the Custome of Rumps, whereas in verie deed 2 ptꝭ theareof are Rumps & that of the worst sorte: The wch course seemeth not onelie against the ratꝭ sett downe for paym^{t} of Custome but alsoe against all comon reason wth o^{r} intollerable iniurie. wherefor we humble beseech: that by yor Lo^{ps}: good meanes the matter

The difference for entrie of the Nutmeges to be mediated.

[1] Probably 1606.

may be soe mediated as that neither we nor [the] ffarmo^rs may haue any Iniurie or losse herein. And as most bound we pray god giue you all health and happines.

To the Right ho: the Lordℓ of his ma^tℓ: most ho: priuie Councell.[1]

THAT whereas we haue wth o^r greate chardge sought all possible meanes for setling & inlardgeing of a trade in the East Indies, aswell for venting o^r Natiue Comodities, as for retourne of thingℓ comodious & needfull for this o^r Realme at reasonable ratℓ. Soe it is Right ho: That even now when we were in a course furder to enlardge the same we vnderstand by ℓres & Certificate from o^r ffacto^rs at Bantam. That Sr Edward Michelborne hath taken & spoiled some of o^r freindℓ there, whereby not onelie the vtter ou^rthrowe of the whole trade is much indangered: but alsoe the saffetie of o^r men & goodℓ remayneing in those ꝑtℓ are greatlie to be feared.[2] In tender consideraco͞n whereof we humblie beseech y^t by yor ho: goodℓ meanes, some speedie course may be taken herein for o^r saffetie either by sequestraco͞n of the goodℓ wch the said Sr Edw: Michelborne hath now brought home, or otherwyse, as in yor hono: discreco͞ns shall be thought fitt: vntill vpon better informaco͞n the estate and saffetie of o^r ffacto^rs & goodℓ theare may be furder knowne. ffor at the writeing of the said ℓres now come, noe c^rteintie of the takeing of the Guzarat & Cheny Iunck wch the said Sr Edw: now confesseth: nor some other thingℓ wch are heare now reported, was then there acted, or come to knowledge.

Touching Sr Edw: Michelbornes fact comitted in theast Indies.

[1] Undated, but apparently soon after Sir Edward Michelborne's return to England in July, 1606.

[2] See page 134.

To ye Right ho: ye Lordꝭ of his ma^{t}ꝭ: most honorable priuie Councell.[1]

THAT wheareas by o^{r} Charter we are lycenced to carrie for the said Indies eu^{r}y voyadge to the some of 30000^{li} of all such forreigne Coines as we shall bring into this kingdome soe as 6000^{li} thereof be heare first coyned. Now soe it is right hono: That the Company haueing made twoe voyagꝭ wth retournes verie comodious to his ma^{tie}: in his Customes & his Realmes, and haue alsoe now alredie sent forth a 3 voyadge & are in a readines to sett forth a 4th voyadge aswell for those places where they haue form^{r}lie beene as for discou^{r}y of furder trade in those ꝑtꝭ, and are desierous to manadge & carrie their trade as neare as they cann, rather by the transportac̄on of o^{r} natiue comodities, then by vsing the benefitt graunted them for transportac̄on of forreine Coine as aforesaid: But thingꝭ soe stand that as yet noe trade can be there driuen, wthout some moneys, & espetiallie such fforreine coines as they are acquainted wthall. In Considerac̄on whereof & forasmuch as in o^{r} c^{r}teine knowledge diu^{r}s of o^{r} Company haue latelie brought into this Realme greate somes of forreine Coines, far exceeding that wch we now requier: we humblie beseech that by yor ho: good favo^{rs} his ma^{tie} may be moued to vouchsaffe vs his highnes graunte for transportac̄on in theis o^{r} ships for theast Indies the some onelie of 18000^{li} in forreigne coines wthout new coyning any ꝑte thereof: and the rather in reguard that forasmuch as we haue form^{r}lie had in the first voyadge much difficultie and losse in such moneys as weare heare coyned by reason those people are altogether

A peticon for transportacon of moneys vncoyned.

[1] This document is somewhat of a puzzle. It is identical with that given on page 207, with the important exception that £18,000 is named as the limit, instead of £15,000. It might be assumed that there were three petitions in all, viz. one for £15,000, another for £18,000, and a third for £20,000; but this supposition is negatived by the fact that the petition for liberty to carry out £20,000 (page 208) mentions only one previous petition, viz. that for £15,000. A possible explanation is that the present petition was drafted but not presented.

vnacquainted wth the stampe of this kingdome besidę the staie of o^{r} ships, now for coyning thereof wilbe to the vtter ou^{r}throw of this voyadge. And we &c:

To the kingę most excellent ma^{tie} :[1]

THAT by Charter we are lycensed to carrie for the said Indies in eu^{r}y voyadge to the some of 30000^{li} of all such forreine Coines or siluer as we shall bringe into this Realme soe as 6000^{li} thereof be heare first coyned. But forasmuch as in the first voyadge to those ꝑtę we had much

ffor transportacon of moneys vncoyned.

difficultie & losse in such moneys as were heare then coyned those People beinge vnacquainted wth the stampe of this kingdome: *in reguard Thereof* we haue eu^{r} since (vpon o^{r} peticõn) beene lycenced to transporte *such* forreine Coines as *we haue sent thither* wthout new coyning any ꝑ^{te} of the same. *In consideracon whereof* & for that in o^{r} c^{r}teine knowledge diu^{r}s of o^{r} Company haue latelie brought into this Realme greate somes of fforreine Coines farr exceeding that we shall now haue occasion to vse, *& we are desireous to manadge o^{r} trade as nere as wee cann rather by transportacon of o^{r} Native comodities then by vsing the benefitt granted vs for transportacon of fforreine Coines as aforesaid* we humblie beseech that yor ma^{tie} wilbe now pleased vpon this o^{r} peticõn to vouchsaffe vs yor highnes grante as heretofore for transportacõn of such forreine Coines or siluer as we shall send in the shipps now preparing for the said Indies wthout new coyning any ꝑte thereof, & the rather for that all the moneys & siluer wch we shall soe now send thither will be vnder the some of 20000^{li} in the whole. And we &c:

[1] To be dated about December, 1607 (see the letter on the next page). In the manuscript of this petition there are several interlineations and corrections in another hand; while the words printed in italics are underlined, and were probably omitted.

To the Right Ho: thearle of Salisburie principall Secretarie to his matie:

The peticõn of the Companie of mrchaunte trading into the East Indies humblie shewing.[1]

THAT wheareas in Ianuarie last it pleased his matie: to vouchsaffe vs his highnes lres in or behalfe to diurs Princes in theast Indies[2] the wch lres were then sent by the conveyance of or shipps we prepared at that tyme to goe for those parte: Now soe it is right ho: That we haueing noe meanes as yet to knowe whether the same lres be deliured or by any Accident miscaried or deteyned in or mens hande we then sent thither. And being shortlie to send other shipps for furder trade and discoury of those kingdomes. We humblie pray in reguard thereof That yor lop: will be a meanes vnto his matie: in or behalfe That his highnes will be now againe pleased to vouchsaffe vs his most gratious lres vnto the said Princes to the like effect as before wth some addicõn as shalbe fitt, together wth his maties Comission to such of or ffactors as shall goe now Principall in this voyadge. And as most bound we pray god to giue yor lorp: many happie yeares.

To the Lo: of Salisburie for procureing his Mates lres and Comission in the 4th voyadge & the Coppie of the former lres in the 3 voyadge to be presented if need be.

12[3] of Decemb 1607

SR Tho: lake, I haue mooued his Matie:, That wheareas by Charter the mrchaunte trading to theast Indies are allowed to Carrie forth 30000li of all such fforraine Coynes as they shall bring into this Realme So as 6000li thereof be heare first Coined: But forasmuch as in the first voiadge to those pte, they affirme that they had much losse, in such money as were then here Coined, those People being vnacquainted wth the

A lre to Sr Tho: lake from the lo: Threr to drawe a Bill for his mates signature for

[1] This should be dated at the end of 1607 or beginning of 1608.

[2] See pages 103-109.

[3] 21 at end of letter.

transportacon of 20000li. written wth my lordes owne hand

stampe of this kingdome: & for that euer since, they haue been licenced vppon humble peticõn to traunsporte forraine Coines wthout new Coyninge any pte of the same And for that as they also affirme diurs of that Companie in their Certaine knowledge haue latelie brought into this Realme greate somes of fforraine Coine, farr exceeding that the shall now haue occasion to Carrie forth, being as they saie but 20000li, wch is 10000li les then by their Charter they may transport. In respect of all wch his matie hath pleased most gratiouslie to grant their said peticõn vppon my humble sute yesterday made vnto his hs. Theis ar therfore to pray you to cause a Bill redie for his mate signiture to be drawne & to present the same to his matie: accordinglie, giuinge authoritie vnto me to suffer 20000li at this tyme, to be traunsported, notwthstandinge that noe pte thereof be Coyned here. This 21 of decemb 1607

Yor verie louing freind
T Dorset.[1]

To the right ho: the Earle of Salisburie principall Secretarie to the kinge most excellent matie:

The Peticõn of the Gournor and Companie of mrchaunte tradinge to the East Indies humblie shewinge

THAT we haueing wth or greate chardge & Adventure setled a trade in the East Indies we are desirous to enlardge the same aswell for the ventinge of or natiue Comodities as for retournes of thinge verie needfull for this kingdome at reasonable prices And to that end amongst diurs other Citties and Countries the wch we intend god Willinge to discour in those pte we haue and doe purpose to visitt the Citties of Aden and Moccha at the mouth of the red sea & some other place thereaboute vnder the dominion of the Grand signior whose tres of saffe Conducte would be verie helpfull vnto vs in this behalfe. We humblie desier that it will please yor Lop: of yor ho: favor to vouchsaffe vs

The some of the saffe Conduct is in fo: 98.[2]

[1] See page 28. For the grant itself, see page 224. [2] *i.e.* page 266.

yor lops łres To Sr Thomas Glover Ambassador wth the Grandsignior at Constantinople comanding him in his maties: name to doe his best endevors to obtaine for vs wth expedicõn such łres of Comendacõn & saffe Conduct from the Grandsignior as Convenientlie may be by him procured for vs to the effect of that wthin written And as most bound we pray god giue yor lop: manie happie Yeares.[1]

To the right ho: the Lo: of his maties most ho: priuie Councell.[2]

WE the Company of the mrchauntꝭ of London tradinge theast Indies, most humblie declare vnto yor Lops: That we haueing now brought a shipps ladinge of Cloues out of those ꝑtꝭ, & findinge the same to be very full of dust & garble by the longe Carriadge thereof, we haue beene enforced to make or entries in the Custome howse accordinglie, otherwyse we should haue beene compelled to pay the Custome of Cloues, onelie for dust & garble of small or noe valew at all. The wch manner of entrie, the ffarmors (seekinge their owne priuate gaine haueing noe reguard to the quallitie of the same, or of or longe & Chargeable voyadge & Adventure) refuce to take Vrdginge vs to enter them all for Cloues wth or intollerable iniurie. wherefore or humble sute is. That by yor lops good meanes, this difference betweene us & the ffarmors may be soe mediated, as that neither we, nor they may be iniured herein, & that we by noe such offers of hard measure may be any way discouraged from that trade soe longe, soe dangerous & chardgeable vnto vs, & beneficiall to this kingdome. And we as most bound beseech god to giue yor Lops: all health & happines.

[1] See also page 266. The required "pass" was duly obtained by Sir Thomas Glover, and was read at the Court Meeting of 5th Oct., 1608.

[2] This petition, resolved on at a Court Meeting of 16th Jan., 1608/9, was read and approved on the 18th idem. The cloves to which it relates formed the cargo of Capt. David Middleton's ship, the *Consent*, which had just before arrived in port. The dispute appears in the end to have been amicably settled.

To the right ho: the Earle of Salisburie Lord high Thrēr of England.

The humble peticõn of the mrchauntę of London tradeing into the East Indies.[1]

HUMBLIE shewing That in the yeare 1607. wth or greate chardge & Adventure wee sent three shipps for trade of mrchandize into those ꝑtę wth order in the way of their passadge thither, to make alsoe trade at Aden, Surate, & vpon the Coaste of Cambaia yf soe convenientlie and

[1] The following extracts will give an approximate date to the petition, and will at the same time explain the circumstances under which it was presented:—

"Lisbon—July 16/26, 1609. Hugh Lee to Thos. Wilson. . . . . The *Hector*, a "ship of London, trading to Surat, where she arrived in August last, intercepted by "four Portugal frigates 3rd October following and taken prize, and the men prisoners "for using commerce within their conquest without the King of Spain's licence; "value of the goods, 2,000*l*; 19 prisoners carried to Goa, three brought to Lisbon, "the rest at Goa. Fras. Bucke and Anthony Marlowe, [see note 3, page 120] Walter "Romney died on the ship's arrival, prisoners in the Trunk in Lisbon, in great "necessity, without apparel, money or other means." *Cal. S. P., East Indies*, 1513-1616, p. 189.)

[Lee was mistaken in saying that the *Hector* itself was taken; he should have said two English boats engaged in carrying goods from Surat down the river to the *Hector* at Suhali.]

"Was alsoe red twoe lres the one from Anthonie Marlowe thother from ffrancis "Bucke the Companies servauntes dated at Lisborne the 15th of Iulie last, Alsoe wth "a discourse of their goinge to Surate & of their takeinge & mishapps therein: & of "their ymprisonment at Lisborne &c: And their request to the Companie for their "inlardgmt . . . . Upon Consideracon whereof . . . . . . it was thought fitt That "wth all expedicon the Lord Threr be made acquainted wth theis their lres, wth "request of his honorable favor to his matie: for releefe theirin, for diuers respectes "mentioned, *As by the peticon in the Register at lardge appereth*. And for the effectinge "of this busines mr Gournor, mr Deputie, mr Harrison, mr Iohnson, & mr Hamersley "were intreated wth all Convenient speede to repaier vnto the Lord Threr at "Salisburie, or where his Lop: may be found, to acquainte his Lop: therewth, & wth "what ells they shall thinke fitt for the good & speedie dispatch hereof." (*Court Minutes*, 8th Aug., 1609.)

"Att this Courte mr Gournor declared how kindlie he & those appointed to goe "wth him to the Courte were intreated by the Lord Threr whoe promyseth to haue "a spetiall care of their sute vnto his Matie: & at his Lops: retourne to London wch "would be wthin Tenn daies, he would giue them further satisfaccon touchinge their "sute." (*Ibid.*, 14th Aug., 1609.)

A further letter on this subject will be found on page 306. It would appear that the prisoners were set at liberty at the end of 1610 or the beginning of 1611, through the good offices of the English ambassador in Spain.

peaceablie they might doe the same, where vpon one of o^{r} said shipps comeing to Surate noe way in the Actuall possession of the kinge of Spaigne & o^{r} men being there kindlie vsed & suffered to trade by those Country people: Notwthstanding certaine Portugalls Subiectę of the kinge of Spaigne[1] liueinge at Deu and Goa neare to Surate watching their fitt oportunitie wthout any offence offered haue vsed such violence against o^{r} men there as they haue beene Compelled to flee thence wth the losse not onelie of nyneteene men a penasse & alonge Boate but alsoe of a greate quantitie of moneys and goodę besidę the danger of the losse of o^{r} said shipp wth her adventure for want of a sufficient nomber of men to saile her As by diu^{rs} ƚres from some of o^{r} people then theare taken & since ymprisonned at Lisborne readie to be shewed at lardge apꝑeth Our humble suite now is. That in reguard we haue beene & at this present now are at a greate chardge for buildinge shippinge fitt for this trade the wch we doubt not but will proue very proffitable for this kingdome, aswell by venting Comodities vnneedfull as by bringinge home such as are needfull for the vse and benefitt of this o^{r} Realme, And that theis placę where o^{r} men did now trade is not in the actuall possessio[n] of the kinge of Spaigne. That by yor honorable goodę meanes his Matie: will be pleased gratiouslie to enter into some good course for o^{r} releefe herein aswell for the freeing of o^{r} men theare taken, as for satisfaccõn of o^{r} losses and wrongę there sustayned Contrarie to the Amitie and agreem^{t} betweene his ma^{tie}: & the kinge of Spaigne as we humblie vnderstand yt. And as most bound we beseech God to giue yor Lo^{p}: all health and happines.

THE Condicõn[2] of this Obligacõn is such That wheareas the aboue bounden A B is now hired by the aboue named Gou^{r}no^{r} and Company of m^{r}chauntę of London trading into the East Indies to goe as Pursar of the good shipp called the Assencõn in this present intended fourth

[1] It will be remembered that at this time Portugal formed part of the dominions of the king of Spain.

[2] Compare the bond on page 147.

The Condicon of a Pursar y^{t} tyeth him selfe for c^{r}teine yeres & further service. in 200^{li} wth suerties[1]

voyadge for the said Indies and yet neu^{r}thelesse hath agreed to serve the said Gou^{r}no^{r} and Companie & their successo^{rs} as their Couenante servant in all and eu^{r}y such their busines & affaires whatsoeu^{r}, wch they or any by them authorized shall thinke fitt to ymploie him in, aswell at, in, vnto and from the said East Indies as at or in any other place or places whatsoeu^{r} during the space of yeares next ensueing the date aboue written, or during soe many and such tyme of the said yeares as the said Gou^{r}no^{r} and Company or their successo^{rs}, or such as shall be by them authorized shall thinke meete, and for such wagẹ and Consideracõn as alredie is agreed vpon betweene the said Gou^{r}no^{r} and Company and him the said 𝕬 𝕭. as is specified and sett downe in the Courte Booke of the said Company. Yf therefore the said 𝕬 𝕭 doe from hencforth during all the said terme of yeares, or soe longe tyme thereof as the Gou^{r}no^{r} and Company or their successo^{rs} shall reteine him in their service well trulie and honestlie serve the said Gou^{r}no^{r} and Company their successo^{rs} and Assignes as their servant in all and eu^{r}y their affaires and busines as Pursar or otherwyse whatsoeu^{r} as they or such as shalbe by them authorized shall thinke good to ymploie him. & doe his best endevo^{r} for ꝑformaunce & execucõn of what he shall be sett aboute or ymployed in as aforesaid for the proffitt and good service of the said Companie. And according to the chardge he is now ymployed in as a Pursar doe keepe a true and ꝑfect Accompt by Inventorie of all such provision tackle municõn furniture, victualls and other necessaries wch are or shall be during the said voyadge brought abourd the said shipp or prouided for thuse of the same. And alsoe an Inventorie of all the goodẹ wares & m^{r}chandize as shalbe brought into or caried out of the said shipp, aswell belonging vnto the said Companie as any other. And doe likewise keepe an Inventorie & Accompt of the expence & bestowinge of all such provision tackle municõn furniture and other necessaries wch shall be brought into or caried out of the said shipp & of the remainder thereof. And doe at all tymes being therevnto required deliu^{r} vp a true

[1] These last four words have been added by another hand.

Accompt of the same or any other his ymploym^{t} to the Gou^{r}no^{r} of the said m^{r}chaunt℮ or his Deputie, or to such as shall be authorized thereunto by the said Companie: And doe not in this or any other voyadge or voyadg℮ of the said Company vse any private trade or traffique in m^{r}chandize for his owne propper Accompt or Adventure, or Colo^{r} the private trade of any other. That then &c:

The Condicon of hired servantes to be imployed in any place bound in 200^{li} wth suerties.

THE Condicōn of this obligacōn is such. That wheareas the aboue bound Samuell Broadshawe[1] is now hired by the aboue named Gou^{r}no^{r} & Company of m^{r}chaunt℮ of London trading into the East Indies & hath agreed to serue the said Company & their successo^{rs} as their Couenante servant in all & eu^{r}y such busines and affaires whatsoeu^{r} wch they or any by them authorized shall thinke fitt to ymploy him in, aswell at in vnto and from the East Indies as at or in any other place or places whatsoeu^{r} during the space of yeares next ensueing the date aboue written, or during soe many and such tyme of the said yeares as the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Company or their successo^{rs}, or such as shalbe by them authorized shall thinke meete & for such wages & Consideracōn as alreadie is agreed vpon betweene the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Company & him the

[1] Samuel Bradshaw or Broadshawe was engaged by the Company on 15th Dec., 1607, for service "at home or abroad, as they see fit, at 16*l.* per annum." On the 29th of the following month, he was told off to attend Mr. Rowles, the lieutenant-general of the voyage. Later on (26th Feb.) he is referred to as a factor. We learn from *Purchas* that, on the murder in Madagascar of Rowles and his companions, Bradshaw took the command of the vessel for the rest of the voyage. It will be remembered that on the way home the ship was lost off the coast of Brittany; and as Bradshaw is not mentioned among the survivors, it may be presumed that he went down with the ship.

There is an entry in the *Cal. S. P.*, *East Indies*, 1513-1616, of a letter from Samuel Bradshaw at Tecco, under date 10th Feb., 1613; but from an examination of the document to which it relates (*O. C.* 104), it seems clear that the date given is that on which the *copy* (for it is only a copy) was made, and that the original must have been the letter from Bradshaw of 11th March 1609/10, to which reference is made in Moris's letter from Bantam of 14th Sept., 1610, printed in *Purchas*, Lib. III., c. 9, § 3.

said 𝕬 𝕭 as is specified and sett downe in the Courte Booke of the said Company. Yf therefore the said Samuell Broadshawe doe from hencforth during all the said terme of yeares or soe long tyme thereof as the Gou^{r}no^{r} and Companie or their successo^{rs} shall reteyne him in their service well trulie & honestlie serve the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Company their successo^{rs} and Assignes as their servan[t] in all and eu^{r}y their affaires and busines whatsoeu^{r} wch they or such as shall be by them authorized shall thinke good to ymploy him and doe his best endevo^{r} for ꝑformance & execucōn of what he shall be sett aboute or ymployed in as aforesaid for the proffitt and good service of the said Companie. And according to the chardg he is or shall be ymployed in doe keepe a true & ꝑfect accompt of all such thingꝭ as is or shalbe Comitted to his chardge And doe at all tymes being theare vnto required deliu^{r} vp atrue Accompte of the same his ymploym^{t} to the Gou^{r}no^{r} of the said m^{r}chauntꝭ or his deputie or to such as shalbe authorized therevnto by the said Company And doe not in this or any other voyadge or voyagꝭ of the said Company vse any private trade or traffique in m^{r}chandize for his owne propꝑ Accompt or Adventure or Colo^{r} the private trade of any other. That then &c:

THE Condicōn of this Obligacōn is such That wheareas the aboue bound ffrancis Shapton is hired and agreed wthall[1] by the aboue named Gou^{r}no^{r} and Companie of m^{r}chauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies to goe as Preacher in this their present intended 4th voyadge to those ptꝭ. Yf therefore the said ffrancis Shapton doe not absent himselfe but willinglie goe in the said voyadge & therein according to his best skill & knowledge doe his vttermost endevo^{r} diligentlie to teach and instruct o^{r} people by all loueing & godlie admonitions. And doe not during the said voyadge vse any private trade or

The Preacher bound in to performe this Condicon.

[1] See *Court Minutes*, 22nd Jan., 1607/8. Shapton was to have a salary of 33*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. per annum, and 20*l*. for his provision to sea.

traffique in mrchandizeing for his owne propp Accompt or Adventure, or Color the private trade of any other. That then this &c:

THE Condicõn of this &c: That wheareas the aboue named A B. at the spetiall request and intreatie of the aboue bound T S[1] by his obligacõn of the date aboue written standeth firmlie held and bound vnto Sr Thomas Smyth knight & Willm Greenwell to thuse of the Companie of mrchaunts of London trading to the East Indies in the some and penaltie of 200li of lawfull &c: wth Condicõn therevnto for the faithfull service of the said T S vnto the foresaid Companie and pformaunce of crteine other Condicõns and things therein mencioned and expressed as thereby at lardge appeth. If therefore the said T S. his Execu or Ads doe at all tymes heereafter and from tyme to tyme sufficientlie saue and keepe harmlesse & indempnified the said A B his Heires Executors and Admistrators of for and concrninge the said Obligacõn wherein the saied A B standeth bound as is aforesaid. And of for and from all arrests Accõns suits Iudgmts executiõns troubles chardgs and damadgs whatsoeur wch he the said A B his heires Execu or Ads shall thereby susteyne and incurr. That then this &c:

A Condicon that the Pursar or other shall saue harmles his suertie.

IAMES[2] by the grace of god kinge of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland defendor of the faith, &c: To all to whome theis pnts shall come Greeteing. Wheareas or late deere sister Queene Elizabeth by her Ires Patents vnder the greate seale of England beareing

[1] Possibly Thomas Soule, who was engaged on 24th Nov., 1607, to serve for five years as purser's mate, or in any other employment (*Court Minutes*).

[2] There is a docquet of this licence in the Public Record Office, under date 28th Dec., 1607 (*see Cal. S. P., East Indies*, 1513-1616, p. 163.) The petitions leading up to the grant, and the letter ordering its preparation for signature, will be found on pages 207-217.

A Lycence for transportacon of moneys vncoyned 1607.

date at Westminster the one & thirteth daie of Decemƀ in the three and forteth yeare of her reigne vpon peticõn made vnto her by diu'rs her loueing subiectꝭ for her royall Assent and lycense to be granted vnto them. That they at their owne Adventure Costꝭ and chardges aswell for the hono'r of this Realme of England as for the increase of Nauigacõn and Advancem't of trade of m'rchandize w'thin the same might Adventure and sett forth c'rteine voyagꝭ w'th a Convenient nomber of shipps & Pynnaces by way of traffique & m'rchandize into the East Indies in the Countries and Portꝭ of Asia & Affrica did incorporate the said petition'rs into a Bodie politique by the name of the Gou'rno'r and Companie of m'rchauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies. To haue hould and inioy the sole benefitt of the trade & traffique of the said East Indies for the space of fyfteene yeares from the birth of o'r lord god then last past before the date of the said łres Patentꝭ. And wheareas by the said łres Patentꝭ lycence was granted to the said Gou'rno'r and Company of m'rchauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies to transporte out of this Realme into the said Indies in eu'ry of their voyadgꝭ during the said terme of ffyfteene yeares All such forreine Coyne of Silver, Spanish or other forreine sylver, or bullion of sylver as they should during the said terme bring or cause to be brought into this Realme of England from the partꝭ beyond the Seas, either in the same kinde, stampe, sorte or fashion w'ch it should haue when they brought it in or any other forme stampe or fashion Coyned in the mynte w'thin the Tower of London soe as the whole quantities of Coyne or moneys by them to be transported in any of their said voyadgꝭ during the said terme should not exceed the value of Thirtie Thowsand poundꝭ in any one voyadge and soe as the some of eight[1] Thowsand poundꝭ at the least ꝑcell of the said some or value 30000'li to be transported as aforesaid should be first coyned w'thin the said Tower of London before the tyme[2] might be transported in any of the said voyadgꝭ as by the said łres Patentꝭ more at lardge appeth. Now forasmuch as the said Gou'rno'r and Companie of the said m'rchauntꝭ since the said łres Patentꝭ to them granted

[1] This should be "six" (*see* page 180).

[2] A mistake for "same"?

made twoe seu^r^all voyadgꝭ into the said East Indies and retourned their shipps from thence laden wth sundrie kindꝭ of m^r^chandizes proffitable for o^r^ kingdomes, and haue alreadie sett forth the last yeare a third voyage & are now in a redines to sett forth a fourth voyadge into the said East Indies, and haue humblie besought by Peticõn & shewed vnto vs that by experience they haue form^r^lie found that they could not w^th^out greate difficultie and losse vnto them in the value of their moneys new coyned make trade for their m^r^chandize into the said East Indies because they were not such as the People of those ꝑtꝭ were acquainted w^th^all, but stamped wth an Imadge or suꝑscripcõn strange and vnknowne vnto them And that they haue beene and are desierous by all good meanes to manadge and carie their said trade as neere as they can for the benefitt of o^r^ kingdomes & domynions, rather by the transportacõn of the natiue Comodities of the same, & by bartring & exchandge of them for forraine Comodities, wch now they purpose more lardglie to attempt & haue good hope to accomplish then by vsing the whole libtie granted to them by the said ltres Patentꝭ for carying out of the full some of Thirtie thowsand poundꝭ in eu^r^y voyadge in mann^r^ aforesaid, And that they will content themselues in this their now intended fourth voyadge to the said Indies wth the libtie of Transporting Twentie thowsand poundꝭ onelie in forreine Coines or forreine sylver w^th^out other Coyne bullion or Silver. In reguard wheareof they did humblie pray in their said peticõn that we would be gratiouslie pleased to graunte them lycence that they may transporte the value of Twentie Thowsand poundꝭ in forreine Coynes or forreine sylver in this their intended fourth voyadge, w^th^out new coyneing the same, or any ꝑte thereof Knowe yee therefore that we favoring the said m^r^chauntꝭ, and being desierous to giue them furtherance and incourradgem^t^ to proceede and goe forward in their trade, of o^r^ espetiall grace c^r^teine knowledge & meere motion haue geven and granted and by theis presentꝭ for vs o^r^ heires and Successo^rs^ doe giue and graunte lycence vnto the said Gou^r^no^r^ and Companie of m^r^chauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies that it shall and may be lawfull for them their facto^rs^ and Assignes in this now intended fourth voyadge into the East Indies, to transporte out of this o^r^ Realme of England all such forreine Coyne or silver, either Spanish or other forreine silver as they haue prepared

procured or gotten or shall p^{r}pare procure or gett being alreadie brought or to be brought from the partꝭ beyond the seas, before the deꝑture of their shipps out of the River of Thames soe as the whole quantitie of the Coyne moneys & silver by them soe to be transported in this their present intended fourth voyadge towardꝭ the said East Indies doe not exceede the value of Twentie thowsand poundꝭ the same to be transported in the same kinde, sorte, stampe, or fashion as they said moneys or silver are or shall be procured gotten or brought into this Realme of England, & that wthout any new coyneing or altering the said forreine monies or silver, or any ꝑte thereof Any statute restrainte or prohibition in that behalfe made to the Contrary in any wise notwthstanding. In witnes whereof we haue caused theis o^{r} ƚres to be made Patentꝭ Witnes o^{r} selfe at westm̄ the eight day of ffebruarie in the fifte yeare of o^{r} Reigne of England ffraunce and Ireland & of Scotland the one and forteth.

ꝑ ƚre de privato sigillo *Coppin.*

JAMES[1] by the grace of God kinge of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland defendo^{r} of the faith &c: To o^{r} trustie and welbeloued Alexander Sharpie and Richard Rowles Greeting Whereas diu^{r}s of o^{r} loueing subiectꝭ at their owne Adventures costꝭ and chardgꝭ aswell for the hono^{r} of this o^{r} Realme of England as for the increase and advancem^{t} of trade of m^{r}chandize wthin the same haue form^{r}lie sett forth three voyadgꝭ to the East Indies wth c^{r}teine shipps & Pinnacꝭ by way of m^{r}chandizeing by wch shipps and Pinnacꝭ they haueing discou^{r}ed

A spetiall Comission granted vnto Alexander Sharpie Generall & Richard Rowles Leiutenant gen^{r}all 1607.

[1] A Commission to the commanders of the *Fourth Voyage*, the most disastrous of all the early ventures of the Company. The expedition consisted of two vessels, viz. the *Assention*, which had been previously employed in the *First* and *Second Voyages*, and the *Union*, which was specially bought for the occasion. Alexander Sharpie, the General of the expedition, was in command of the *Assention*, and Richard Rowles took charge of the *Union*. The two ships got separated after leaving Saldanha Bay. The *Assention*, after some delay on the African coast, and visits to Aden (where

and begunn to settle a trade in some ꝑte of the said East Indies & their shipps being retourned in twoe of their form^{r} voyadgꝭ from thence laden wth sundrie m^{r}chandize brought from those ꝑtꝭ, they the said m^{r}chauntꝭ intending to frequent those Countries of the East Indies by Contynuing the trade alreadie discou^{r}ed and begonn and indevoring further discou^{r}y of trade of those ꝑtꝭ for the more ample vent of the natiue Comodities of o^{r} kingdomes, and retourning from the places of their discou^{r}y such necessarie Commodities as shalbe of spetiall vse and benefitt both to vs and o^{r} subiectꝭ, and haue now prepared c^{r}teine shipps to the said East Indies. And whereas the said m^{r}chauntꝭ haue Chosen you the said Alexander Sharpey to be principall Gou^{r}no^{r} or Gen^{r}all of all the m^{r}chauntꝭ Mariners and other o^{r} subiectꝭ wch are or shalbe shipped in any of the said shipps. And you the said Richard Rowles to be Leiutenant gen^{r}all of all the m^{r}chauntꝭ Marin^{r}s & other o^{r} subietꝭ wch are or shall be shipped in any of the said shipps, Wee gratiouslie favoring their intended voyadge and approueing and allowing of their choise of you [to] the same Gou^{r}nm^{t} being desierous to furnish you wth all fitt and Convenient power and authoritie to rule and gou^{r}ne all & eu^{r}y o^{r} subiectꝭ ymployed in this voyadge by a due obedience to be by them yealded vnto you in the obserueing & executeing of all such

Sharpie was for some time kept prisoner by the governor) and Mocha, shaped her course for Surat. On the 29th August, she ran on a shoal in the bay of Cambay, and three days later became a total wreck. The crew made their way in their boats into the Gandevi River, some thirty miles south of Surat. Here they were hospitably treated by the natives and passed on to Surat, whence Sharpie and a large number of the men started for Agra. Sharpie and others were left sick on the route; others died or straggled from the company; and finally only three men reached their destination, and reported the state of affairs to Captain Hawkins, who was then in the city as the representative of the Company. In Oct., 1611, Sharpie embarked on the *Trades Increase* at Surat, and accompanied Sir Henry Middleton, who seems to have entertained a high opinion of him, to Mocha and Bantam. Captain Downton, writing in June, 1613, mentions Sharpie as being then absent from Bantam, and this is the last notice of him that can be traced.

The *Union*, as has already been mentioned on page 222, note, after losing her commander and several of her men at Madagascar, proceeded to Acheen and procured a cargo, but on her way home, was wrecked off Audierne, on the coast of Brittany, with the loss of nearly all her crew.

There is a docquet of this commission in the Public Record Office (*see Cal. Dom. State Papers*, 1603-1610, p. 400).

good orders and Constitucõns as you shall thinke Convenient to ordaine and appointe for the furtherance of the said voyadge to the honor of vs and or kingdomes, and for the advancemt of The said trade doe hereby straightlie chardge and Comand all and eury ꝑson and ꝑsonns ymployed vsed or shipped in this voyadge in any of the said shipps to giue all due obedience and respect vnto you during the said voyadge, and to beare themselues one towardꝭ another in all good order and quietnes for avoieding any occasion that might breed mutiny quarrells or dissencõn amongest them to the hindrance of the good successe wch is to be hoped for by Godꝭ providence of the said intended voyadge, and in defaulte of such dutie & obedience to be ꝑformed towardꝭ you for the Correccõn and quenching of all such mutiny quarrells or dissencõn that shall or may be moued by the disorder evill disposition or ꝑversnes of any the said ꝑsonns. Wee doe hereby authorize you the said Alexander Sharpie during the said voyadge or during soe long tyme as you shall lyve in the said voyadge to chastice correct and ponish all Offendors and transgressors in that behalfe according to the qualitie of their Offences wth such ponishmtꝭ as are comonlie vsed in all Armies by Sea when they are not Capitall, And for Capitall Offences as for wilfull murther wch is hatefull in the sight of god, or muteny wch is an offence that may tend to the ourthrowe of the said voyadge the same being trulie and iustlie proved against any of the ꝑson or ꝑsonns aforesaid. We doe hereby giue vnto you the said Alexander Sharpie during all the tyme of the said voyadge or during soe long tyme as you shall liue in the same full power and authoritie to vse and put in execucõn or lawe called Marshall lawe in that behalfe. And in case of yor decease wch god forbid we doe then likewise hereby authorize you the said Richard Rowles to execute the power and authoritie by this or Comission granted to the said Alexander Sharpey in as ample mannr as is herein before expressed, and in such sorte as the said Alexander Sharpey did or might doe by vertue hereof. and theis or ꝉres shalbe vnto you and either of you sufficient warrant and dischardge for the doing and executeing of all and singuler the premisses. And forasmuch as at this present tyme we are in amitie wth all Christian Princes and are vnwilling that any or subiectꝭ should giue occasion of breache or hindrance of that league

or amitie wch we hould wth any o^r^ Confederatꝭ freindꝭ or Allies. And because we are not ignorant of the emulacõn and envie that doth accompanie the discou^r^y of Countries and tradꝭ and of the quarrells and Contencõns wch doe many tymes fall out betweene the subiectꝭ of diu^r^s Princes that meete the one wth the other in forreine and farr remote Countries in the Course & ꝑsecuteing of their discou^r^ies, and being desierous that o^r^ subiectꝭ should forbeare to moue or beginn any quarrell or Contencõn vpon the subiectꝭ of o^r^ Confederatꝭ freindꝭ or Allies either in their ꝓceeding or retourne vpon or from any of their voyadgꝭ. We therefore doe hereby straightlie chardge and Comand you the said Alexander Sharpie, and you the said Richard Rowles and all other vnder yor gou^r^nm^t^ that neither in yor voyadge outward or homewardꝭ or in any Countrie Iland Porte or place where you shall abide or come during the time of yor being abroad out of o^r^ kingdomes or dominions where you meete wth any the subiectꝭ of the kinge of Spaine or of any other o^r^ Confederatꝭ freindꝭ or allies, or of any other nacõn or people, their shipps vessells goodꝭ or m^r^chandize you doe attempt or goe aboute to sett vpon take or surprize their ꝑsons shipps Vessells goodꝭ or m^r^chandizes or offer any iniurie or discourtesie vnto them vnlesse you shall be by them first there-vnto iustlie prouoked or driven either in the iust defence of yor owne ꝑsonns yor ships vessells goodꝭ or m^r^chandize either by any other their disturbance or hindrance whatsoeu^r^ in yor quiett course of trade either for recompence or recou^r^y of the ꝑsonns goodꝭ or m^r^chandize of any o^r^ subiectꝭ that are alreadie in or neare the East Indies or otherwise for any iust cause of yor defence as you will awnsweare the Contrarie at yor vttermost ꝑills. In Witnes whereof we haue caused theis o^r^ l̃res to be made Patentꝭ Witnes o^r^ selfe at Westm̃ the eight day of ffebruarie in the fifte yeare of o^r^ Reigne of England ffraunce & Ireland & of Scotland the xxxxj^th^ [1]

Coppin.

ꝑ b̃re de priuato sigillo

[1] 1607/8.

What ŧres were written from his ma^{tie} to the Princes in the East Indies in ffebruarie 1607.[1]

THAT was the form^{r} 7 ŧres *folio.* 41.[2] Viz to Suratt Aden Tedore Nere Lunter Iava Maior, Molloccos, & the lre of the Teno^{r} of that to Surate purposed for Callicutt, written from his ma^{tie}: to those Princes Anno 1606. were now all againe of new written from his ma^{tie}: to those Princes in Anno 1607 wth this Addicõn to each onelie That is. Although we sent vnto you the last yeare after the retourne of o^{r} Subiectꝭ from those ꝑtꝭ & sent you a Present yet for that we doubt whether those ŧres be come to yor handꝭ, we haue thought good to Visitt you againe wth new ŧres & wth a new present, And to lett you vnderstand that the Contentꝭ of o^{r} former ŧres were to this purpose That &c: as in the m^{r}gent of the foresaid ŧre to the Molloccos.[4]

In all 12 lres were now sent in Spaignish as before.[3]

Lykewise ffower ŧres more were now written from his ma^{tie}: to the Princes & Gou^{r}no^{rs} in those parts Viz 2 of the Teno^{r} of that of Suratt wth generall salutacõns in the inside & on the outside left Blancke for o^{r} ffacto^{rs} to sett downe the names and titles of such Princes there as they shall see good to deliu^{r} them vnto, wth Presentꝭ alsoe in their discrecõns. Thother 2 ŧres from his ma^{tie}: to Gou^{r}no^{rs} of Citties, Viz the one of wch of the Teno^{r} of that to Aden wthout the said new Addicõn before mencioned intended to the Sabander or Gou^{r}no^{r} of Moccha & thother alsoe of the same Teno^{r} of that to Aden onelie leaueing out the said new addicõn now sent, & the wordꝭ of his ma^{ties} Amitie wth the Grandsenio^{r} mencioned in the said first ŧre to Aden the wch is intended for Lawrie[5] Nigertattie[6] or any such place & therefore the suꝑscripcõn left vnsett downe, vntill the same be knowen vnto whome they shall be thought fitt to be deliu^{r}ed vnto in those partꝭ.

[1] At a Court held on the 15th December, 1607, the governor and others "were "intreated to Consider what Comissions and lres aswell from his ma^{tie}: as from the "Companie wilbe now convenient to be sent, And therevpon to cause the same, to be "drawne and made readie in due tyme before the departure of the shipps" (*Court Minutes*).

[2] *i.e.* page 103.

[3] The last four words have been added by another hand.

[4] See page 109. [5] See page 251, note 2. [6] See page 252, note 1.

ffor better Remembranceꝭ to direct the titles of the before mencioned 5 blanckꝭ 3 whereof to Princes & 2 to Citties they are nombred as followeth Viz.

NO 1 is the Coppie of the first blanck sent in the yeare 1606 wth the new Addicõn now onelie to be deliu^{r}ed to Callicutt or to such Prince as you shall vnderstand, the same was then form^{r}lie deliu^{r}ed

No 2 & 3 is 2 blanckꝭ of the Teno^{r} of that to Suratt to any Prince vnto whome form^{r}lie noe l̃res hath beene sent & therefore wthout the said Addicõn

No 4 is the Gou^{r}no^{r} of a Cittie of the teno^{r} of that to Aden wthout any Addicõn for that noe l̃res hath beene heretofore sent thither, the wch is intended for Moccha some 10 miles from Aden vnder the Comand of the Grandsenio^{r}.

No 5 The 5 & last Blancke alsoe to the Gou^{r}no^{r} of some Cittie of the same teno^{r} of that to Aden wthout any Addicõn for the reason aforesaid in no: 4 & wthout any nominacõn of o^{r} kingꝭ ma^{ties}: Amitie wth the grandsenio^{r} for that the same is intended for some Cittie out of his Dominions.

Lres of safe Condut[2] for Iohn Iourdan & Phillip Glascocke &c: goeing to the East Indies . 1607

IAMES by the grace of God of greate Brittaine ffraunce and Ireland Kinge Defendo^{r} of the faith &c: To all and eu^{r}y one Kingꝭ, Princes, Dukꝭ, Marquesses Statꝭ Admirallꝭ Captaines Castellers Gou^{r}no^{rs} and Superio^{rs} of Provinces Citties Townes Seas Rivers of[1] Bridgꝭ &c: & to all other of what order or place soeu^{r} haueing Comaund power Magistracie or Iurisdiccõn health. Such as take vpon them greate matters aboue the vulgar vse and Custome verie proffitable to humane Societie deserue not onelie prayse and favo^{r} of

[1] Apparently an error for "and."

[2] In the Company's general instructions for the voyage (*see* page 245), orders were given for the despatch overland of messengers, for whose safety a royal safe conduct (no doubt the present document) had been procured; and in later letters the Company

all men, but alsoe aide and helpe asmuch as may be lawfullie & convenientlie yealded. In the wch kinde scarce any can be [ ][1] proffitable & worthy then of them, the wch by long Peregrinac̄ons greate [ ] danger of life, veiweing most remote & vnknowne Nac̄ons & kingdomes [ ] Sea doe seeke eu^{r}y wheare all oportunities of Comodities, & doe [ ]allie a kinde of Societie and Comunicac̄on of Comodities among all [ ]clude doe Contract the vniu^{r}sitie of Mankinde & the whole world [ ]e Cittie & Communion. And forasmuch as c^{r}teine o^{r} subiectꝭ [ ] this selfe same minde & intencon take vpon them a Iourney [ ] that wthout the iniury or trouble of any man they may [ ]d Comodious meanes to o^{r} subiectꝭ of Interchandge of [ ] people & of m^{r}chandizeing thingꝭ it be most iust and [ ] anitie that vnto the selfe same m^{r}chauntꝭ & vnto their ffacto^{rs} [ ] and comeing by Sea and land be granted vnto them of all [ ]de, Yet that they may mor safelie and redilie proceede in their [ ]hey may haue the inclinac̄ons of all men of what order & place [ ] the shall come more redy to graunte them that libertie, & to be fauorable [ ]

expressed their strong disapproval that their orders on this point had not been carried out. It would appear that Jourdain and Glascock were the two factors designated for this duty.

John Jourdain or Jourdan was elected a factor on 7th Dec., 1607, and was assigned to the *Assention*. On the wreck of the vessel he appears to have made his way to Agra, and thence back to Surat, where in Oct., 1611, he embarked on Sir Henry Middleton's ship, and accompanied him in his voyage to the Red Sea and afterwards to Bantam. He seems to have been actively employed during the next few years in trading voyages from Bantam to various parts of the East Indies, and in 1614 we find him "president of the English at Bantam." He returned to England in 1617, but in the same year entered into an agreement with the Company to serve them for a fresh term of five years; and accordingly by Nov., 1618, he was back again in his old post as President at Bantam. Eight months later he was slain in a skirmish with the Dutch at Patani. His journal, covering the period between his departure from England in March, 1608, and his return in 1617, is now in the British Museum (*Sloane MSS.*, 858).

Philip Glascock was elected a factor at the same time as Jourdain, but a few days later was rejected in favour of Richard Wickham. On 22nd Jan., 1607/8, he was again elected, and proceeded on the voyage. Nothing of importance can be traced concerning his further career.

[1] The manuscript is here imperfect. A large portion of the leaf has been torn away, causing considerable gaps both in this and the succeeding letter. These *lacunæ* have been indicated by the insertion of brackets.

wch by the lawe of humanitie as is said before ought to be granted of [ ] wish the same to be obtaiened by o^r^ Intercession & for that cause wee [ ]nient to giue theis o^r^ ł̃res of safe Conduct & Comendac̃on to c^r^teine [ ]haunt℮ of o^rs^ and namelie to Iohn Iourdan and Phillipp Glascocke by [ ]ie much intreate all & singuler King℮ Princes Duk℮ Marquesses Admiralls and superio^rs^ of Provinces Townes Castles & Port℮ & all others of what degree and place soeu^r^ haueing magistracy Iurisdicc̃on or power as may be agreeable to the order and dignitie of eu^r^y one, that you will geue leaue to the foresaid o^r^ subiect℮ & either of them, or to any other that shall bring theis o^r^ ł̃res vnto you by Land or sea to goe or to saile to goe forward or retourne & as their occasion shall requier to remaine in their dominions & that they will not geue or suffer any lett hindrance Iniurie or molestac̃on to be done vnto them, but that they will yeald vnto them such Offices of benevolence and humanitie as shall be convenient to be yealded to honest men and strangers vndertakeing soe longe and laborious a Iourney: handling their owne affaires & behaueing themselues honestlie & peaceablie. In the wch kinde of Office or any other that may mutuallie be expected of vs we will be most redie to retourne the like favo^r^ vnto all & singuler yf occasion shall serue as shall be due to eu^r^y one according to their order place & dignitie Giuen out of o^r^ Pallace of Westm̃ this xxiii^th^ of ffebruarie 1607.

JAMES REX.

AFTER my hartie Comendac̃ons &c: According to order of a Courte of the Adventurers in this present 4th voyadge held the fift of this instant Theis are to advertice you that the Companie are pleased and soe doe thinke it fitt that you wth yor Leiuetenante Generall m^r^ Rowles, & such as may happen to succeede you in this voyadge doe make espetiall accompt of

The Coppie of a lre sent to m^r^ Alexander Sharpie Gen^r^all.[1]

[1] The date is torn away, but it should evidently be some day in March, 1607/8, as appears from the following entries:—

Further m^r^ Gou^r^no^r^ was now by this Courte intreated to write his lre to m^r^

[1]& of the order of Courte not to deale in any other manner but by way of marchantdize. 11 of March 1607

Ioseph Salbancke[2] aswell in all yor Councells as otherwise, & the rather for that they doe esteeme him to be a man verie sufficient for any place wherein you shall vse him. And further the Companie thinke it meete that you doe carefullie reserue [and][3] keepe this lre amongst other yor Comissions, that you and such as

" Sharpie Genrall signifieing vnto him that the Companie are pleased, and thinke yt " fitt, that he wth the Leiuetenante Genrall and such as shall succeede them doe " make espetiall vse of Ioseph Salbancke in their Councell, & otherwyse vnlesse they " shall finde some iuste reason to the Contrarie. And further willinge him to keepe " and reserue this his lre amongst other his Comissions that he and such as shall " succeede him may take notice thereof, as there shall be occasion." (*Court Minutes*, 5th March, 1607/8.)

" Att this Courte his maties lres and Comissions wth his maties saffe Conduct, & " their Coppies in English were now deliured to mr Sharpie, wth expresse Admonicon " that they doe their best endevors for the performeing of this voyadge by way of honest " mrchandize, to wch end & purpose onelie we haue sett them forth & furnished them " wthall thinges needfull & necessarie to that effect, wth expresse order alsoe that they " doe abstaine from dealeing wth any person in bereaueing manner, nor in any other " then in freindlie sorte: vnlesse onelie wth such who shall seeke to provoke them " therevnto, by any hindrance to their quiett trade: by taking of any or goodes &c: " According to the Tenor of his mates Comission now by vs procured for them. Aswell " for the avoiedinge of all scandall to the Company as for performance of his mates: " said Comission, as they will awnsweare the Contrarie." (*Ibid.*, 11th March, 1607/8.)

[1] Added by another hand.

[2] Joseph Salbancke was possibly the original member of the Company of that name, who adventured 240*l.* in the *First Voyage;* and hence, it may be, the consideration with which he was now treated. After the wreck of the *Assention* he proceeded to Agra, and thence started with Covert through Persia and Arabia to make his way overland to England. At Bagdad, however, they met an Englishman named White, who informed them of Middleton's expedition; whereupon Salbancke determined to make for the Red Sea, hoping to meet Middleton, and acquaint him with the particulars of Sharpie's voyage and shipwreck. On his journey he heard a false story of Middleton's capture, whereupon he tried to make his way to Socotra, but fell into the hands of the Portuguese, who carried him to Muscat, thence to Ormuz and Goa, and finally, it would seem, to Lisbon, where he was released and returned to England. In 1612 he went out again as cape merchant in the *Expedition* of the *Twelfth Voyage.* He was at home once more in 1614, but seems to have left again for the Indies in the following spring with Keeling on a voyage on account of the *First Joint Stock.* In [Nov. ?] 1616 he writes from Agra, where he seems to have remained for some time. In 1618 he took part in a voyage from Surat to the Red Sea, when a firman was obtained from the Pasha of Sana for trade at Mocha, &c. Nothing can be traced as to the time or place of his death, but it must have been before the end of 1624, as by Jan., 1625, his widow had married again.

[3] There are gaps here and in the next few lines, owing to a portion of the leaf having been torn away (*see* note, page 233).

may [happen] to succeede yo^{u} as aforesaid may take notice thereof from tyme to [tyme as there] shall be occasion. Wherewth I Comitt yo^{u} all to the Tuition of [Almightie God who] send yo^{u} a prosperous successe in all yor affaires. London th[ ]

[Thomas Smyth]

To o^{r} loueing freind m^{r} Willm Kealinge Gen^{r}all in o^{r} third voyadge to the East Indies, & in his absence to such other of o^{r} ffacto^{rs} as shall be Resident at Bantam or ells where in the said East Indies.[1]

AFTER o^{r} hartie Comendacons &c: Since yor depture from o^{r} Coaste in Aprill last we haue not heard from you the wch we conceiue to happen by noe default in you, but onelie for that you haue not had any meanes to write vnto vs, & we doubt not but ere this you are all in saffetie arriued to some of o^{r} desiered Ports in the Indies accordinge to yor Comission where we hope that by yor good industrie and carriadge we shall finde sufficient & proffitable trade, & likewise haue those retournes wch you shall make home in such Comodities as for their qualitie and goodnes will be more beneficiall vnto vs, then hitherto we haue had as before yor depture hence, & by by yor

A Copie of this lre deliu^{r}ed to m^{r} Sharpie Generall for his better vnderstandinge what is on their parte to be done therein.

Twoe copies sent one to m^{r} Kealing & an other to m^{r} Hawkins wth this Superscripcon.

[3] "Att this Courte was red a lre from the Adventurers in the 3th to their ffacto^{rs} "at Bantam, or els where in the Indies, and allowed to be sent as it was now agreed "vpon. And further yt was ordered That amongst other thinges therein mencioned "yt be incerted into the said lre. That yf the Adventurers in the 4th voyadge shall "happen to leaue any ffacto^{rs} in the Indi[es] where the ffacto^{rs} of the 3 voyadge shall "be Resident, That the ffacto^{rs} in both th[e] voyadges doe remaine and liue together "At the chardge equallie pro rato according to the quantitie of goodes wch shall be "theare left for each accompt. And further yt was agreed. That yf the shipps of "the Adventurers in the said 4th voyadge shall happen to bringe home any of the "goodes of the Adventurers in the 3 voyage, they are to pay freight for the same "after the rate of [*figures deleted*] ^{li} per Tunn &c: As by the same lre Coppied into "the Register at lardge Appereth. A Coppie of wch lre was now alsoe deliu^{r}ed to m^{r} "Sharpie Gen^{r}all for better vnderstandinge what therein was to be performed on his "parte &c." (*Court Minutes*, 12th March, 1607/8.)

instruccõns you haue beene sufficientlie informed, & therefore we make noe question but you will doe yor vtmost endevo^{rs} therein as we put o^{r} trust in you.

And resolving the Continuance of o^{r} trade in those ptͤ as we haue at yor being heare ympted vnto you, we haue now prepared twoe shipps (viz) the Assencõn & the Vnion of wch shipps and men by Comission from o^{r} kingͤ ma^{tie}: m^{r} Alexander Sharpie is o^{r} Generall in the Assencõn & m^{r} Richard Rowles his Leiuetenante Gen^{r}all in the Vnion by whome we haue now sent theis o^{r} ľres vnto you, and thoughe wee cannot but giue you to vnderstand that this voyadge is solie one ioincte stocke seu^{r}all from any of the former voyadgͤ, yett the same is sett forth by some alsoe interessed in the third voyadge, whoe are authorized & allowed by the gen^{r}all Companie to doe the same And are inclined & authorized the next yeare to doe the like. Wherefore as the forenamed Generall and others now sent haue order for their ptͤ to doe the best Assistaunce they cann, soe we wish you to shew them all kindnes and favo^{r} you may, aswell in the direccõn of their trade & saffetie as otherwise, yett soe as the Accomptͤ be noe way mingled, nor the proceedingͤ of either, be any way preiudiceall thone to thother & they Comeing to any place wherein you shall be Resident as loueing Brothers and servantͤ of one Companie you are to instruct them by the best meanes you may howe you haue there proceeded wth the Superio^{rs} of the place, & what you haue done conc^{r}ninge the setlinge of yor trade, & howe the same is likelie to stand. And alsoe of what els shall be fitt for the Comon good, that you wth them & they wth you may soe agree in Concorde that all thingͤ may be soe done as both you and we may haue comforte of yor proceedingͤ therein.

And forasmuch as that o^{r} men the wch you shall leaue in those ptͤ may haue some occasion of longer staie theare before retourne of o^{r} shipps from hence thither vnto them againe, then we at yor being heare intended: we wish you to giue them expresse chardge soe to carie them selues that they may be esteemed good husbandͤ for the Companie, rather increasers then diminishers of what stocke you shall leaue wth them. And it is expected that by their good industrie in buieing of Cashes

& other ymploimentę they may easilie beare their chardges theare, wth ou^r^plus to the proffitt of the Companie wch as is reported they bring to their owne priuate the wch we cannot endure And well ꝑvsing ou^r^ o^r^ ꝉres by you sent vnto them doe vse their best endevo^rs^ to applie them selues diligentlie to ꝑforme o^r^ direccõns therein mencioned, & what els, by experience they may learne, that when o^r^ shipps shall come thither both we & the may finde them to haue beene both diligent industrious & good and faithfull Stewardę to the Companie, & for better ꝑformance of o^r^ said direccõns, we haue now sent them a Coppie of o^r^ foresaid ꝉres by you m^r^ Kealinge sent the last yeare. And further theis are to requier you that if the shipps of the Adventurers in the 4th voyadge shall happen to come where you shall be resident & wante ladeing of their owne. That then & in such case you haueing any goodę to send home you doe lade soe much of the best thereof as convenientlie they shall be able to take in, being it much better that the same be soe brought home then that it should lie theare dead: wherein you are to haue due care that the Accomptę of either ꝑte be noe way mingled & that yor goodę sent doe come vnder a seu^r^all Marke, Consigned by Bills of ladinge to the vse of the Gou^r^no^r^ and Companie of the Adventurers in the third voyadge, takeing the best order that you can for keepinge of the seu^r^all goodę of both voyadgę aꝑte thone from thother & that ꝉres be writte what shall be remaineinge for each Accompt. And further you shall vnderstand That if by theis meanes you shall send home any of o^r^ goodę by the said shipps of the Adventurers in the 4th voyadge & for the same or for some other cause there shall be noe need or ymployment for soe many of o^r^ ffacto^rs^ there wch may happen to be left. Then we doe order that some of the most insufficientest of o^r^ ffacto^rs^ there be brought home by the said shipps in the 4th voyadge if in the discrecõn of the now Generall m^r^ Sharpie & the cheeffest of o^r^ ffacto^rs^ there it shall be soe thought fitt. And alsoe if the Adventurers in the said 4th voyadge shall leaue any ffacto^rs^ in the Indies where you shall be resident, That the ffacto^rs^ in both the voyadgę doe remaine and liue together At the chardge equallie ꝑ rato accordinge to the quantitie of the goodę wch shall be there left for each accompt And thus not doubting of yor faithfull care

and diligence in the premisses we pray God to blesse you all London the 12th day of March 1607.

Yor loueing ffreindę the Gournor Comitties & Generalitie of the Companie of mrchantę trading into the East Indies.

TO ALL[1] to whome this present writing shall come to be seene herd or red wee the gouernor and Companie of Marchauntę of London trading into the Easte Indians send greeting in our Lord god everlasting Whereas wee the said Gouernor and Companie of Marchauntę haue Entertayned Phillip de Grauæ[3] of the precinct of St Katherins neare the Tower of London Marrioner to goe as principall mr for or vses in this pñte voyadge nowe by vs prepared towardes the saide Easte Indians Knowe yee therefore that wee the saide Gouernor and Companie of Marchauntę for the further allowance and recompence of the good service trauell and paines wch hee the said Phillip de Grauæ intendeth to ꝑforme in the said voyage doe by these pñtę for or selues and everie of vs and the Executors and adm̃strators of vs and everie of vs Covenante promise and graunte to and wth the said Phillip de Grauæ his executors adm̃strators and assignes, To give pay and allowe vnto him the saide Phillip de Grauæ his executors adm̃strators or assignes oute of or proper stockes aduentured in the said voyadge wthin six Monethes next after that the said shippes wch is now bounde of the saide voyadge to the East Indians or any of them shall returne into the River of Thames neighe the port of London and

This[2] is the draught of the Bill of Aduenture Ph: Graeff urget (?) to haue.

[1] This is entered on a separate sheet of paper, which has been fastened into the book at this place. It is endorsed "The draught of the bill of Aduenture left by mr "Graeffe," and appears to represent "mr Graeffe's" idea of how his bill of adventure should be worded. The document actually adopted will be found at page 269.

[2] Marginal note added by another hand.

[3] Philip Grove, de Graeffe or Grave, a Fleming by birth, was second pilot in the *First Voyage*, master of the *Dragon* in the *Second*, and master of the *Assention* in the *Fourth*. It is not known what became of him after the shipwreck of the latter vessel.

all the goodꝭ laide on land in London The benifitt proffitt and gaine that shall growe of ffive hundred and ffiftie poundes sterling (according to the rate of such an adventure in the said voyadge) oute of the gaine wch god shall send by the returne of the said voyage, (The Charges of the voyadge & of the goodꝭ returned therevppon groweing dew to be paied being ffirste deducted) In wittnes whereof wee haue herevnto Caused or Common Seale to be put and deliuered this as or deedꝭ yeeven the day of 1607

Annoq RRis: Iacobi Anglie &ca quinto Et Scotie quadragesimo primo.

IN the name of God Amen the last of Februarie 1607.

A Comission[1] set downe by vs the Gournor Deputie and Comitties of the mrchauntꝭ of London trading to the East Indies for better direccõn of or loueing freindꝭ the Generall Leuietenante & other the Captaines mrchantꝭ Masters & Mariners in this or intended fourth voyadge to those ꝑtꝭ wch we humblie beseech god to blesse wth a happie Conclusion.

INPRIMIS whereas we the mrchauntꝭ aforesaid haue prepared wth or greate chardge & trouble Twoe Shipps (viz) the Assencõn of 350 Tonns Phillipp de Graeffe mr, And the Vnion of 400 Tonns Griffin Morris[2] mr, for a voyadge by Godꝭ grace by them to be made to the East Indies, & haue furnished them sufficientlie, & in plentifull manner wth men Tackle victualls & all other needfull prouisions fitt for such a voyadge: of a spetiall trust and Confidence wch we haue in the integritie & iust carrieinge of or loueinge freind Alexander

I
2 ships prepared & mr Sharpie appointed Genrall

[1] "Att this Courte were red and allowed the Comissions from the Company to "the said Alexander Sharpie & Richard Rowles dated the last day of ffebruarie, and "the Blanckes in the same Comissions for the ffactors names vnfilled, but left to the "Genralls discrecons." (*Court Minutes*, 5th March, 1607/8.)

[2] Died at Priaman about the end of 1609.

Sharpie we doe appointe and authorize him Gen^{r}all to goe in the Assencõn and to Comand o^{r} said shipps & all the men in them haueing procured him sufficient authoritie from o^{r} souereigne Lord the kingꝭ ma^{tie}: for that purpose not doubtinge but that he will soe behaue himselfe as he may be both feared and loued & that he will wth all his diligence and endevo^{r} prosecute o^{r} designes and labo^{r} to bringe this o^{r} intended voyadge to a happie end.

The Leiuetenante Generall. 2

Item we appointe and ordeine o^{r} loueing freind Richard Rowles to be Leiuetenante of o^{r} said shipps & men and to take his passadge in the Vnion, wch Comanders ffacto^{rs} m^{rs}: & Mariners we trust will soe carrie them selues wth such due respect one to an other, and obedience to eu^{r}y one of their Superio^{rs} as loue & kindnes be contynued on all sideꝭ, & all whollie applie their witteꝭ & endevo^{rs} for the due ꝑformance of this voyadge, in the best manner they may for the good of the Companie.

ffor religious gou^{r}nm^{t} & prayers dailie 3

Item and for that religious gou^{r}nm^{t} & exercise doth best binde men to ꝑforme their duties it is principallie to be cared for that prayers be said morninge and eveninge in each shipp and the whole Companie called therevnto, wth diligent Eyes that none be wantinge that all ioinctlie may wth reuerence and humilitie pray vnto Almightie god to blesse and preserue them from all danger in this longe and tedious voyadge.

Against blasphemeinge & vnlawfull games. 4

Item that noe blasphemeing of god, swearing thefte dronkennes or otherlike disorders be vsed but that the same be sevearelie ponished, & that noe diceinge or other vnlawfull games be admitted for that most comonlie the same is the begynninge of quarrellinge and many tymes murther a iust occasion of Godꝭ wrath and vengeance from wch the Lord deliu^{r} vs. Therefore it shall be needfull that such orders be sett vp and published in each shipp and such punishm^{t} appointed for such offenceꝭ as may giue notice to eu^{r}y man what he ought to avoied.

To abstaine from shedding liquo^{r} in the Ballast & for keeping the shipps cleane 5

Item that spetiall order be geven that noe liquo^{r} be spilt in the ballast of the shipps, or filthines be left wthin bourd, wch in heate breadeth noysome smells & infeccõn but that there be a diligent care to

keepe the ourlopps & other places of the shipps cleane and sweete wch is a notable preservacõn of health, wherein the Dutchmen doe farr exceede vs in cleanlines to their greate Comendacõns & disgrace to or People.

ffor keepinge Iournalls. 6

Item that Continuall and true Iournalls be kept of euery daies Course & Nauigacõn during the whole voyadge wth a true relacõn of euery thinge, that passeth & this not onelie to be done by the seurall Captaines, mrs, Pilattꝭ & mrs matꝭ but alsoe by the mrchauntꝭ and Pursars, & that some of the principalls in each shipp may Conferr together at convenient tymes, when the Generall shall call them, therevnto, to thend that if any haue forgotten what an other obserued, the same may be added soe as a ꝑfect discourse may be sett downe, to be presented to the Gournor and Companie when god shall grante them a saffe retourne, to be kept for better direccõn of posteritie.

ffor keepinge Companie at Sea. 7

Item that the Generall & mr of his shipp doe sett downe & deliur such instruccõns to the Comanders of thother shipp that they may keepe Companie together for the better releife and Comforte one of an other, And if separacõn of them should happen by Constrainte of weather or Tempest that they should agree vpon a course before hand, & of a place whither to applie their selues to finde each other.

To settle the seurall provisions in each mans chardge after they shall come to Sea & to deliur nothinge out wthout warrant for wch they are to be awnswerable vpon their wages. 8

Item that the Genrall Leiutenante & mrs of the shipps take due notice by Inventory from euery Officer of the shipps before they deꝑte out of the Thames of the seurall provisions deliured to each shipp & soe sone as they shall come to Sea & not before to settle the same in the chardge of the Officers appointed for that purpose in either shipp vntill wch tyme all stores are to remaine vnder locke and key and that the same be entred in the Pursars Bookꝭ vnder written by the said Officers, to thend that such thingꝭ as are provided for their needfull supplies may not be ymbecilled, & that nothinge thereof of any value be ymployed for any vse whatsoeur wthout a warrante vnder the hand of the Generall directed to the Officer that hath such chardge, wch warrante shall serue for their dischardge in their Accomptꝭ, otherwise to be awnswearable for

the same wth their wagꝭ, & eu^{r}y such warrant to be registred in the Pursars Booke the day of the monneth & the occasion & this vpon forfecture of soe much out of the Pursars wagꝭ, this order to be obserued alsoe in each of the shipps by the Comanders m^{rs} Pursars & Officers as aforesaid, that at the retourne of the said shipps a true Accompt may be yealded howe and in what mann^{r} the same haue beene vsed & ymployed.

Not to straggle
9

And whereas the stragling of yor men in any place where they shall arriue or come may proue not onelie the losse of such as shall soe straggle although they shall be Armed, but alsoe thereby much hurte may happen to the Residue of o^{r} People & generallie to the whole Companie. Yt is ordered that you doe not ꝑmitt any man in any place where you shall come (vpon what ground soeu^{r}) to straggle or goe from the Residue of yor Companies vnlesse they be by you first warranted therevnto, & that vpon iust occasion, vpon paine of seveare ponishment to be inflicted of such as shall doe the Contrarie still doubtinge the worst and standinge vpon yor guarde night and day in eu^{r}y place where you shall come wthout yealdinge any trust to those People.

what is to be obserued at wateringe
10.

Item we Comend vnto you the Generall principallie & to the rest of the Comanders and m^{rs}: an espetiall care that at eu^{r}y place where you shall water and refresh yor men you call the Companies together geueing them seveare warninge to behaue them selues peaceablie and Ciuillie towardꝭ the People of that place the better to ꝑcure their freindshipp towardꝭ the supplie of yor wantꝭ, & the like in eu^{r}y place wheare you come, least the losse of yor liues & ou^{r}throwe of o^{r} voyadge pay for yor disorders, besidꝭ an vtter discreditt to o^{r} Nac̃on, and that yor men doe vse a discreete meane in eatinge of fruitꝭ and fresh victualls least the surfett & fall into diseases, whereof we haue had too much experience. And the better to refraine vnrulie appetitꝭ we hould it Convenient that the Generall appointe some of the discreetest in the Companies to procure & prouide in such places what you wante, and the same being prouided and brought to the Generall, by him to be reꝑted[1] to each Companie what may be needfull, and that none presume to

[1] Reparted.

doe the Contrarie wthout seueare ponishmt, And that a spetiall care be had to releeue the sicke wth such fresh meatꝭ & other Comfortable thingꝭ wherewth we haue furnished each shipp for that purpose, & not otherwyse to be spent in Royott and banquettinge, & soe the sicke ꝑishe for wante of thingꝭ needfull: Yet or expresse order is that you neur putt into any Harbor wthout greate occasion, & then vpon crteine knowledge of the Securitie of the place and vigilent care night and day to prevent Dangers takeing espetiall notice from place to place of the Course of the Monsomes for yor better direccõns if you shall haue occasion to goe to diurs places.

To water at St: Lawrence, & sett vp their Pinnasse & followe Sr Iames Lancasters direccons
11.

Item for the fittest place of refreshinge we wish you to shape yor Course to the Porte of St Augustine in the Iland of St Lawrence, where you shall finde good Harbor & plentie of victualls, in wch place it will not be fitt to make longe aboade but make hast and endevor to be vpon the Coaste of Melinde in the monneth of Iulie at the ffurthest, but for yor better direccõn therein we referr you to the instruccõns of Sr Iames Lancaster[1] now deliured you herewth, whoe can best direct you for yor course vpon that Coaste by his owne experience, except you in yor discrecõns finde otherwyse more fitt: still standinge vpon yor guarde in eury place wthout yealding any trust to those People. At wch place alsoe we hould it fitt, & tyme will then best serue to that effect, that you settogether and make readie yor Pinnace the wch you carrie wth you, & alsoe you may heare informe yor selues if or shipps & men sent the last yeare haue beene theare, when, & wch way they tooke &c: for better direccõn of the Busines you are now sent aboute as occasion shall serue.

Beware of the fflattes of the coast of Melinde, & what they are to buie & obserue.
12

ITEM after yor deꝑture from the Porte of St Augustine towardꝭ the Coast of Melynde beware of the fflattꝭ of Iudea[2] wch lie betweene the Iland of St Lawrence & the firme land: vpon wch fflattꝭ it is said that the Currantꝭ doe sett. There is alsoe an Iland vpon the Coaste of Melinde verie fitt for refreshinge yor people as we are informed & whereof the Hollenders had experience in their last voyadge that way: The wch Iland is

[1] See page 136. [2] See page 118.

called *Zinzabar* where if you finde it needfull & haue tyme for that purpose you may theare water and refresh yor Companies, els not. And alsoe it shall not be amisse as you saile alonge w^th^out staye in any place or goeinge a shoare to buie some Oliphauntę Teeth wch are bought at Mozambique & on the Coaste of Melinde in greate abondance, and carried into the Indies. That Commoditie is exceedinglie requested in Cambaia alsoe stoare of Ambergreece is likewise to be had in the Coaste of Melinde and at St Lawrence Iland: But goe not either to Mozambique nor to the Iland of Pemba in any hand but leaue it on yor larbo^r^side.

To make diligent inquirie of all thinges needfull

13

It is further ordered that all the way alonge as you saile, or wheare you shall come you doe yor best endevo^r^ to vnderstand what good saffe Harbo^rs^ are in each place to be had for vs to trust vnto, for maintenance of a Trade in those ꝑtę in saffetie from danger of Portugalls or others: vnder whome in each place the People are in subiection: & of what nature they are: what havens they be, of what condicõn & vnder whose Comand, together wth the dangers & depthes of waters in each place for passadge what trade may be thear had, the sortę prices and goodnes of Comodities, as alsoe what sortę of o^rs^ are there best requested as likewyse by what speedie meanes you may send or bringe vs ɫres ou^r^land of what shall be fitt for vs to haue knowledge of by way of Turkie or otherwise, and for yor better saffetie in yor passadge therein (if need be) we haue ꝓcured you his ma^ties^: saffe Conduct[1] the wch we haue geven to you the Generall to be deliu^r^ed to such as shall be vsed in this respect, endevoring as Convenientlie you may w^th^out any ympedim^t^ to yor voyadge findinge thingę proffitable, to vse the best meanes to drawe the people vnto you in their Iunckę or Boatę wth some of their m^r^chandize for wch you may assay to barter some of o^r^ owne, or sell and buie as you shall see occasion: As alsoe endevoringe to doe & vnderstand what ells shall be for the Comon good of the Companie, & for future experience.

ITEM it is expresslie ordered that by a Generall Consent, of

[1] See page 232.

Some order to be sett downe touching dead mens goodes 14.

you the Generall Captaine ffactors Masters & Mariners some good order be by you taken & sett downe in writeinge soe soone as you come to Sea, concrninge the disposeing of dead mens goodẹ in the voyadge, by sale at the Maste, or otherwise for buieinge sellinge borrowinge & lendinge one an other, & ordering what sallarie shall be allowed the Pursars vpon eury pound for keepinge Accompt thereof to avoied Controursie and Question hereafter, & eury Mariner and other of each shipp to sett their hand or marke vnto the same order. But if any ffactor shall happen to die his goodẹ, Bookẹ, Accomptẹ, & other thingẹ are to be by order of the Generall and Leiuetenant Generall saffelie reserued & brought home for England.

ffor better prservacon of health by washing Caske 15.

Item for better preseruacōn of health or order is that from tyme to tyme as the water Caske shall be emptied of fresh water it be forthwth againe filled wth salt water for prevencōn of leakeinge and Mustines

ffor inquirie for the Suzan. 16.

Item or direccōn is that you make diligent inquirie at St Lawrence & Zinzabar, & all other places in yor passadge and retourne of Tydingẹ of the Suzan:[1] or if any English shipp hath beene of late wthin theis two yeares either cast away or taken, or putt in for reliefe in any of those ptẹ & receiueing any knowledge of her to vse the best meanes you may for recoury of her, her men, and goodẹ, Soe as it may be noe way priudicious to yor proceedingẹ in yor voyadge.

To go thence for Zocatora & soe to Aden & Moccha comeinge in tyme els not & what they are to do theare 17.

Item haueing refreshed yor People wthall speede you are to shape yor course for Zocotora nere the mouth of the Red Sea, where is alsoe good refreshinge & (as is said) the best Alloes Sacatrina in the world & likewise stoare of Amber greece, & other thingẹ whereof we pray you to take notice, & buie thereof, what you shall see convenient but still in all yor mrchandizeing, be carefull to putt of yor English Comodities in Trucke. In this Iland we doubt not but you may be furnished both wth Pilottẹ for Aden: Or if the same be not fitt for trade by reason as it is reported vnto vs the same is a Garrison Towne rather of Souldiers

[1] See note, page 134.

then Marchauntę.[1] Then you are to goe for Moccha a Towne 10 miles from Aden said to be a place of speciall trade right ouer against wch Towne there is an Iland called Kedgee where is alsoe reported to be good Harbo^r^ and wateringe (if need shall soe requier) and vnderstandinge what trade there is to be had, what the People be and of what interteinm^t^: toward strangers, whereof informe yor selues in the best manner you may, as alsoe if o^r^ shipps and men sent thither the last yeare haue been at Aden, or

[1] This paragraph, as well as some of those that follow, is so evidently based upon the information given by Sir Edward Michelborne in his interview with the Company, that it has been thought well to give *in extenso* the interesting account entered on the Court Minutes of 26th Jan., 1607/8:—

"Att this Courte Sr Edward Michelborne as form^r^lie he had promysed appeareing, "declared that for the desier he had to ymparte his knowledge vnto them for the "Good of the Company, he was now come hither, whoe signiefied as followeth.

"ffirst that by experience he had found that mens healthes were best p^r^served by "labo^r^ and refreshinge out of the shipps & in the hotest places by plentie of meate "and drinke then espetiallie to be yealded them, keepeth their Bodies freest from "diseases.

"Then that much perrill and small hope of trade may be expected at Aden, yt "being a Garrison Towne of Souldiers, rather then of Marchauntes, yett neare to "Aden aboute some 10 miles of, there is a Towne (as yt seemeth he is informed) "called Moccha, gou^r^ned wth m^r^chauntes onelie, and a place of spetiall trade right "ou^r^ against wch there is an Iland called Kedgee, wherein is good Harbo^r^ & watering "yf need require.

"Then that by noe meanes o^r^ shipps and men can goe saffelie to Suratt, or theare "expect any quiett trade for the many dangers likelie to happen vnto them by the "Portugalls, Cheeff Comanders of *Diu* and *Demon* & places there aboute very stronge "& hath the sole Comand of those Seas, all the people theare paying them tribute & "the kinge of Cambaia recydeth twoe monnethes iorney from Suratt & the Barr "shallow.

"But he saith there is a place not farr thence, twoe daies saileinge from Suratt, "called Lawrie [*see* p. 251] in the Bay of the River Syndus, wheare is good Harbo^r^ in "saffetie; Twoe miles from wch vp in the Bay there is a greate Cittie like London called "Nigertuttie [*see* p. 252], where is plentie of Indico Callico & diu^r^s m^r^chandize, the "people there are free onelie gou^r^ned by kinge Acabar whoe resideth at Agree some "ffortie miles from Nigertuttie at wch the Portugalls haue nothing to doe but onelie "come thither for m^r^chandize as other Strangers, where he conceiueth yf o^r^ People "doe goe thither behaueing them selues well they will find ample and proffitable "trade aswell of their Comodities as for vent of o^rs^, at wch place Cloth is in greate "request, of the particulars whereof, he will be readie to informe m^r^ Sharpie & "m^r^ Rowles more at lardge.

"He alsoe declared that Iecketta is afitt place to right o^r^ selues of such of those "people that should offer vs any wronge, the wch place is scituate in the River Syndus "but for the fittest tyme of the yeare to that purpose, he is vnwillinge to declare."

theare aboutꝭ, & beinge theare what they haue done, and soe findinge of trade and interteinmt wthall convenient speede you are to direct yor course for Aden or Moccha or some other place theareaboutꝭ wch you may learne to be more fitter for trade and interteynmt, Soe alwaies Provided you come thither about the fine of Iulie, or in such tyme (if need be) as you may goe thence wth that Monsone for Surate or Bantam, the wch we conceiue you may verie well ꝑforme yf (you findinge not thingꝭ there to yor likeinge,) you make noe staye theare but wthall speede deꝑte thence for Surate by the 20th of September at the furthest the wch you are in any case to doe ells you shall loose the oportunitie of that Monsone, where vnto you are both in goeing and retourninge to haue an espetiall care. And beinge arriued neare the place, come to an Ancor but take heed in any Case you come not wthin their danger, still expecting and feareing evill though there be noe cause. And comeing thither first you are to vse meanes (if any of or People be theare[)]to deliur or łres[1] by you sent accordinge to the direccõn to mr Wiłłm Hawkins or to the cheefe of or men wch shall be theare lefte, & therevpon to Conferr together wth them and vnderstand what they haue done aboute the deliury of or kingꝭ matꝭ łres sent by them to the Gourno r of that place wth a Present as alsoe for their quiett trade &c: That you may the better ꝑceede wth good aduice to doe accordinglie, aswell for deliury of his maties łres now sent by you to the Gourno r of Aden or Moccha wth some Convenient present as otherwise as theare shall be occasion, and wthall you are to signifie vnto such of or men as you shall finde there that this fowerthe voyadge is solie one ioincte stocke seuerall from the former Voyadgꝭ yet sett out by some of the same Companie authorized and allowed therevnto by the rest accordinge to the Tenor of the same łre now by vs sent vnto them, & accordinglie throughout all the whole voyadge you are to keepe Accompt of the same as a ioincte stocke of it selfe, sett out by vs seurallie from all the former voyadgꝭ for those ꝑtꝭ. And further if thingꝭ soe stand there as it shall be needfull, you may make it knowne to the Gourno r of the place as we haue formrlie geven order to or men to doe (that is) that you are English mrchauntꝭ & haue

[1] See page 236.

brought ŧres vnto him from o^{r} kingꝭ ma^{tie}: seekeinge onlie peaceable trade, aswell for saile of o^{r} Comodities as for buieinge of theirs. And therewthall to deliu^{r} the same ŧres wth such present as you shall thinke fitt to the said Gou^{r}no^{r} wth whome (as you shall see cause) you may treate for Priuiledgꝭ and freedome of trade for as many Yeares as you can, if it be not by o^{r} men form^{r}lie done or needfull to be enlardged declaringe that o^{r} kinge is in League wth the Grandsignio^{r} That o^{r} People doe trade into Cairo, Aleppo, Damasko, Constantinople, & in all other his Dominions freelie and that o^{r} kinge hath now a lidger Imbassado^{r} in Constantinople, wch loue of the Grand Signio^{r} towardꝭ o^{r} Nacõn, hath ymbouldened vs to visitt that place wth o^{r} shipps and goodꝭ now desieringe by his favorable lycence to trade as Ciuill & peaceable m^{r}chantꝭ & that you desier to settle a ffactorie theare, yf by his honorable favo^{r} you may be ꝑmitted, assureing him that by o^{r} trade his Customes will be greatelie increased for that we shall endevo^{r} to fetch that from thence wch we now fetch from the Molloccos Bantam & diu^{r}s other places in the Indies. To wch if he Yeald it shall be needfull that you craue such articles of Priuiledgꝭ from him in writeinge for o^{r} Nacõn the better to incurradge vs to frequent that place. And for yor better direccõn we haue deliu^{r}ed you the Coppie of Priuiledgꝭ procured for vs by Sr Iames Lancaster from the Kinge of Achen, addinge therevnto what other thingꝭ shall be needfull. And further if you shall see cause you may make the Gou^{r}no^{r} acquainted wth what sortꝭ of English Comodities you haue now brought thither, but not (yf it may be) wth any of yor moneys vntill yor Comodities be first sould, at wch place we choose rather to be, then to make triall of any other if possiblie we may.

ffor better sale of o^{r} Comodities & buieinge of theirs at Aden.
18

Item arrivueinge at Aden or Moccha & findinge good hope of interteynement & trade whereby either presentlie or in some shorte space by the retourne of their Iounckꝭ from Cambaia you may vent o^{r} English Comodities, & finde fitt and sufficient ladeinge there for retournes, we wish you that in the buieinge thereof that you be verie carefull to make choise of that wch is good and fitt for sale, & in sale of o^{r} Comodities that you stand vpon the value & estimacõn thereof, Yet soe as you loose not the oportunitie of

the first mrkettꝭ & reasonable offers least by often veiwinge them they fall to dislike, for Nouelties as you knowe drawe men to buie: and note that by the repaier of all sortꝭ of People thither you shall finde meanes to sell what Comodities of ors are in any place requested yf you putt yor selues forward, & by helpe of some Brokers you seeke to deale: But you must be carefull to vse all men wth kindnes and Ciuillitie, and see that yor men doe the like in any wise, least disorders and scandalous behauior cause you to be abhorred and evill intreated. At wch place as we esteeme it to be the most saffest nearest and cheeffest place for trade we desier rather to be, then at any other, if we may there soe finde proffitable and sufficient trade in saffetie as aforesaid.

ffor Adverticement ourland if need be & by what meanes. 19.

Item if you finde theare that any of or Comodities or Colors will sell better then those we now send, or some of those more vendible then the rest we desier to be adverticed ourland by some Moores that goe to Argier Aleppo or Alexandria and direct yor łres to Richard Allen Consull at Argier to be sent hither wth speede, or to Aleppo to mr Paule Pyndar[1] Consull or to [2] at Alexandria or any other English men that be there obserueing the notꝭ of a Caracter wch we deliur you herewth for better secrecie And not to be backward or slacke by eury Conveyaunce to write least some łres miscarrieinge others may come to hand.

Haueing procured yor lading at Aden to retourne for England. 20

And haueinge procured the dispatch of or shipps wth their full ladeinge our direccōn is that you retourne for England wth the next fitt winde and weather leaueing there for factors if you thinke needfull[2]

☞ noe ffactors names put into theis spaces left.

and such others as you thinke meete wth some convenient allowance & likewise wth order to ymploye their endevors for findinge out of further trade aswell for all sorts of Cloth and Kersies and Colors, best requested, as all other of or Comodities and for the buieing of all those Countrie wares obserueing still good and crteine notꝭ of all sortꝭ of Comodities brought hither from out of the East Indies: But if

[1] See page 122, note. [2] Blank in MS.

after yor arriuall to Aden or Moccha you shall happen not to finde sufficient meanes theare to relade home both yor shipps (as at first you expected) but onelie one of them, nor any hope of further trade there likelie in any good tyme to be made, then o^{r} will is you should wth all expedic͠on send home one of yor shipps soe laden for England vnder the Comand of o^{r} Leiuetenante Gen^{r}all & thother to goe forward for Cambaia or Bantam as the tyme shall be fitt therevnto, & there shall be convenient stocke to doe the same. Betweene wch place at the mouth of the Red Sea & Cambaia & in the River Syndus as we are informed there is noe doubt of Ample and beneficiall trade in saffetie yf you make diligent search and inquirie for the same wherein we pray you to haue espetiall care. And for yor better ꝑceedingꝭ therein wth any Prince or Gou^{r}no^{r} you may finde vnto whome you haue not łres alreadie directed vnto them from o^{r} kingꝭ ma^{tie}: we haue ꝑcured you łres from his ma^{tie}: wth gen^{r}all termes in the inside & wth Blanckꝭ on the outside to be by you directed to any such Prince or Gou^{r}no^{r} if you shall happen to haue occasion: But before yor deꝑture one from annother the Leiuetenante Generall is to call vnto you the Generall for the duplicate of his ma^{ties}: Comission vnder the broad Seale for better Gou^{r}nment of his men homewardꝭ.

Comeing not to Zocotora in due tyme to goe for Aden, to leaue Aden, & goe directlie for Cambaia & there to followe this & the next ensueing orders. 21

But yf it shall soe happen you come not to Zocotora in such due tyme as you may convenientlie goe to Aden & haue that Monsone to bringe you into the Indies (if need be) doe not then at any hand goe to Aden or Moccha but saile directlie towardꝭ Surate the entrance of Cambaia, where if you come aboute the middle of September you shall finde it Somer and faier weather soe as you may saffelie ride in the open Roade. But if the same place shall not be found fitt for trade according to o^{r} expectac͠on by reason of some dangers that may happen vnto you by the Portugalls of Diu and Demon[1] whoe as is said haue the Comand of those Seas & receiue tribute of the People of those placꝭ, Then you are to saile for Lawrie[2] in the

[1] Daman, in Gujarat, still (like Diu) in the possession of the Portuguese.

[2] Lahori Bandar, on the south or left bank of the Baghiár or western branch of the Indus, 20 miles from the Piti mouth. Though formerly the principal port of

Bay of the River *Syndus.* aboute 2 daies saileing from *Surate,* where, as we are informed is good Harbo^{r} in saffetie wthin 2 miles of wch Towne vp in that Bay there is a greate Cittie as bigg as London called Negertuttie,[1] where is plentie of Indico Callicoes & diu^{r}s other m^{r}chandizes fitt for England the people whereof are free, onelie gou^{r}ned by the kinge of[2] Arcabar whoe recideth at Agree some fortie English Miles from Negertuttie, at wch place the Portugalls haue nothinge to doe, but onelie come thither for m^{r}chandize, as other strangers, where it is conceyued if you behaue yor selues well and gentlie towardẹ those people you will finde ample and proffitable trade aswell of their Comodities as for vent of o^{r} Comodities theare, where it is reported Clothes of all sortẹ is in great request. At wch place or places if vpon diligent inquirie you shall finde a c^{r}teine and saffe expectac̃on of trade & that o^{r} shipps may goe into saffe Harbo^{rs} free from danger of the Portugalls or any other: Then you are to staye in the open Roade neare the Barr of Cambaia or at Lawrie & by some of the People wch come out eu^{r}y Tyde from thence, or otherwise we wish you to doe yor best endevo^{rs} to vnderstand yf o^{r} shipps and men sent for those ꝑtẹ the last yeare, haue beene there, & being there what they haue done, & soe findinge hope of saffetie & interteinment to send word to some of o^{r} men (yf any shall be there) that you are arriued wishing to haue Conference wth them before you make yor comeing knowne to the Gou^{r}no^{r} of that place aswell conc^{r}ninge what they haue done in the deliu^{r}y of o^{r} kingẹ ma^{ties}: ł̃res by them sent to the kinge of Cambaia & Present as otherwise of what hope of interteinm^{t} & quiett trade may be there expected that therevpon you may proceed wth good advice to doe accord-

Sind, it has now fallen into complete decay, in consequence of the channel on which it is situated having ceased to be navigable. Hamilton in his *New Account of the East Indies* (1727) describes it as a village of about 100 houses, built of crooked sticks and mud, with a large stone fort mounting four or five guns. The harbour was accessible to ships of 200 tons burden, and a brisk trade was carried on.

[1] Nagar Thato, the native name of Tatta, a town on the Indus in the Karachi district of Sind. It is now sadly shorn of its former glories. Hamilton, who visited it in 1699, speaks of it as "the emporium of the province, a very large and rich city;" and he estimates its dimensions at that time as about three miles long, and one and a half broad. The East India Company had for some time a factory there.

[2] This is the copyist's improvement upon Sir Edward Michelborne's "king Acabar" (see note, page 247).

inglie for deliu^{r}y of o^{r} kingꝭ ma^{ties}: ƚres & Present now alsoe by you sent to the kinge of Cambaia as for the obtayneinge of quiett trade & otherwise as there shall be occasion. And comeinge thither & findinge some of o^{r} men theare you are to deliu^{r} o^{r} ƚres now sent vnto them accordinge to the direccōn, & to signifie vnto them that this voyadge is solie one ioinct stocke seu^{r}all from the former voyadgꝭ, and yett sett out by some of the same Company authorized and allowed therevnto by the rest, accordinge to the Teno^{r} of the same ƚre from vs vnto them,[1] & accordingelie through out all the whole voyadge you are to keepe Accompt of the same as of a ioincte stocke of it selfe by vs sett out seu^{r}all from all the form^{r} voyadgꝭ as is before specified in the 17 Article.

But if none of o^{r} men be theare, & notwthstanding there be
22 vpon informacōn good hope of quiett trade, & kinde interteinem^{t} in saffetie. Then at your arriuall as aforesaid you are neu^{r}thelesse to send word to the Gou^{r}no^{rs} or Comanders there that there is a Messenger arriued wth ƚres from the kingꝭ ma^{tie}: of England vnto their kinge praying the Gou^{r}no^{rs} to send them a boate wth saffe Conveyaunce. And if any come to you from the Gou^{r}no^{rs} Then we thinke it fitt that you the Generall doe repaier thither takeing wth you his ma^{ties}: ƚres & Presentꝭ & such other provisions as you haue for that purpose, & in yor Companie take wth you twoe of o^{r} ffacto^{rs} Reaue[2] and Iourdan & yor owne servant whoe are apprelled to that effect or whome els you shall finde most meete for that purpose, & comeinge to the Gou^{r}no^{r} of Surate or Lawrie present him wth some guifte what you shall thinke meete, & desier them to assist you wth meanes and guidꝭ to their kinge that you may deliu^{r} his ma^{t}ꝭ said ƚres & present vnto that kinge craue a speedie awnsweare and his ma^{ties}: resolucōn if he will be pleased or not to grante you free and saffe trade in his Countries and Harbo^{rs} accordinge to the Teno^{r} of his ma^{t}ꝭ: said ƚre wth sufficient defence against those that shall practise to ympeach or hinder the same, or annoy or hurte any of the shipps Bodies or goodꝭ of

[1] See page 237.

[2] Richard Reave was chosen factor, for his skill in trade and languages, on 22nd Jan., 1607/8. He was, with Captain Rowles and several others, treacherously slain by the natives in Madagascar on the outward voyage.

any of or Nacõn. And the better to induce the kinge to grante vs Priviledgꝭ and free trade signifie that we will be readie to bringe him Armor and other municõn from tyme to tyme in or seurall voyadgꝭ for the better inablinge him against his Enimyes besidꝭ the increase of his Customes wch will be greater for that thereby we shall fetch that from thence wch we now fetch from the Molloccos Bantam and diurs other places in the Indies, & that you seeke onelie peaceable trade aswell for buieinge of their Comodities as for sale of yor owne, wch if he promyse to doe, then desier to haue Comissioners appointed to Consider wth you of Articles in writeinge for setlinge of a ffactorie (yf need be) & for Priuiledgꝭ of Trade for as many yeares as you can procure to be granted to or Nacõn the better to incourradge vs to frequent his kingdomes yf the same be not formrlie ꝑcured by or men not[1] needfull further to be inlardged. And for yor better direccõn therein, we haue deliured you the foresaid Coppie of the Priviledgꝭ formrlie procured for vs by Sr: Iames Lancaster from the kinge of Achen,[2] addinge thervnto what other thingꝭ shall be needfull: wch Priviledgꝭ beinge obtayned and signed by the kinge, haueinge taken yor leaue in Comelie manner, and receiued such Comoondemtꝭ in writeinge directed to his Gourno rs and Officers of his Townes and Portꝭ, as you can ꝑcure for yor defence against all disturbers of you in yor peaceable trade. And for their Assistance of you & kinde interteinmt in the same, you are wthall speede to make yor retourne to Surate or to Lawrie aforemencioned: And haueing deliured that kingꝭ Comandement to the Gournor and Officers there craue their Assistance wth Pilottꝭ & saffe Conduccõn of yor shipps & therewth make all the expedicõn you can to gett into the Harbor: But first shewe to some trustie Brokers, paterns of such yor Clothes kersies and other Comodities as are in or shipps, whereof, as of such moneys we haue nowe sent you haue[3] an Invoice, takeinge knowledge wch sorte of those Comodities wilbe theare best sold & accordinglie giue order for fetching of them a shoare in saffe manner. And further if you shall see cause you make the Gournors acquainted wth what sortꝭ of English Comodities you haue now brought thither but not (yf

[1] Or? [2] See page 69.

[3] Probably "here" is intended.

otherwise possiblie) wth any of yo[r] moneys vntill yo[r] Comodities be first sold.

ffindinge vent att Cambaia for o[r] commodities & fitt retourne of theirs for England what the are to doe for sale & buieinge thereof. 23.

And findinge that you may vent o[r] English Comodities & finde pffitable and sufficient ladinge there for retournes as Indico, Cotton yarne fine Callicoes Opium Gumlacre Beniamyn Muske Sivitt Amber Mirr, Olibinum, pretious stones Bezars &c: we wish you that in the buieinge thereof you be verie carefull to make choise of that wch is good & fitt for sale, & in sale of o[r] Comodities that you stand vpon the value and estimacõn thereof as in the 18th Article.

Haueing procured ye ladeinge of their ships at Cambaia to retourne home and leaue ffactor[rs]. 24

And haueing procured the dispatch of o[r] shipps wth their full ladeinge at *Surate or Lawrie* or theareaboutę of some proffitable Comodities as aforesaid the most ptę whereof to be Indico yo[u] are to retourne for England wth the next fitt wynde and weather leaueing there for ffactor[rs] (if you shall thinke needfull)[1]

And such others as you shall appointe w[th] some convenient allowance, & likewise w[th] order to ymploy all their endevo[rs] for findinge out of further trade aswell for all sortę of Clothes & kersies as their Colo[rs] best requested as all other of o[r] Comodities, & for the buieinge of those Countrie wares obserueinge still good & c[r]teine notę of all sortę of Comodities there to be sould as is form[r]lie mencioned in the 20[th] Article. Wheare alsoe before yo[r] retourne for England yo[u] are accordinge to yo[r] direccõn in the 17[th] article to take the best informacõn you can of the state of Aden, as what Harbo[rs] and Pilottę to bringe men in, are theare to be had what Condicõn the People are of what trade & what interteinem[t] towardę strangers, what thingę will be there vendible & saleable &c: & what els shall be needfull to be knowne in that respect, & to acquainte vs therew[th] for o[r] better knowledge what to doe if hereafter at any tyme we shall thinke good to visitt that place.

findinge ladinge but for one shipp to send her home by the Leiuetenante Gen[r]all & the duplicate of

But if after yo[r] arriuall to Surate or Lawrie or thereaboutę you shall happen not to finde fitt and sufficient ladinge theare to relade home both yo[r] shipps as you first expected but onelie one of them, nor any

[1] There is a blank space here in the MS.

his ma^{tes} Comission & send the other for Bantam haueinge but 2000^{li} stocke to relade her thence.
25.

hope of ffurther trade there likelie in any reasonable tyme to be made, then o^{r} will is if you haue but left of o^{r} stocke sent wth you to the some of 2000^{li} in moneys or in such Pinthadoes or Callicoes as you shall there ꝑuide for Bantam & the Molloccos you shall wthall expedic͞on send home for England, one of yor said shipps soe laden vnder the Comand of o^{r} Leiuetenante Generall whoe before his deꝑture from you is to call vnto you the Generall for the duplicate of his ma^{t}ꝭ: Comission vnder the Broade seale for the gou^{r}nm^{t} of his men homewardꝭ as aforesaid and the other shipp wthall expedic͞on to goe directlie thence for Bantam for better ꝑformance whereof, you are soe to order yor affaires at Surate, That you may be suer (if need be) you may haue the Monsone to bringe you thither.

If all the stock nowe sent will fullie lade both the shipps then it is to be putt in both & retourned for England.
26

But if at yor being at Surate or Lawrie or theareaboutꝭ you shall haue occasion by the Costlines of the Comodities you shall theare ꝑuide to ymploy all o^{r} stocke of moneys & Comodities you shall now carrie wth you, for such proffitable Comodities of those placꝭ as is before mencioned, & the same will not be sufficient fullie to relade both the shipps home, Then o^{r} will is you lade the same Comodities so bought in both the shipps equallie accordinge to their Bourthen & retourne wth all expedic͞on directlie for England leaueing there some ffacto^{rs} wth Convenient allowance yf you shall thinke meete as aforesaid.

But findinge not trade at Cambaia to goe directlie for Bantam, & what is there ordered to be done.
27

But yf at Surate or Lawrie or theareaboutꝭ you be not kindlie dealt wthall nor cannott by any meanes finde interteinm^{t} in saffetie or sufficient Com͞oditie to relade one or both of yor shipps home. Then you are wth both the shipps and Pinnace to shape yor course alonge the Coaste of Mallabar wth that Monsone for Bantam wth such Pinthadoes and Callicoes as you can gett for those placꝭ where you haueinge deliu^{r}ed our ꝉres accordinge to the direcc͞on of o^{r} ffacto^{rs} at Bantam & made them acquainted that what we now send is a ioincte stocke seu^{r}allie of it selfe, accordinge to the Teno^{r} of o^{r} said ꝉre as before is mencioned in the 12[1] & 17 Articles we referr you to Consider wth them theare

[1] 21 ?

what is best to be done wherein vsinge such direccōns for yo[r] reladeinge homewardꝭ as you shall be then best advised: either wth Mace Nutmeggꝭ & Cloues at the Mollocos, or wth the same and Pepꝑ. Wherein alsoe you are to remember and foresee that in ladeing those Comodities you buie such as are drie & not greene, & that you cleanse them what you can that the ships be not stuffed w[th] such vnproffitable ware as is not worth the Custome, wherein we pray you to omitt noe tyme.

See you haue yo[r] weight & the Bagges nombred & m[r]ked. 28

Item be verie carefull that you haue yo[r] due weight & the same putt into Baggꝭ nombred and m[r]ked & sent abourd the shipps w[th] some of the ffacto[rs] or some other trustie ꝑsons w[th] a note conteyneinge the ꝑticuler of eu[r]y Bagge vnder the nomber, the same note to be deliu[r]ed to the Pursar whome we chardge to weigh eu[r]y Bagg at the takeing of it into the shipp, wherby he may see that the weight is accordinge to the note receiued, keepinge eu[r]y note & entringe the Contentꝭ into his booke, whereby yf any erro[r] happen it may be found out w[ch] we wish you the Generall to examine eu[r]y night that there growe noe abuse.

ffor sale of victuall & Canvesse &c: 29.

Item forasmuch as in former voyadgꝭ soe now in this theare may be occasion for the benefitt of the Companie to make sale of some of yo[r] Victualls Canvesse or some other thingꝭ belonging to yo[r] stoare, or otherwise whereof you shall happen to haue noe neede. Yt is therefore ordered that good care be had that the same be done not onlie for the proffitt of the Companie w[th]out any danger to the voyadge: But alsoe brought (as all other thingꝭ) to the gen[r]all Accompt of the Companie.

The Pursars chardge for keepeing a true accompt of all thinges brought in & caried out of the shipps 30.

Item we chardge that the Pursar be continuallie abourd the shipp and take true notice of all thingꝭ, whatsoeu[r] are brought into the shipp or carried out, either by the Gen[r]all Captaines, m[rs]: Mariners the Pursar himselfe, or whosoeu[r] the same to be entred into his Booke vnder the name of the owner that eu[r]y one may haue his due at the retourne as the Pursar will awnsweare it w[th] the losse of his wagꝭ and we pray the Generall and Captaines to geue the Pursar strict order for ꝑformance thereof.

One hatch onelie open at the ladinge of the shipps & leaueing worke to lock it &c: 31

Item that there be but one hatch open (yf it may be) at the ladinge of either of the shipps & all the other hatches lockt vpp & that the m^{r} or one of his ma^{t}ꝭ: & the Pursar to stand by the open hatches when any goodꝭ are shott into hould, lockinge the same Vpp when they haue left worke, the key to be geven to the Generall or Capteine to be kept.

To buie what is good & not to ou^{r}wett any of the Comodities 32

Item to be carefull that nothinge be bought but what is especiall good, & that you doe not ou^{r}wett the Cloues when they be laden, for ou^{r}wett Cloues bad Nutmeggꝭ & Mace haue heretofore beene a greate hindrance vnto vs & taught vs to advise you to be more carefull.

To admitt noe priuate [trade] to any in any of theis Comodities vpon penaltie to loose the same 33.

Item for that voyadges of this Condic̃on & greate chardge cannot admitt any priuate trade o^{r} will is that neither you the Generall nor any other vpon any ꝑticular, or other Accompt, then the Generall and iointe stocke doe lade or deale wth any of those Comodities herevnder expressed Viz Pepꝑ, Cloues, Nutmeggꝭ, Mace, Synamon, Gynger, Indico, Callicoes, Amber greece, Muske, Alloes, Beniamyn, and Gumlacre. And that yf any shall soe doe the same to be applied to the Accompt of the Companie as our propper goodꝭ it beinge noe way reasonable that we should paie them their wagꝭ wth meate and drinke, & they lade those thingꝭ in o^{r} shipps wch should defray o^{r} chardge.

To compare their weightes & measures wth o^{rs} before you buie. 34.

Item in eu^{r}y place where you come and trade Compare their weightꝭ & measures wth o^{rs} before you buie, to thend you may knowe the better what to doe & howe to make yor reckoningꝭ for wch purpose we haue put sundrie Chestꝭ wth weightꝭ into o^{r} shipps.

Some of the ffacto^{rs} appointed to weighe what is bought. 35.

Item that there be the sufficientest and best aduiced of o^{r} ffacto^{rs} appointed to weighe what is bought by weight on the land & to keepe a ꝑfect Booke thereof, that the same may be nightlie conferred wth the Pursars Booke, whereby erro^{rs} may be the better found out.

Item that o^{r} ffacto^{rs} bringe or send by the first shipps 8 or 10

To bringe some of the Dollors the Hollenders carrie thither. 36.

of the Dollers or Royalls wch the Hollenders carrie thither.

Item we vtterlie forbidd any excessiue drinkeing feastinge or banquetinge abourd the shipps at Sea, or on land it being a greate wast & Consumpcōn of victualls and wyne, the cause of many diseases & disorders in the Companie, & therefore the same to be spent wth more discrecōn and sparinge.

Against excessiue drinkinge and banquettinge. 37.

Item remember to matt the insid℮ of the shipps before you put any spice vnto[1] them especiallie where you lade Cloues Pepꝑ Nutmegg℮ and Mace, & be carefull to make choise of the Nutmegg℮ that they be lardg and sound, & at the lading thereof doe not lyme them too much for that doth burne them,[2] & beware you lay the Mace in Canisters in some fitt place by it selfe, that it be not spoyled by the heate of the other spices, takeing good heede to buie that wch is bright & not withered nor red nor darke browne Colored, & such Cloues as shall be free of dust, the wch those people vse to putt amongest them for their advantage in the weight.

To matt the shipps 38.

Item yf necessitie drawe you at the ladinge of the Cloues for better setlinge of them to cast water vpon them, be suer that it be but sprinklinge wth some thinge for the purpose, like a wateringe pott for that too much wett in or Cloues the last voyadge brought vs greate damadge.

To sprinkle the Cloues wth water if need be 39.

Item that if it be thought meete that a ffactorie be setled at Banda, Tornato or Tedore the better to advise the Companie for trade as was formrlie thought fitt in the Comission geven to mr Kealinge & mr Hawkins in the last Voyadge[3] you may leaue some to that purpose wth some small stocke if vpon due consideracōn thereof at yor being there, it shall be soe thought fitt. And seeing that by former Accompt℮ it apꝑeth that those of Luntor and Nere did sell their Cloues & Mac℮ much better cheepe, to receiue their paymt in gould, then in Royalls namelie the Bahare of Nutmegg℮ for 9 Royalls & the Bahare of Mace for

To settle afactorie & where if need be & where Comodities are sould better cheepe for gould then for money &c: 40.

[1] A mistake for "into." [2] See page 128, note. [3] See page 129.

90 Royalls in sylver: But payinge wth gould the Price of Nutmegge but 7 Royalls & of Mace but 70. We therefore thinke it needfull that all meanes be vsed to sell or Comodities for Barter or gould & to finde out such place where gould may be had as especiallie as we are informed at the Iland of Nouaginnye[1] or ells where.

To giue the ffactors chardge often of what they are to obserue by this Comission.
41.

Item that the Generall & Captaines geue often notice to the ffactors & others what they are to obserue by this or Comission wth espetiall chardge to the ffactors to make diligent inquirie of what Comodities are to be bought or bartered for in each Iland, & what English mrchandize may be there vented, & of what kinde and Colors most vendable

what or ffactors are to procure of the Cheneses &c:
42.

Item it is to be remembred that or ffactors at Bantam doe their best endevors to pcure the Cheneses to bring from Cheney sleaue and sowing silke of the Color and Syces[2] we haue now deliured to you the Generall as alsoe some rawe silke that we may fall into some trade wth them & see yf they can sell any of or English Cloth to them, that they may be brought to thuse thereof.

An Invoice.
43

Item for the quantities of money & mrchandize put into each shipp we referr you to or Invoice deliured you herewth, wth the pticuler sorte Coullors & prices wth paterns of all sorte whereby to make sale as is formrlie made mencon of in the 17th Article.

noe voluntarie men or other to goe but such as shall be allowed by the Companie.
44.

Item whereas heretofore the Companie haue receiued greate wronge by the Genrall & Captaines, mrs & Mariners admittance of voluntarie men, to goe in or shipps, we hereby giue an espetiall chardge vnto you or Generall Captaines & mrs: that you suffer none such to goe alonge wth you wch put the Companie to chardge beside many other Inconvenience, nor any but such as shall be allowed of by or direction & whose names are entred into or Booke.

The placeing or

And yf you shall see cause to leaue any of or ffactors there we doe hereby order that the appointmt of them to

[1] See page 129, note. [2] Sizes.

leaueinge of the ffacto^{rs} at the discrecon of the Gen^{r}all & what the are to doe being left.
45.

recide in those places shall be at the direcc͠on and discrec͠on of you the Generall wherein we hope You will haue that Considerac͠on as to make choise of the fittest wch shall be found able and meete to deserue that trust of ymployment neither lett o^{r} placeing them in the seu^{r}all shipps as they are placed be any rule to you or any ground to them, to inioye those places of ymploym^{t}, otherwise then they shall be found fitt and deserue, and o^{r} further order is that you giue espetiall chardge to such as shall be by you left there to carrie themselues verie kindlie wth those People, for that the Contrarie as we are informed hath beene hurtfull vnto vs, & that some of o^{r} mens vnkinde & churlish dealinge towardꝭ them did form^{r}lie make many of those People refraine to deale wth vs, & goe to the Hollenders. And o^{r} desier is that such as shall be left there doe there best endevo^{rs} to finde out trade at Mesopotania[1] in the ꝑtꝭ of Bengalla Cheremendall St Thome or any other places fitt for trade. And to take good obseruac͠on what English Comodities as Iron, Leade, Tynn, steele, Clothes, kersies, and saies wth their seu^{r}all kindꝭ and Colo^{rs} are there best in request & their values: As alsoe what Comodities are there to be bought as namelie Pintadoes & such like for the Molloccos & likewise Booke Calicuttꝭ and Lawnes called Casa and such other thingꝭ as may serue for England, where the first sorte will serue best wth Pearles, stoanes Muske Bezar, and such like wth their seu^{r}all prices, wherein we wish o^{r} men to be ymployed, each man accordinge to his skill, the omission for seekeing out whereof all this while hath retourned to o^{r} greate losse, and to the benefitt of the Hollenders whoe haue beene laborious and industrious therein, & this inquirie to be made yf it be possible before yor retourne to thend that at yor retourne to England we may be effectuallie adu^{r}ticed of all theis ꝑticulars soe far as you may, & of all other thingꝭ for o^{r} better direcc͠ons in the next voyadge.

Not to ymparte the trade to any but the Company
46.

Item for that it is vnfitt & inconvenient that o^{r} trade be ymꝑted vnto any but o^{r} gen^{r}all Companie it is expreslie ordered, & soe the ffacto^{rs} are to haue chardge not to write or aduice any their ꝑticuler

[1] See page 73, note 10.

freindꝭ or others of the prices of any Comodities, either bought or sould But onelie in their genrall ɫres to the Gournor and Companie.

Item that you or Generall at yor retourne from those ꝑtꝭ for England doe bringe wth you vnto vs from thence an Inventorie of all or goodꝭ debtꝭ & moneys wch you then shall happen to leave remaineing in any those ꝑtꝭ puttinge to this or genrall Accompte all guiftꝭ presentꝭ and gratificacõns wch shall be geven by any forreine Prince or Potentate vnto whome we haue now sent Presentꝭ or others.

To bring an Inventory of goodes debtes and moneys you shall leaue in those partes
47

And further or direccõn is that you or Generall att yor comeing to Bantam doe besidꝭ the ɫre and present to that kinge giue vnto the Admirall & such other greate ꝑsonadgꝭ theare as or ffactors shall aduise you to haue beene freindlie to them, such present or gratificacõn as shall be thought fitt, and by their further kinde dealeinge wth you they shall deserue.

To giue to the Admirall at Bantam a Present (if need be)
48

And alsoe yf Convenientlie you may we wish that a ffactorie or at least some of or people be appointed to recide at Priamon both for their better health and saffetie, & for ꝓcuring for vs pepꝑ & other Comodities: yf there shall be men and stocke there to ymploie & you shall see iuste cause to doe the same

A ffactorie at Priamon (if it may be).
49

Item or direccõn is that at yor retourne from Bantam you doe bringe thence for the Companie some small quantitie of the East India Tynn for triall & proofe thereof.

To bring some Tynn from Bantam &c:
50

Item Touching the ffacte Comitted by Sr Edward Michelborne[1] though we and the rest of or Companie knowe or selues to be meerelie innocent therein, Yet if by any meanes we or or goodꝭ should be dampnified thereby we wish you soe farr as saffelie you may to seeke to that Kinge and Magistratꝭ for redresse and recompence thereof. The wch yf you cannot obtaine then or will is that you vse the benefitt geuen you in that behalfe, soe farr forth as you shall see cause & be free of further danger.

What is to be done aboute the ffact of Sr Edward Michelborne (if need be)
51.

[1] See note, page 134.

And for that we finde best proffitt by the lardge sorte of Pepꝑ both for the pricę that you pay aswell for thone as for theother, we pray you at any hand to buie soe much of the lardgest sorte as by any meanes you can gett, and let the same be put by it selfe into the shipp that it be not mingled wth any other.

To buie of the lardgest pepper.
52

Item after the deꝑture of the said Alexander Sharpie and Richard Rowles to diu^rs Coastę as thone for England & thother as we haue by this Comission ordered yf the said Richard Rowles shall happen to die (wch god forbidd) then we doe appointe in his place for ordering and effectinge the busines by vs hereby Comitted vnto the said Richard Rowles his chardge vnto Richard Reaue ffacto^r, But neu^rthelesse if the said Richard Rowles shall happen to die before he shall ꝑte Companie wth the said Alexander Sharpie for diu^rs placę as aforesaid, Then o^r expresse will is that Wiłłm Revett[1] facto^r be appointed in the place of the said Richard Rowles of Leiuetenant Generall in this present voyadge before any other. As alsoe by the death of the said Alexander Sharpie now o^r Generall to succeede his place and chardge in the absence of the said Richard Rowles by death or otherwise vntill their meeteinge together againe in this voyadge.

53.

Item now lastlie & w^the the first to be remembred we Comend vnto you all an espetiall care to haue yor Eyes open to all deuices & practises wch may be wrought against you o^r shipps and goodę in eu^ry place where you come keepinge a continuall watch, whereby you may be readie to prevent any mischeefe intended against you suspect all howe freindlie soeu^r they seeme to be be redie still and stand vpon yor guarde truste not yor saffetie to the carelesse attendance of the Comon Mariners whoe will not loose their present pleasures or ease though the losse of yor liues o^r shipps and goodę depend vpon it. And albeit we haue sett downe eu^ry thinge what we remember & desier to be done in ꝑticular, Yet yf vpon due Consideracõn you finde cause to aulter any thinge, wch we

54.

[1] One of the factors in the *Assention.* After the shipwreck, he set out with the others for Agra, but died upon the road.

heare haue sett downe, haueing wth good aduice resolued therevpon we referr the same to yor discrecōns, & for yor better assistance & warie proceedinges therein as alsoe in all other or affaires we appointe Willm Revett Richard Reaue and Iohn Iourdan, if you see noe cause to the Contrarie & such others as you the principall Comanders shall thinke fitt to Consider and Consult wth you the Generall of all thinge needfull, whome we wish you to imbrace & vse wth a loueinge respect & freindlie & diligentlie to hearken to their Councells puttinge in execucōn what shall wth good deliberacōn be soe agreed vpon: And soe we Comend you and yor endevors to Gode prouidence whoe guide you wth his feare & defend you from all dangers. Amen.

Thinge deliured by the Companie to
mr Alexander Sharpie Generall in March 1607. Viz.

1. INPRIMIS This Comission of the Companie vnder their seale signed by the Secretarie.

2. Item 12 ɫres from his matie: & the English of them to Prince in the Indies.[1]

3. Item a saffe Conduct from his matie: vnder the priuie seale for passadge of or men from the Indies ourland wth a Coppie thereof in English.[2]

4. Item a Comission to mr Sharpie Genrall & a duplicate to mr Richard Rowles Leiuetenant Genrall vnder the greate seale of England, the wch duplicatt is to remaine in his hande vntill they twoe depte Companie.[3]

5. Item a Coppie of the Priviledge obtayned by Sr Iames Lancaster at Dachem & Sumatra to the Companie[4] his obseruacōn of tymes meete to be obserued in the East Indies[5] And the Discripcōn of the Ilande of Banda Amboyna Selebes or Makasser Botton Seran wth the wares therein spent and bought & their weighte

[1] See page 231.
[2] See page 232.
[3] See page 227.
[4] See page 69.
[5] See page 136.

together wth crteine direccõns for saileing vpon the Coastꝭ in the Indies.[1]

6. A ƚre howe to deale wth Salbancke according to order of Courte the 5th of March 1607.[2]

7. An order of Courte held the 11th of the said monneth of March, not to deale in any other mannr but by way of honest mrchandize[3]

8. A ƚre to the ffactors of the 3 voyadge[4] wth a Coppie thereof & of theirs formrlie sent the last yeare for better vnderstandinge what is to be ꝑformed on their ꝑte of the 4th voyadg wth a note of the manner of his priuate trade & howe the same is to be registred &c :

9. An Invoice of all moneys & other thingꝭ now sent : Carracters[5] to write Overland (if need be) & Beames weightꝭ & Scales &c.

Thingꝭ then deliured to mr Richard Rowles Leiuetenante genrall.

I. INPRIMIS the foresaid Comission of the Companie vnder their seale signed by the Secretory

2 A Coppie of the foresaid Priuiledgꝭ obtayned by Sr Iames Lancaster at Dachem wth the obseruacõn of tymes in the Indies & the discripcõn of Ilandꝭ wares weightꝭ & direccõn for saileinge vpon the Coaste of the Indies &c : before mencioned.

3 An other ƚre to the ffactors of the 3 voyadge for the more saffetie in deliury thereof accordinge to the suꝑscripcõn wth a note of the mannr of his priuate trade & how the same is to be registred &c : The Copies of all thingꝭ before mencioned are formrlie recorded in this Register.

[1] See pages 73-86.
[2] See page 234.
[3] See note, page 234.
[4] See page 236.
[5] See page 250.

THE some of a Passe[1] to be procured for the East India Companie from the Grandsignior to A B and C D Gournors of his Citties of Aden and Mocca at the mouth of the red sea & to all & euery other his Officers Gournors and superiors of any his Provinces Citties Townes Seas Rivers & Bridgꝭ &c: thereaboutꝭ, or ells where in any his Dominions.

The some of a saffe Conducte from the Grand signior.

That whereas he and his Predicessors are and haue beene for the space of many yeares in league and amitie wth the mightie kingꝭ of England & the subiectꝭ of that kingdome haue longe had and now haue free traffique and trade in Marchandizeing in his dominions and Countries through the Mediterranean Seas: And whereas some of the Subiectꝭ of that kingdome (as he is informed[)] haueing wth their greate chardge and labor found out atrade in Theast Indies, & heareing of the fame & wealth of some ꝑtꝭ of his Countries in their passadge to the said Indies, are desirous to vizitt those placꝭ for thenlardginge of their said trade. And Considering how beneficiall the same may be to him & his kingdomes, & that such men in soe good an enterprize proffitable to humane Societie deserue not onelie praise and favor but alsoe aide and helpe soe far as may be lawfullie & convenientlie yealded. He hath beene pleased of his Princelie favor to vouchsaffe them theis his l̄res of saffe Conducte and Comendac̄on Comanding the said A B. and C D. and all other his said Officers &c: not onelie kindlie and loueinglie to enterteine and receiue the said Marchauntꝭ subiectꝭ of England, comeing or passinge throughe, or by any of his dominions assistinge and releiueinge them wth all thingꝭ needfull for them selues, their men and shipps: But alsoe freelie to ꝑmitt them by land or by Sea to goe or saile to goe forward, or retourne and as their occasion shall requier to remaine in any his Countries Citties or dominions, grantinge them such liƀtie of traffique and priuiledgꝭ as shall be reasonable, wthout giueing or sufferinge any lett hindrance Iniurie or molestac̄on to be offered or done vnto them, & yealdinge vnto them such offices of benevolence & humanitie as shall be convenient to be yealded honest men and strangers vndertakeinge soe longe and laborious a iourney handlinge their owne affaires & behaueing them selues honestlie and peaceablie.

[1] See page 217.

AFTER[1] or hartie Comendac̃ons &c: fforasmuch as we haue an intent to buie the shipp at Hull called the mrchaunt Royall soe as shee vpon veiwe may be found fitting for vs in all respectꝭ aswell in her price as goodnes: & vnderstanding that by some yor affaires, you now haue occasion to be at Hull or thereaboutꝭ: we haue thought yt good and haue soe concluded to send the bearer hereof mr Robert Earle vnto you a man skilfull in shippinge to thend that by or instrucc̃ons giuen him (a coppie whereof we send you here inclosed) & yor good direcc̃ons, a diligent veiwe and inquirie may be taken of her, both for her price, goodnes, strength, breadth and fitnes for or seruice, as for or saffe inioyinge of her &c: Wherefore we pray you to make ymployment of the said mr Earle herein, & to giue him yor helping hand for the ꝑformance thereof in the best manner you may for the good of the Company. And further we doe requier you (yf you wth the advice of the said mr Earle) shall soe finde the said shipp in all respectꝭ as aforesaid fitt for or service to vse the best meanes you cann to buie her for thuse of this Companie soe as you may haue her deliured here at London wth all thingꝭ now belonging vnto her vnder or for the some of seaven hundred poundꝭ at the most for the cheeffest man of abilitie and otherwise wth whome you are to deale for sale and securitie of her we conceiue to be mr Ioseph ffeild a man not vnknowne vnto you as we vnderstand But yf you cann not bargaine for her vnder or at that price at the most then we pray you to crtifie vs of the ꝑticulars thereof by the said mr Earle or by some more speedie

To or verie loueing freind mr Hum: Smyth mrchant at Hull.

[1] Immediately after the ships of the *Fourth Voyage* had been despatched, preparations were made for the equipment of a *Fifth*. The *Merchant Royal* of Hull was mentioned at a court held on 22nd March, 1607/8, as a suitable vessel, and three members of the Company, including Mr. Humphrey Smyth, were requested to make the necessary enquiries. On the 19th April, it was agreed that Robert Earle should be sent to Hull to view the ship, and to "deale therein accordinge to or instruccons "giuen him & as he shall be directed by mr Humfrey Smyth vnto whome we purpose "to direct or lres to that effect: as by or Register (of such thinges) at lardge appereth." On the 14th June, 15*l.* was voted to Mr. Earle for "his paines & chardges" in going to Hull, but nothing is said as to the result of his mission. The ship was not bought, but this may have been due to the resolution come to that the *Fifth Voyage* should not be sent out by the adventurers in the *Fourth*, as had been intended, but by the adventurers of the *Third Voyage*.

Messenger that vpon receipt of yor ƚres we may resolue what to doe in the same. And thus not doubting of yor care and kindnes we comitt you to the tuicõn of Thalmightie London the 20th of Aprill 1608.

Yo^{r} loueing freindℓ the Adventurers of theast India Company in the 4th voyadge.

The Twenteth of Aprill 1608.

A remembraunce for m^{r} Robert Earle to be sent to Hull about veiwing of the shipp there to be sould called the m^{r}chant Royall.[1]

INPRIMIS you are wthall convenient expedicõn to goe for Kingston vpon Hull or to Beverley or theareaboutℓ to m^{r} Humfrey Smyth of London m^{r}chaunt at what place you may there first finde him & deliu^{r}ing him theis o^{r} ƚres you are to take and ffollowe what direccõns he shall giue you in this busines.

Item yo^{u} comeinge thither and findinge (wth the advice of the said m^{r} Smyth) that the said shipp may be for o^{r} seruice, you are to make diligent search and veiwe of her, of what strength she is of, what crosse beames, futtick Riders,[2] bottume riders & needfull stannders[3] &c: she hath in her: whereby yt may be the better conceiued what the cost will be to make her fitt for o^{r} voyadgℓ.

Item you are c^{r}teinelie to learne her burthen, her breadth her length: how much water she draweth in her ballast, & howe much full laden, yf she be any way weakened by the longe lyinge not ymployed: her adge, & yf all her tymbers be sounde.

Item you are to vnderstand & see howe she is fitted wth good mastℓ, sailes, yardℓ, Cables & other furniture.

[1] See note on the preceding document.

[2] Riders are timbers reaching from the keelson to the orlop-beams, to bind the ship and give additional strength. When a rider is lengthened by means of pieces batted or scarphed to it, the latter are known as futtock-riders. (Smyth's *Sailor's Word Book.*)

[3] Standards.

Item you are to make inquirie howe she is Condicioned in her saileing & steridge as otherwise: & alsoe what ordinance she hath, of weight and length &c: & of all other thingꝭ needfull.

Item to learne her lowest price, & in that price what ordinance mastꝭ sailes yardꝭ Cables & other thingꝭ are to be sould wth her and being bought howe she may be brought hither & at whose chardge & what good securitie may be had for enioyinge of her, & by whome yt will be geven.

Lastlie you are to make an Inventorie of all the premisses in writeinge the better to informe vs at yor retourne, in what state she is, what she hath & what she wanteth & the same being ꝑformed you are to retourne by the first meanes you may: But yf before yor comeing thither yt shall fall out that m^{r} Humfrey Smyth shall be retourned thence for London then you are to followe theis yor direccōns wthout him wherein you are to vse all care & expedicōn & Retourne.

WHEAREAS[1] we the Gou^{r}no^{r} and Company of Marchauntꝭ of London trading into the East Indies Haue interteyned and hired Phillipp de Graeffe of the precinct of St Katherines neare to Tower of London Mariner to goe as principall m^{r} in one of the twoe shipps now latelie by vs prepared & sent in o^{r} fourth voyadge for those ꝑtꝭ. And haue allowed and paied him for his ymployment in the said voyadge before his deꝑture hence theis seu^{r}all somes following Viz. The some of One hundred Twentie and ffyve poundꝭ for his prepacōn to sea: The some of Twentie poundꝭ for fower monnethes Harborrow wagꝭ after the rate of ffyve

A Bill of Adventure to mr. Groues

this is corrected &[2] made as it was deliu^{r}ed to his wieff

[1] "Att the suite of the wieffe of Phillipp de Graeffe . . . . . for a Bill of Adventure "of the gaine of 550^{li} accordinge to order the 18th of November last. Yt was agreed "that some fitt Bill wth the advice of m^{r} Deputie be made and deliu^{r}ed her as shee "requireth . . . . . . and that yt be noted vpon the same Bill of Adventure, what "moneys Graeffe hath allreadie receiued, & howe much over and aboue his ymprest "&c: for future memory thereof." (*Court Minutes*, 14th June, 1608.)

See also page 239.

[2] Added in another hand.

poundꝭ ꝑ monneth: The some of ffortie shillingꝭ for Boate hier: And further vpon his intreatie haue lent and ymprested vnto him the some of Eeighteene poundꝭ ou^r & aboue the somes formerlie giuen him, the wch some of Eighteene poundꝭ is onelie to be defalked out of such proffitt of Adventure as hereafter is granted him. Now knowe yee that we the said Gou^rno^r & Company, for further allowance & recompence of the good service travell and paines wch he the said Phillipp de Graeffe faithfullie ꝑmyseth to to his best endeuo^rs to ꝑforme in the said voyadge both outwardꝭ & homewardꝭ for the good of the said Company Doe by theis presentꝭ for vs & o^r Successo^rs promyse and agree to giue and allowe vnto him the said Phillipp de Graeffe his Executo^rs Administrato^rs or Assignes, vpon the gaine & proffitt wch god shall send by the retourne of the same voyadge (the principall Adventure thereof, & all chardgꝭ of the voyadge goodꝭ & m^rchandizes of what kinde soeu^r both by land or water first borne & deducted[)] Soe much gaine as ffyve hundred and fyftie poundꝭ will produce that is to saie such rate & ꝑffitt as yf he had beene an Adventurer of the some of ffyve hundred and ffyftie poundꝭ, & as yf he had put in soe much readie money in stocke in the said voyadge. The wch rate and proporc͠on of proffitt is to be paid vnto him the said Phillip de Graeff his Executo^rs Ad^s or Assignes in such manner and forme as the gaine and proffitt of the said voyadge shall be paid to all other the Adventurers gen^rallie, vpon the some of ffyue hundred and ffyftie poundꝭ by them adventured.

But if he happen to die before the retourne of the said shipps from the said East Indies, or those other placꝭ whither they they are directed, hauinge liued & Contynued in the said voiadge vntill the shipps, or shipp wherein he shall serue shall arriue & come to such porte in those partꝭ, at wch it shalbe founde fitt to lade the same: Then the said gaine ꝑporcioned of the said rate of 550^li aduenture to be paid to his Executo^rs Ad^s or Assignes, as it should haue been paid vnto him, if he had retourned wth the said shipps. Prouided alwaies that if [he] decease before the shipps shall arriue to such porte in those ꝑtꝭ at wch they are to take in their ladinge. That then the moneys imprested & deliu^red him before his goinge to Sea shalbe vnto him, in full recompence of his

entertainem^t formerlie agreed vppon for the voiadge. And vppon theis Condic̃ons & ꝓuiso before menc̃oed we the Gou^r no^r & Companie vnder o^r Comon Seale, haue giuen vnto the said Phillip de Graeff this p̄nte Bill of Contract & aduenture dated the 20th day of Iune 1608 And in the yeare of the reigne of o^r sou^r eigne lord Iames Kinge of England ffrance & Ireland the Sixt & of Scotland the one & fforteth.

WHEAREAS Wittm Iennynge Citizen and of London one of the Adventurers and one of the Brethren of the Company of Marchaunte of London trading into the East Indies Hath not onelie Adventured the some of 100^li vnder me Wittm Bonham Citizen and Vintener of London & alsoe one of the Adventurers & one of the said Company of m^r chante tradinge into the East Indies in their fourth voyadge for those ꝑte: But hath likewyse trulie paid the said some of 100^li to me the said William Bonham as apꝑeth by the register of the said Company the 4th of March 1607.[1] Now knowe yee that I the said Wittm Bonham doe by theis p̄nte ꝓmyse and agree to & wth the said Wittm Iennynge That I the said Wittm Bonham my Executo^rs & Administrato^rs shall & will vpon the retourne of the shipps or either of them sett out by the said Company in their said 4th voyadge or wth in Convenient tyme after their said retourne in the same deliu^r vnto the said Wittm Iennynge his Executo^rs Administrato^rs or Assignes a true and iust accompt and paym^t of the said some of 100^li soe by him adventured vnder me & of the proffitt & benefitt wch god shall send thereof ratablelie and accordinge to the gen^r all distribuc̃on proporc̃on and allotm^t wch shall be allotted disposed and geven to me the said Wittm Bonham & to all other the seu^r all Adventurers of 550^li in the said fourth voyadge proporcionallie to each mans seu^r all Adventure. In witnes whereof I haue herevnto sett my hand and seale the 4th day of Iulie 1608. And in the Yeare of the Reign of &c:

The Bill of an Aduenturer of 550^li, in the 4th voiadge, to an Adventurer vnder him

[1] *i.e.* the Court Minutes of that date.

THIS Bill or writeinge witnesseth That whereas I Henrie Bridgman Citizen and Leatherseller of London, Haue vndertaken to adventure as one of the Brethren & Adventurers of the Company of Marchaunt℮ tradinge to the East Indies the some of 600^{li} of lawfull money of England in this their p̄nte intended expedic̄on or fourth voyadge to the East Indies in the good shipps called the Assenc̄on & the Vnion. And whereas Nicholas Skynner Citizen and Cutlar of London, & alsoe one of the Brethren of the said Company of Marchaunt℮ trading to the said East Indies, hath alreadie trulie paid to me the said Henry Bridgman the some of 150^{li} of like lawfull money of England being one 4th parte of the said some or stocke before mencioned, wch said some he the said Nicholas Skinner is Contented to Adventure vnder me in the said fourth voyadge in such manner as all other Vnderadventurers haue done. Knowe ye therefore That I the said Henrie Bridgman for me my Executo^{rs} and Administrato^{rs} & eu^{r}y of vs doe couenant promyse and graunte to and wth the said Nicholas Skinner his Execū & Administr & eu^{r}y of them by theis pnt℮ That yt shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Nicholas Skynner his Execū Administr & Ass^{s} & eu^{r}y of them vpon the retourne of the ships or either of them sett out in this said fourth Voyadge or w^{th}in Convenient tyme after their said retourne in the same to haue receiue & enioye to his and their propp vse & behoofe out of my said stocke & adventure of 600^{li} the some of One hundred and ffyftie by him the said Nicholas Skynner adventured vnder me in the said fourth voyadge as aforesaid together w^{th}all such benefitt proffitt encrease and gaine as god shall send thereof ratablie from tyme to tyme according to the gen^{r}all distribuc̄on proporc̄on and allotm^{t} wch shall be allotted disposed and giuen to me the said Henry Bridgman & all other the Aduenturers in the said voiadge, proportionallie to eache mans seu^{r}all Aduenture. And furder that I the said Henrie Bridgman my execū & Ads & eu^{r}y of vs shall and will at all tymes & from tyme to tyme hereafter vpon reasonable request to vs or any of vs made by the said Nicholas

The Bill of Adventure of 550^{li} in the fourth voyadge to an Adventurer vnder him the Bill on totherside of this leafe[1] not being allowed.

[1] *i.e.* the preceding document.

Skynner his Executo^{rs} Admī or Ass^{s} make him the said Nicholas Skynner his Execū & Admī acquainted, wth all & eu^{r}y the proceedinge in the said voyadge, wch shall Concerne the takeing out & receiueing of the said some of 150^{li} wth the proffitte thereof as amplie as shall any way come to the knowledge of me the said Henrie Bridgman my Executo^{rs} and Ad̄s wthout fraude or guile. In witnes whereof I haue &c.

WHEAREAS[1] A B Citizen and &c . . . . . . one of the Adventurers and one of the Brethren of the Companie of Marchaunte of London tradinge into the East Indies hath not onelie sett downe for his Adventure wth the said Company to the some of 550^{li} in their 4th voyadge to the East Indies by the Cape *Bona spei:* in the good shipps called the Assencōn & the Vnion But hath alsoe trulie paied the said some of 550^{li} for his Adventure to Richard Atkinson Casheare to the said Adventurers in the 4th voyadge. We therefore the Gou^{r}no^{r} and Company doe by this o^{r} present Bill of Adventure promyse and agree to and wth the said A B. That we the said Gou^{r}no^{r} and Comp: and o^{r} Successo^{rs} shall and will vpon the retourne of the ships called the Assencōn & Vnion or either of them sett out by vs in this present fourth voyadge or wthin Convenient tyme after their said retourne in the same deliu^{r} vnto the said A B . . . . . his Execū Administ: or Assignes atrue and iust Accompt and paym^{t} of such stocke benefitt and proffitt of stocke as god shall send vpon the said voyadge according to the gen^{r}all distribucōn ꝑporcōn and allotm^{t} wch shall be allotted disposed and given to all & eu^{r}y the seu^{r}all Adventurers except & alwaies reserued out of the said some or stocke before mencioned for and to thuse of the right owners of the same all such somes wch shall in due tyme iustlie appeare to

A Bill of Adventure for the 4th voyadge

[1] "Was red a Bill of Adventure, to be made & given vnder the Companies seale "to all & eu^{r}y the principall Adventurers in the 4th voyadge to theast Indies & ordered "to be engrossed & deliu^{r}ed accordinglie." (*Court Minutes*, 22nd Nov., 1608.)

the said Company to be adventured vnder the said A B . . . . . . by any vnderadventurer in the said fourth voyadge togither w^th^all the proffitt*e* & benefitt*e* thereof w^th^out fraude or guile. In witnes whereof &c :

WHEAREAS[1] I M.[2] citizen and grocer of London one of the Adventurers & one of the Brethren of the Company of Marchaunt*e* of London trading into the East Indies hath not onelie sett downe for his Adventure wth the said Company the some of 150 pound*e* in their third voyadge to the East Indies by the Cape *Bona spei:* But hath alsoe trulie paid the said some of 150^li^ for his Adventure to Thomas ffarrington Threr of the said Company. We therefore the Gou^r^no^r^ & Company doe by this o^r^ pnte Bill of Adventure pmyse and agree to and wth the said I M. That we the said Gou^r^no^r^ and Company & o^r^ Successo^rs^ shall and will vpon the retourne of the shipps or any of them sett out by vs in this pnte third voyadge or w^th^in Convenient tyme after their said retourne in the same deliu^r^ vnto the said I M. his Execu Admini or Ass^s^ a true and iust accompt and paym^t^ of such stocke benefitt and

The Bill of Adventure to the third voyadge.

[1] "It is further ordered That all those wch haue paid to the Threr of the Company "m^r^ Thomas ffarrington all such somes of money as they haue sett downe & adventured "in the third voyadge to Theast Indies. Haue now yealded them by the Company "vnder their Comon seale a Bill of Adventure for the same. And for the Secretaries "more exact doinge thereof, by yealdinge eu^r^y man his due, m^r^ Stevens the Accompt "Keeper is from tyme to tyme to giue him true notice what each man hath soe "Adventured, & haue then alreadie paid in the same to o^r^ Threr m^r^ Thomas ffarrington "as aforesaid." (*Court Minutes*, 16th Feb., 1607/8.)

"Att this Courte for the true makeinge of Bills of Adventure, according to what "each man hath adventured in the third voyadge to the East Indies yt was ordered "that the Bills be made as it was now agreed & that all the said Adventurers, doe "deliu^r^ vnto m^r^ ffarrington Threr their acquittances taken of him, for such moneys "as they haue paid for settinge forth of the said voyadge to Conferr the same wth his "& the Accompt Keeperes Bookes, that therevpon the Bills of Adventure may be made "accordinglie, in wch m^r^ Threr is from tyme to tyme to write before they be sealed "theis wordes viz: (Examined to agree wth the accomptes by me Thomas ffarrington "Threr) vpon sight whereof, the same are to be sealed by m^r^ Gou^r^no^r^ wth the Comon "seale of the Companie." (*Ibid.*, 26th April, 1608.)

[2] John Moore (see the ensuing list).

proffitt of stocke as god shall send vpon the said voyadge according to the gen^{r}all distribuc̃on proporc̃on and allotm^{t} wch shall be allotted disposed and giuen to all & eu^{r}y the seu^{r}all Adventurers in the said voyadge proporcionally to their seu^{r}all Adventures. In witnes whereof we haue herevnto annexed o^{r} Comon seale the 26th day of Aprill 1608. And in the yeare of the reigne of o^{r} sou^{r}eigne Lord kinge Iames of England ffraunce and Ireland the Sixt & of Scotland the One and fforteth.

Examined by me Thomas ffarrington

Sealed wth the Comon seale of the Companie in the p̄nte of me Wm Leighton[1] Secretarie
Copia

BILLS of Adventure as apꝑeth on the other side of this leaffe geven by the Gou^{r}no^{r} & Company of East India Marchaunte to the seuerall Adventurers in their third voyadge for those ꝑte wth their seu^{r}all somes, & the same vnder written by m^{r} ffarrington as by him examined before thensealeinge thereof. The wch are as ffolloweth viz. To

	Morris	Abbott . for . . .	200^{li}
	William	Adderley . . .	125
	William	Allen . . .	100
To m^{r} }[2]	Raphe	Allen . . .	100
	William	Angell . . .	125
	Samuell	Armitage . . .	400
	William	Albony . . .	150
	Henrie	Archer . . .	100
	Paule	Banninge for . . .	525

[1] William Leighton was Secretary to the Company in 1607, having been elected at some previous date not precisely known. The last entry relating to him is in 1609, but the loss of the fourth Court Book (1610-14) prevents us from fixing exactly the date when he ceased to hold this post.

[2] Probably intended to mark a transfer of shares, the name of the person to whom they were transferred being left for after insertion.

	Iohn	Bancke . . .	500
	Rowland	Backhowse . . .	100
	Humfrey	Basse . . .	550
	Richard	Ball . . .	125
	Nicholas	Barnsley . . .	150
	Robert	Bateman . . .	250
	Edward	Barkham . . .	400
	Richard	Barrett . . .	100
	Thomas	Barbar . . .	150
	Robert	Bell . . .	250
	Willm	Berblocke . . .	320
	George	Bennett . . .	850
	Richard	Beale . . .	500
	Thomas	Bostocke . . .	100
To mr {	George	Boles . . .	400
	William	Bond . . .	350
	Thomas	Boothby . . .	300
	Willm	Bonham . . .	700
	Iohn	Brooke . . .	150
	Henry	Bridgman . . .	315-2s
	Robert	Brooke . . .	800
	Iohn	Busbridge . . .	350
	Raphe	Busby . . .	187-10s
	Henry	Butlar . . .	100
	Robert	Bucke . . .	125
	ffrancis	Bucke . . .	080
	Richard	Burrell . . .	100
	William	Burrell . . .	200
	Richard	Bourne . . .	250
	Sr Thomas	Cambell for . . .	125
	Lo William	Cavendish . . .	500
	William	Cater . . .	750
	Nicholas	Cage . . .	200
	Iohn	Casson . . .	300
	Iohn	Coachman . . .	100
	George	Chamberlaine Executor to }	200
	Robert	Chamberlaine . . . }	
To mr	Richard	Chamblaine . . .	200

Iohn	Chamberlaine Execū to .	} 125
Androe	Chamberlaine . . .	
Richard	Champion . . .	450
Robert	Chilcott . . .	450
xpofer	Cletherowe . . .	200
Iohn	Clinche . . .	125
William	Cockaine . . .	1000
Iohn	Combe . . .	250
Robert	Cocke . . .	250
Richard	Cocke . . .	200
Edward	Croashawe . . .	125
Roger	Cotten . . .	125
Wiłłm	Cotton . . .	300

their 2 Bills deliu^{r}ed to Allen Cotten their Executo^{r}.

Elizabeth[1]	Coles . . .	150
Iames	Collimore . . .	125
Iohn	Cornelius . . .	125
George	Chandler . . .	200
Nicholas	Crispe . . .	300
Ellis	Crispe . . .	100
Thomas	Carpenter . . .	100
Roger	Clarke . . .	500
Wiłłm	Doggett for . . .	100
Richard	Deane . . .	650
Roger	Die . . .	300
George	Dorrington . . .	100
Robert	Ducie . . .	125
Iames	Duncken . . .	200
Iohn	Eldred for . . .	550
Iohn	Ellacott . . .	100
ffrancis	Evington . . .	300
Nicholas	ffarrar for . . .	100

[1] The name "George" has been crossed out and "Elizabeth" substituted, doubtless as that of his widow and executrix. Mrs. Coles subsequently married Sir Robert Leigh, who was made free of the Company on 28th July, 1609 (*Court Minutes*).

Erasmus	ffarrar . . .	100
Thomas	ffarrington . . .	300
William	fferrers . . .	300
Iohn	Hollaway[1] . . .	250
Iohn	ffletcher . . .	150
Randall	Hopkins[2] . . .	125
Wittm & Raph	ffreeman . . .	500
Charles	Glascocke for . . .	100
Anthonie	Gibson . . .	150
Robert	Goare . . .	250
Raphe	Goare . . .	250
Roger	Godsalue . . .	200
Richard	Gossen . . .	250
William	Greenwell . . .	
Iohn	Greenwood . . .	200
Reynold	Greene . . .	350
Iohn	Gardiner . . .	200
Sr Robert	Hampson for . . .	100
Raphe	Hamor . . .	625
Edward	Harrison . . .	350
Iohn	Hawkins . . .	260
Simon	Harvie . . .	500
Raphe	Harrison . . .	275
William	Harrison . . .	500
Humfrey	Hanford . . .	250
Hugh	Hamersley . . .	600
Roger	Heminge . . .	100
William	Hawkins . . .	200
Richard	Hearne . . .	150
Sr Thomas	Heies . . .	250
Richard	Heyder . . .	200
Iohn	Highlord . . .	400

[1] In place of "William ffysher," deleted. William Fisher's adventure was "set over" to John Holloway on the 31st Oct., 1608.

[2] Replacing "Alphonsus ffowle," the original owner of the share. The date of the transfer was 26th Dec., 1608 (*Court Minutes*).

Sr Leonard	Holliday	400
Andrew	Holdipp	200
Thomas	Henshawe	125
wiłłm	Hinde	200
Thomas	Horton for	350
Iohn	Hodgshon	200
George	Holman	187.10s
Bartholomew	Holland	100
Stephen	Hodgshon	150
Richard	Humble	600
Robert	Harvie	125
William	Iennynge for	187.10s
Robert	Iohnson	500
Richard	Ironside	375
Thomas	Iuxon	150
Robert	Key for	250
William	Kellett	100
Brian	Kinaston	125
Ieofferey	Kerbie	300
Simon	Lawrence for	125
Nicholas	Leate	200
Edward	Leaueinge	100
Nicholas	Lynge	
Thomas	Lidall	125
Edward	Lutterford	500
Mawrice	Luellen	100
Alderman	Lemon	350
Iohn	Merricke for	100
Wiłłm	Millett	300
William	Megge	150
Robert	Middleton	250
Robert	Mildmay	250
Humfrey	Milward	250
Iohn	Morris	100

Iohn	Moore	. . .	150
Richard	Maplesden	. . .	200
Iohn	Newman for	. . .	125
Edmond	Nicholson	. . .	200
Thomas	Nelson	. . .	125
x̄pofer	Nicholls	. . .	300
Robert	Offley for	. . .	500
Richard	Osmotherley	. . .	100
Roger	Owfeild	. . .	150
Iohn	Polhill for	. . .	300
Giles	Paslowe	. . .	250
William	Palmer	. . .	
William	Palmer leadenhall[1]	. .	350
Robert	Pennington	. . .	300
Richard	Pearce	. . .	125
Richard	Pointell	. . .	150
Henry	Polsteed	. . .	300
Robert	Palmer	. . .	
Richard	Piott	. . .	185
William	Preistley	. . .	175
Willm	Pavier	. . .	140
Peter	Palmer	. . .	150
William	Quarles	. . .	100
Sr Willm	Romeny for	. . .	650li
Henry	Robinson	. . .	550
Humfrey	Robinson	. . .	400
Robert	Robinson	. . .	425
Henry	Robinson gent	. . .	500
Robert	Sandie for	. . .	600
Edmond	Scott	. . .	200

1 Added by another hand, no doubt as a distinguishing mark.

Thomas	Shipton	125
Iohn	Sherington	200
Augustine	Skinner	100
Sr Thomas	Smyth	700
Humfrey	Smyth	300
George	Smythes	400
Thomas	Symonde	250
Sr Iohn	Spencer	750
Richard	Staper	150[?]
Mathew	Stocker	400
Thomas	Southwicke	400
Iohn	Stokeley	150
Oliver	Stile	300
Humfrey	Stile	150
Nicholas	Skynner	300
Richard	Stratford	350
Richard for Anthony	Stratford	150
Thomas	Stiles	300
ffrancis	Taylor for	250
Richard	Tailbie	125
Thomas	Trotter	150
Robert	Waldoe for	100
Sr Iohn	Watte	250
Iohn	Watte	100
Willm	Wastell	125
George	Walker	100
Humfrey	Walcoate	200
Thomas	Westway	300
Leonard	White	125
Thomas	White	250
Willm	Willaston	200
Iohn	Wolstenholme	100
Richard	Wiseman	200

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AFTER my harty Comendacõns, Whereas the Marchantes tradinge to the East Indies, by his Ma^{t}e warraunt vnder the greate Seale of England beareinge date the Eight daye of february: In the vth yeare of his highnes raigne had licence to carry foorth: 20000^{li}: sterlinge of forreine Coyne, and havinge as yett transported onely: 14000^{li}: Theis are to will and require yo^{u} to suffer them to transporte the said somme in a Shippe called the Expedicõn, accordinge to his Ma^{t}e pleasure, signified in the said letters pattente: And for so doinge this by vertue thereof shalbe yor warrant: from *Whitehall:* the xjth of Aprill: 1609:

The lo: Thrers warrant to ye ffarmors for transportacon of 6000^{li} parte of 2000^{li}[1] form^{r}lie granted the Company by Patent from his ma^{tie}:

Yo^{r} Lovinge freind
R. SALISBURY

To my very lovinge freindes the officers of his Ma^{t}e Customes outwarde in the Port of London, and to eu^{r}y of them to whome it may apperteine

JAMES[2] by the grace of God kinge of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland defender of the faith &c: To o^{r} trustie and welbeloued David Middleton whereas diu^{r}s of o^{r} loueinge Subiecte at their owne Adventures, Coste and chardge, aswell for the honor of this o^{r} Realme of England, as for the increase & advancem^{t} of trade and m^{r}chandize, wthin the same, Haue form^{r}lie sett forth fower voyadge to the East Indies, wth c^{r}teine shipps and Pinnaces by way of m^{r}chandizinge, by wch shipps and Pinnasses they haueinge discou^{r}ed and begunn to settle a trade in some parte of the said East Indies & their shipps beinge retourned in three of their former voyadge from thence, laden wth sundrie m^{r}chandize brought from

The Coppie of his ma^{ties} Comission to Capt: David Middleton ye 11th of Aprill. 1609

[1] A mistake for 20,000^{li}. The patent referred to will be found on page 224.

[2] The Royal Commission for the *Fifth Voyage* (see note, page 115). There is a minute of this commission among the Domestic State Papers in the Record Office.

those ꝑtꝭ, They the said Marchauntꝭ intendinge to freequent those Countries of the East Indies by contynueinge the trade alreadie discou^{r}ed and begun. And indevoringe further discou^{r}y of trade of those partꝭ for the more ample vent of the natiue Comodities of o^{r} kingdomes And retourneing from the placꝭ of their discou^{r}y such necessarie comodities as shallbe of spetiall vse & benefitt both to Vs and o^{r} Subiectꝭ & haue now prepared a c^{r}teine shipp to the said East Indies: *AND WHEAREAS* the said Marchauntꝭ haue chosen yo^{u} the said David Middleton, to be principall Gou^{r}no^{r} or Generall of all the Marchauntꝭ, Mariners and other o^{r} Subiectꝭ wch are or shall be shipped in the said Shipp, we gratiouslie favoringe their intended voyadge and approueinge and allowinge of their choise of you to the same gou^{r}nm^{t}, beinge desierous to furnish yo^{u} wthall fitt and Convenient power and authoritie to rule and gou^{r}ne all & eu^{r}y our Subiectꝭ imployed in this voyadge, by a due obedience to be by them yealded Vnto you, in the obserueinge and executeinge of all such good orders & Constitucõns as yo^{u} shall thinke Convenient to ordeine and appointe for the furtherance of the said voyadge to the honor of Vs and o^{r} kingdomes, and the advancem^{t} of the said trade, *DOE* hereby straightlie chardge and Comand all & eu^{r}y ꝑson and ꝑsonns imployed vsed or shipped in this Voyadge in the said Shipp, to giue all due obedience and respect Vnto yo^{u} during the said Voyadge & to beare themselues one towardꝭ another in all good order and quietnes for avoieding any occasion that might breede mutiny quarrells or dissencõn amongst them to the hindrance of the good successe wch is to be hoped for by Godꝭ providence of the said intended Voyadge *AND* in default of such dutie and obedience to be ꝑformed towardꝭ you for the correccõn and quenchinge of all such mutiny quarrells or dissencõn that shall or may be moved by the disorder evell disposicõn or ꝑversnes of any the said ꝑsonns, *WEE DOE* hereby authorize you the said David Middleton duringe the said Voyadge or during soe longe tyme as yo^{u} shall lyue in the said Voyadge to chastice correct and ponish all offenders & transgressors in that behalfe accordinge to the quallitie of their offenses wth such punnishm^{t}ꝭ as are comonlie vsed in all Armies at Sea, when they are not Capitall And for Capitall offences, as wilfull murther wch is hatefull in the sight of God, or mutinie wch is an offence that may tende to the ou^{r}throwe of the

said Voyadge, the same being trulie and iustlie proved against any of the ꝑson or ꝑsons aforesaid, *We doe* hereby giue vnto yo^u the said David Middleton duringe all the tyme of the said voyadge, or during soe longe tyme as yo^u shall lyve in the said Voyadge full power & authoritie to vse and putt in execuc̃on o^r Lawe called Martiall Lawe in that behalfe: *And theis* o^r ɫres shalbe vnto you sufficient warrant and dischardge for the doinge and executinge of all & singuler the premisses: *And* forasmuch as att this present tyme we are in amitie wth all Christian Princes & are vnwillinge that any our Subiectℓ should giue occasion of breach or hindrance of that league or amitie wch we hould wth any o^r Confederatℓ freindℓ or Alleys. And because we are not ignorant of the emulac̃on & envy that doth accompany the discou^ry of Countries and tradℓ, & of the quarrells and Contenc̃ons wch doe many tymes fall out betweene the subiectℓ of diu^rs Princes, that meete the one wth theother in forraine & farr remote Countries in the Course & ꝑsecutinge of their discou^ryes, & being desierous that our subiectℓ should forbeare to moue or beginn any quarrell or Contenc̃on (Vppon the Subiectℓ of our Confederatℓ freindℓ or Allies[)], either in their proceedinge or retourne vpon or from any of their Voyadgℓ, *We therfore* doe hereby straightlie chardge and Comand you the said David Middleton & all other vnder yor gou^rnm^t that neither in yor voyadge outwarde or homewardℓ or in any Country, Island, Porte, or place where yo^u shall abide or come duringe the tyme of yor beinge abroad out of o^r kingdomes or dominions where you meete wth any the Subiectℓ of the kinge of Spaigne or of any other o^r Confederatℓ ffreindℓ or Allies, or of any other Nac̃on or people their Shipps Vessells Goodℓ or m^rchandize yo^u doe not attempt or goe aboute to sett vpon take or supprise their ꝑsonns Ships Vessells goodℓ or m^rchandizes or offer any iniury or discourtesie vnto them vnlesse yo^u shall be by them first therevnto iustlie provoked, or driuen either in the iust defence of yor owne ꝑsonns yor Shipps Vessells Goodℓ or m^rchandizes either by any other their disturbance or hindrance whatsoeu^r in yor quiett course of trade either for recompence or recou^ry of the ꝑsonns goodℓ or m^rchandize of any o^r Subiectℓ that are alreadie in or neare the East Indies or otherwyse for any iust cause of yor defence, as yo^u will awnsweare the contrary at yor vttermost ꝑills.

AND wheareas we are informed that the said David Middleton hath sould in the East Indies, Three small peecɇ of cast Iron Ordinance contrary to the Lawes of this o^r Realme, for that the same was done vpon necessitie, & for the good of the publique service, & the releefe of such as were distressed in that voyadge. *WE* are gratiouslie pleased to dispence wth him in that behalfe: And doe by theis presentɇ pardon and remitt the said offence, and dischardge him the said David Middleton of and from all such penalties as by o^r said Lawes may be inflicted vpon him for sellinge of the said Ordinance wth out o^r licence first had and obteyned in that behalfe, Any Lawe statute or restrainte to the contrary in any wyse notw^th standinge. In wittnes whereof we haue caused theis o^r lres to be made Pattentɇ: Witnes o^r selfe at Westm̄ the 11th day of Aprill in the Seaventh yeare of o^r Raigne of England ffraunce and Ireland, & of Scotland the Twoe and fforteth.

ꝑ breve de privato sigillo:

Coppin.

AFTER[1] o^r hartie Comendacõns &c Yo^r letters of the xvi^th of Ianuary 1607[2] by Cornelius Matalife together wth a briefe of the state of o^r busines in yor handlinge we haue receiued: As alsoe yor last of the xv^th of Iulie[3] by Captaine David Middleton in the Consent: wch shipp arriued here in Ianuary last (thankɇ be to god) in good saffetie, laden wth Cloues to o^r very good contentm^tɇ, for wch we haue had a good price & present dispatch, Soe as we haue none remaineinge to sell: By him we alsoe receiued Henry Sydalls Iournall, wherein appeared what goodɇ yo^u sent in the said Shipp to the Molluccoes, what thereof was sould, what retorned to yo^u, & of Captaine Middletons whole proceedingɇ in the buyinge of the said Cloues: Alsoe one other Iournall of yor accomptɇ touchinge

A Coppie of the lres sent to the ffacto^rs at Bantam in thexpedicon by Capt: David Middleton.

[1] At a Court held 13th April, 1609, the Company's letters to be sent to their factors at Bantam in this voyage were "openlie read Considered and allowed of."

[2] Not now extant. They are referred to as received in the Court Minutes of 19th September, 1608.

[3] Read to the Court on 16th and 18th January, 1608/9, but now missing from the records.

or busines in yor handlinge since the same was deliured over to you by Edmund Scott, vntill the first of Iulie last, and thereby rest satisfied wth yor due ꝑceedingꝭ in accomptꝭ, albeit as yett we haue not examined the same: By yor ƚres we alsoe ꝑceiue that you borrowed 3000 Royalls of the Dutch Marchauntꝭ to satisfie soe much taken vp of the Captaine and Company of the said shipp to supplie or wantꝭ, for the ladinge of the said Cloues wch we hope vpon the arriuall of the Dragon and Hector, or by some other meanes, you haue dulie repaid wthall thankfullnes, assureinge them further That we will hould their said kindnes in remembraunce, and be readie to requite the same whensoeur occasion shalbe offred: We are very sorry that there was noe better dispatch found for or Cloth at the Molluccoes, consideringe the same is much ympaired by the longe lieinge as you advertice vs, But we hope that the Dragon and the Hector arriued wth you shortlie after, And that by them the same will be vented, either at Banda or the Molluccos wch God graunte we may heare: Moreour we trust that you haue vsed diligence to putt of all other the remaine of or goodꝭ at Bantam, recouered or debtꝭ there, and ymployed the proceede thereof, accordinge to or ƚres by the said twoe shipps[1] If not we pray you to hasten the same.

ballance the Accomptes &c: That thaccompt of that busines may be ballanced & to ymploy what you haue remaineinge [(]not inuested into pepꝑ) in Rawe silke of China called Lamkin, like vnto that sample wch Iohn Saris sent vnto or Gourno Sr Tho: Smyth: But take heed you buy not of the silke that is crosse reeled, & called canton for that sorte is not here vendible.[2]

silke called Lawkin The silke called Lawkin, is here well requested Therefore we pray you vse your best endevors to putt of or english Cloth for that Comoditie, whereto as it seemeth by Rob̄t Brownes ƚres the Chineses were willinge & desierous, if you had beene furnished wth any wch giueth vs good hope that those people, will fall to weare or Cloth, Soe as we shall finde good vent for the same hereafter, & haue better

[1] See page 147.

[2] "*Item*, in the Moneths of February and March, heere [Bantam] commeth three "or foure Iunckes from *China*, very richly laden with Silkes raw and wrought, ... "*viz*., Raw-silke of *Lamking* [Nanking?], which is the best, an hundred and "ninetie Rialls the Peecull: Raw-silke of *Canton*, which is courser, eightie Rials the "Peecull: . . . . ." (Saris's notes printed in *Purchas*, Lib. IIII., ch. 2.)

meanes to maintaine an ampler trade there. ffor the better procureinge whereof, we haue now and will heerafter, send such Cloth as shall be true, both in substaunce and Couller, and soe yo^{u} may assure them Moreou^{r} we Vnderstand by m^{r} Brownes letter that a trade may be had to *Siquedana*,[1] for Diamondꝭ whereof we would be glad to tast, and doe approue of his diligence in that and other adv^{r}tisem^{t}ꝭ.

We hope that the Dragon and Hector arriued wth you in Convenient tyme, and that yo^{u} haue ꝑceeded, to buy some Diamondꝭ, Bezar stones, Muske & other Comodities (whereof hitherto we haue had none) according to o^{r} Comission, and l̄res sent by o^{r} Generall m^{r} W^{m}: Keelinge, for wch purpose we sent m^{r} Marlowe a Ieweller to goe to such placꝭ for the buyinge thereof, as yo^{u} should direct him: And yf neither m^{r} Keelinge, nor m^{r} Sharpie, haue entred into the trade of Cambaio, *Surat* or some other place of the maine, Then we would haue yo^{u} to informe yor selues howe strangers are intertayned at Suratt & Cambaio: And beinge imbouldenned by their aduise we wish yo^{u} to appointe twoe of o^{r} ffactors such as yo^{u} shall thinke fitt to goe passengers in some Iunckꝭ or other shippinge of that Country to Surat & Cambaia wth such stocke as yo^{u} thinke good, to beare chardgꝭ to and againe to buy such Comodities as they shall finde there as Indico, of Laher,[2] here worth viij^{s} the pounde *Serchis*[3] and the best *Belondri*[4] worth v^{s} the pounde the Courser sorte

Diamondes Bezar stones &c^{a}:

Indico

[1] Sukadana, on the west coast of Borneo.

[2] Lahore.

[3] Vansleb's "Indigo named Serquis," *i.e.* of Sarkhej, 5 miles S.W. from Ahmedabad. *Shirkhist* is the bazaar name for every kind of Manna imported into India; and is the original Persian name for "Khorassan Manna."

[4] Vansleb's "Indigo of Balludri" *i.e.* Valabhi [Βυζάντειον of *Ptolemy*, viii. 1, 7], commonly written Ballabi, now an obscure village about 20 miles N.W. from Bhavanagar, but formerly the seat of the famous Valabhi kings, who, in succession to the mysterious Guptas, ruled over Kathiawar A.D. 318 to 790. The Arab writers of the 9th century name the place Balhara, a dialectic corruption of *bara-rai*, and signifying (the City of) "the Great (Valabhi) King." See E. Thomas in *Numismata Orientalia*, Vol. iii., 1882. But for its close association with "*Serchis*" I should have identified "*Belondri*" here not with Ballabi, but with Vansleb's "Mirabolans surnamed Balludri"; *i.e. bahira* [Sanskrit and Hindi], *berda* [Mahrati], *bahadrha* [Telugu], *beleyluj* [Arabic], *beleyleh* [Persian], the dry astringent fruit, with its kernel, of *Terminalia Bellerica*, the "Belleric Myrobalan," used in dyeing. The "Chebulic Myrobalan," used in the same way, is the fruit of *T. Chebula*. Neither of these was the *μυροβάλανος*, or "unguent-nut," of the ancients, which is usually identified with the

will not requite the chardgꝭ and such other Comodities as they shall finde theare: Alsoe we would haue yo^{u} procure the best favor yo^{u} can wth the Gou^{r}no^{r} and other principall men of each place, yo^{u} come to, whereby yo^{u} may be able to enforme vs what hope we may haue of trade heereafter to such placꝭ, and yo^{u} learne what Comodities of o^{rs}, kinde, sorte, & Cullo^{rs} will vent there, as namelie what Clothes, karsies ꝑpetuanoes or other woollen Comodities & what Cullo^{rs} are in best and worse request leade, Tynn, Iron, steele, muskettꝭ, Calliuers,[1] Daggꝭ,[2] sword-bladꝭ, headpeecꝭ, &c: and alsoe what Comodities they finde there fitt to serue for the Molluccos or other easterne ꝑtꝭ, or to bringe home for England wth such other informac̃ons as experience there shall enable yo^{u} wth: Alsoe to send them to any other Citties or places of cheefest trade in those partꝭ, & there to learne the matters before mentioned, and not to lie still at Bantam as yf yo^{u} were tyed and bound to that Towne onelie.

Thomas Emmesworth

we haue sent in this Ship a younge man one Thomas Emmesworth[3] a man of good reputac̃on, and soe we wish yo^{u} to accompt of him, whoe hath beene brought vp some tyme in Turkey and hath verie good skill in *Indico*, of all sortꝭ of silke, & other Comodities vsuallie bought in Turkey, whose advise therein we wish yo^{u} to followe Alsoe we haue sent in this Shipp three other servauntꝭ, whoe albeit they haue place in the shipp: (Viz) Richard Wooddis[4] pursar, Sophony Cosuke[5] pursers mate, & Edward Nettles[6] Steward, yett we haue inter-

seeds of *Moringa pterygosperma;* but the acid fruit of *Phyllanthus Emblica*, used in India as a pickle, was their *μυροβάλανος ἔμπλἐτζ* [cp. Sanskrit *amlika*, and *amrita*, and Hindi *aonla.*].

[1] A kind of gun or musket. [2] Pistols. [3] Died at Bantam in 1610.

[4] Left by Middleton at Bantam in 1610 as "chief in the house."

[5] Sophony (Sophonias) Cozuke (the Kazak, *i.e.* as he is also styled in the Court Minutes, "the Russe"), entered the Company's service, perhaps under the patronage of Sir Thomas Smyth, in March, 1609, on an engagement to stay in the Indies seven years. In 1613 he established a factory at Sukadana, in Borneo, and in the following year attempted to do the same at Landak. Two years later, he took an active part in an expedition sent to establish a factory at Banda, in the Moluccas, but failed to effect his immediate purpose, owing to the opposition of the Dutch. In Oct., 1616, he sailed again, with Capt. Courthop, to make a fresh attempt, and this time the opposing parties came to actual blows. The *Swan* was assailed by a Dutch vessel and captured after a severe fight, in the course of which Sophony was "beaten in pieces with a great shot" (Jan., 1617).

[6] Died at Bantam in 1610.

teyned them to serue vs vij yeares, there wth you, & would haue them ymployed in or busines & such other ꝑsonns, as you shall thinke fitt sent backe in the shipp in their placꝭ. ffurther we pray you to Consider wth your selues & thereof wth the next, advise vs, if it be not more convenient to procure Cloues, Nutmeggꝭ, mace, Synamon, Camfere, Benianyn, S[1] redd & yellow to be brought from the molloccos, Banda & other places in Iunckꝭ of Bantam, & other the Islandꝭ, to you, & you thereto by[2] them, & lay the same in yor warehowse, to be reddie Clensed & fitted for or shipps, when they shall theare arive, Then[3] to send or ships to the places to fetch them, In wch Consideracõn you are to remember, to thinke on the pricꝭ they may be had at, beinge soe brought to Bantam of the Custome and chardge there, of the saffetie of the place, from the invasion of the Portugalls wch yt is thought they will assaye by Comand of the kinge of Spaigne (haueing now peace wth the Hollenders[4]) wherewth yt shall not be amisse to acquainte that kinge, that he may endevor to prevent yt: We thinke yf this could be brought to passe much hazard of or shipps and men in comeinge to those partꝭ may be prevented, or voyadge shortened, to or greate ease in victualls and mens wages, & the people of the Country better Contented in that their meanes of liveinge is not taken from them, for wch you write they hate the Hollenders and much bewaile their owne hindrance. And as you haue sent vs a Iournall of yor accomptꝭ, we desire in like manner to haue a Iournall ꝑfectlie drawen out, and sent vs by this shipp of all or busines, as the same hath beene passed there, from Sr Iames Lancasters comeinge thence, vntill the beginninge of yor chardge, aswell of William Starkey his accomptꝭ, wth the ballance thereof, deliuered to Edmund Scott, As alsoe a ꝑfect Iournall of Edmund Scottꝭ accomptꝭ, and the ballance thereof deliured over to Gabriell Towerson & the same carefullie ꝑvsed, That entrance thereof may be made into or Bookꝭ accordinglie.

spices from Banda &c

[1] Blank in MS.; perhaps sandalwood, or "saunders" as it was also called, is intended.

[2] Buy.

[3] Than.

[4] A truce for twelve years had just been concluded between Spain and her revolted provinces.

money and goodes sent by Capt: David Middleton.

Nowe yo^{u} shall vnderstand that vpon the hopes we haue of better and more ample trade in those partę: we haue resolued yearelie by Godę ꝑmission and help, to send some shippinge vnto yo^{u}: and for that cause not being fitted wth a better at this present haue furnished and sent out this o^{r} shipp called the Expedicõn of the burthen of 240 tonnes, whereof Edmund Musgraue is m^{r} and Iohn Davies[1] Pilott, And therein haue laden 13 ballettę cont 41 Clo: 40 devonshire karsayes. 12 hamshire kę. 10 Northerne karseys: & 46 tonns of Iron the nomber sortę Cullers and prices, being expressed in the Invoise hereinclosed, alsoe   Chests Cont   Royalls of 8. All wch money and goodę we haue appointed Captaine David Middleton wth yor Councell, advise, and assistaunce to make sale of, and ymploy for vs, either at the Molloccos, *Banda*, *Bantam*, or els wheare, as in his & yor discrecõns shall seeme fitt for o^{r} most benefitt, Consideringe what sortę and quantities of those East Indian m^{r}chandize our other shipps haue laden there whome we haue appointed cheefe Comander in the said Shipp, and for whose assistaunce we would haue the aforesaid Thomas Emmesworth Henry Sydall and Augustine Spaldinge to accompany & assist him, for the better ꝑformance of the ladinge thereof, either at the Molluccos Banda or ellswhere, as yo^{u} shall resolue: And the said Emseworth or Siddall to write and send vs a ꝑfect accompt, of the whole ꝑceedinge therein, and this further we advise yo^{u}, That

[1] This is John Davis of Limehouse, who has been so persistently confused with his more famous namesake of Arctic fame. He had been in the *First Voyage* under Lancaster, in Sir Edward Michelborne's expedition of 1604-6, and (first as pilot and afterwards as master) in the *Third Voyage* with Captain David Middleton. After serving in the *Fifth Voyage* (here referred to), he went out again in the *Ninth Voyage* (1612-15), and on the captain's death succeeded to the command and brought the ship home. In 1617 we find him master of the *Swan*, which was captured by the Dutch off Banda, and the crew made prisoners. After his release, he was appointed pilot major of the *James*, which sailed in January, 1621. He was by this time advanced in years, and probably weakened in constitution by his intemperate living; and in December of the same year he died, while the *James* was on a voyage to Jambi in Sumatra. Davis, though an able and intelligent seaman (witness his "Ruter," or sailing directions, printed in *Purchas*), was headstrong and quarrelsome, and much addicted to drink; and this perhaps accounts for the Company's unwillingness (in spite of his experience) to employ him in posts of greater responsibility.

whatsoeu^r shall be either sould or bought for this shipps ladinge

This voyadge to be a particular acct: aparte from the rest &c:

must be done as a ꝑticular stocke a ꝑte from the rest of o^r busines Soe as yf there be any Cause to vse any of o^r goodę wch are there belonginge to o^r generall accompt the same is to be deliuered to this stocke, by weight, measure, or tale, And the same Valewed as yt is there worth: In like manner yf any thinge of the goodę sent in this Shipp shall be left ther vnsould, the same in like case to be valued as yt is there then worth, & a note of all the said quantities & valuac̃ons to be sent to vs by this Shipp, That o^r accomptę there may be rightlie chardged therew^th and a due reptic̃on made accordinglie: And for that we vnderstand Augustine Spaldinge behaueth him selfe both honestlie and dilligentlie in matters comitted to his chardge for o^r occasions, we are contented to increase his wages from what he formerlie had, to xl^s ꝑ monneth (yf he be liueinge) The same wages to beginn at the arriuall of this Shipp att Bantam, not doubtinge but that in his honest and faithfull carriadge towardę vs, he will deserue the same.

ffurther concerninge Thomas Emmseworth o^r desire is that

Tho: Hemsworth.

the shipp beinge laden and retourned from the Molluccoes Banda or elswheare to Bantam: That he stay wth yo^u in o^r howse there, and take chardge of the passinge of o^r busines to accompt, being assisted and acquainted wth the manner of m^rchandizeinge there, by some of you best acquainted therew^th: And that yearelie we may receiue a true Iournall of what hath passed in o^r affaires there, by you, Soe as we may knowe trulie the ꝑfect state thereof: we have alsoe sent yo^u herew^th, the Coppies of o^r ł̃res formerlie sent yo^u, aswell by m^r Keelinge, as by m^r Sharpey o^r twoe Generalls in the third and fourth Voyadgę: And we wish you, That yf yo^u cann, you doe lade and send vs any other Comodities rather then pepꝑ, Yett rather then the shipp shall wante or retourne w^thout ladinge, Then to send vs some pepꝑ. wch is more at lardge specified in o^r Comission for the Captaine.

Lastlie forasmuch as we haue vnderstoode, That Gabriell Towerson hath a greate desier to retourne home, we are Contented that he soe doe: hopinge that he hath not soe lightlie reguarded the trust reposed in him, That he would abandon the

place, before o^{r} leaue and direccõn, neither doe we thinke that any of yo^{u} all will soe lightlie reguard either yor reputacõn in the world, or yor Creditt wth vs, That yo^{u} will leaue yor place of ymployment, before we giue o^{r} Consent, The like leaue we alsoe giue to Henry Siddall to returne for England, if he may be spared, wherein we wish you to haue reguard to keepe a convenient nomber in o^{r} howse both for the defence of yor selues and o^{r} goodꝭ, as to giue releefe and supplie to such ffactories, as haue beene setled by m^{r} William Keelinge in any other place thereaboutꝭ: And whereas we finde by yor accomptꝭ, That yo^{u} receiue yor sallarie or wages at iiij^{s} the Ryall of :8: and soe pay yor selues, we haue thought good to lett yo^{u} knowe that we pay for the same 4^{s} 7^{d} besidꝭ the adventure thither: wherefore we thinke yt fitt That yf yo^{u} receiue yor wages there fforasmuch as we Vnderstand that they are worth there :8^{s}: That yo^{u} sett them at such an indifferent rate as may neither be too lowe for vs, nor too high for yor selues, whereof by yor next letters we desire to receiue some satisfaccõn: *Alsoe* we vnderstand that yo^{u} make greate benefitt by Casshes and dealinge there wth other Comodities & yett we finde nothinge putt to o^{r} accomptꝭ in that respect.

Wherefore we could wish and hereby requier yo^{u}, That such a course may be taken wth the stocke that remaines in yor handꝭ from tyme to tyme, That thereby a proffitt may be made thereof towardꝭ the greate chardgꝭ of howsekeepinge & otherwyse expended there: whereof we make noe doubte but yo^{u} will be carefull, And soe Comitt yo^{u} to the proteccõn of Thalmightie. London the xvth of Aprill 1609

Yo^{r} loueinge freindꝭ
Thomas Smyth
William Romeny
William Greenwell
Robert Bell
Robert Middleton
W^{m}: Cater
Iohn Busbridge.

Edmond Scott and George Scott Citizens and grocers of London bound vnto Sr Tho : Smyth of London knight in 500^{li} to be paid vnto him, or his certeine Atturney, Executo^{rs} or Administrato^{rs} ad vsum Gub̃nator et Societatis m^{r}cator Londinensiū ad Indias Orientales negotiantiū. That the said Edmond Scott his Executors Administrators & Assignes doe stand to the arbitram^{t} of those mentioned in this Condicõn of awarde: And Sr Tho: Smyth bound in the like some That the wthin named Gou^{r}no^{r} & Company of m^{r}chaunte of London tradinge into theast Indies & their Successo^{rs} shall doe the like.[1]

The bond of award betweene the Companie & Edmond Scott. 1609.

THE Condicõn of this Obligacõn is such That yf &c: shall at all tymes heereafter stand to, abide, obay obserue p̃forme, fulfill, & keepe the award, arbitram^{t}, order, determinacõn & Iudgm^{t} of Rob̃t Middleton, Robert Iohnson, Raphe ffreeman and Christopher Cletherowe Citizens & m^{r}chaunte of London, Arbitrato^{rs} indifferently named elected & chosen aswell on the p̃te and behalfe of &c: as on the p̃te of &c: to arbitrate awarde deeme & iudge betweene the said &c: and the said &c: for touchinge & conc^{r}ninge all accompte Reckonninge debte debate and demande whatsoeu^{r} now dependinge betweene the said &c: & the said &c: Except all such seu^{r}all Adventures & stocke as the said Edmond hath here adventured wth the said Company & the proffitte thereof: Soe as the same awarde determinacõn & Iudgm^{t} of the said Arbitrato^{rs} be made & yealded vp in writeinge vnder their hande & seales on this side or before the 24th day of Iulie next ensueinge the date of this present Obligacõn wthout fraude or covyn. That then this present Obligacõn shalbe &c: Or ells &c:

[1] To be dated about March or April, 1609. For a note on Edmond Scott see page 34.

BILLS of Adventure[1] giuen by the Gou^r^nor & Comp: of East India Marchant*e* to the seu^r^all Adventurers in the 4th Voyadge wth their seuerall somes, & the same vnderwritten by Richard Atkinson[2] as by him examined, before the ensealeinge thereof. The wch are as ffolloweth. Viz to.—

	Sr Thomas	Smyth	
	William	Greenwell	616 .13^s^. 4^d^
	Sr William	Romeney	550 . 0 . 0
	Thomas	Symond*e*	500 . 0 . 0
To m^r^[3]	William	Cockaine	700 . 0 . 0
	Robert	Sandie	550 . 0 . 0
	Oliver	Stile	550 . 0 . 0
	Iohn	Eldred	550 . 0 . 0
	Richard	Humble	600 . 0 . 0
	William	fferrers	660 . 0 . 0
	Humfrey	Basse	550 . 0 . 0
	Robert	Brooke	700 . 0 . 0
	Thomas	ffarrington	700 . 0 . 0
	Raphe	ffreeman	600 . 0 . 0
	Martyn	ffreeman	550 . 0 . 0
	Robert	Iohnson	550 . 0 . 0
	Robert	Chilcott	650 . 0 . 0
	Thomas	Stylle	550 . 0 . 0
	Robert	Bell	550 . 0 . 0
To m^r^	Iohn	Busbridge	650 . 0 . 0
	Richard	Burrell	550 . 0 . 0
	Richard	Gossen	550 . 0 . 0
	Iohn	Highlord	550 . 0 . 0
	William	Cater	660 . 0 . 0
	William	Berblocke	550 . 0 . 0

[1] For the form of the "bill," see page 273.

[2] Richard Atkinson, "servant to the governor," was chosen cashier for the *Fourth Voyage* on 28th July, 1607; and in January, 1608/9, having been "ever found verie "faithfull & very fitt for those businesses," was appointed general cashier to the Company. In March, 1614/5, some of the secretary's work was transferred to Atkinson. In August, 1621, he had to submit to a reduction of salary from 150*l.* to 100*l.* He seems to have died in the early part of the following year, and was succeeded by William Hurt.

[3] See note on page 275.

	William	Millett	550 . 0 . 0
	Christopher	Nicholls	550 . 0 . 0
	Richard	Pointell	600 . 0 . 0
	Raphe	Hamo^r	700 . 0 . 0
	Thomas	Henshawe	550 . 0 . 0
	Henry	Robinson	550 . 0 . 0
	Humfrey	Robinson	550 . 0 . 0
	Richard	Ironside	600 . 0 . 0
	Robert	Robinson	550 . 0 . 0
	Thomas	Westrowe	550 . 0 . 0
	Richard	Maplesden	550 . 0 . 0
	Edward	Allen	550 . 0 . 0
	Iohn	Bancke	600 . 0 . 0
To m^r.	Richard	Beale	600 . 0 . 0
	Roger	Dye	550 . 0 . 0
	Ieofferey	Kirbie	660 . 0 . 0
	Humfrey	Smythe	550 . 0 .
	Thomas	White	550 . 0 .
	Richard	Stratford	550 . 0 .
	William	Bonham	860 . 0 .
	Richard	Deane	550 . 0 .
	Edward	Lutterforde	550 . 0 .
	Henry	Bridgman	550 . 0 .
	George	Bennett	675 . 0 .
	Thomas	Whiteley	660 . 0 .
	Thomas	Cutlar	550 . 0 .
	William	Compton	550 . 0 .
	Stephen	Harvey	550 . 0 .
	The lo:	Cavendishe	600 . 0 .
	Roger	Clarke	550 . 0 .
	Iohn S^t	Andrew	200 . 0 .

In the name of God Amen the 14th day of Aprill Anno dn̄i 1609. A Comission agreed vpon and sett downe by us the Gou^rno^r Deputy and Comittees of the Marchaunte of London tradeinge to the East Indies,

aswell for the better direccōn of o^{r} loueinge freind, and principall ffactor Captaine David Middleton, As for all other ffacto^{rs}, Master, Pylott, Pursers Mariners, and other Officers or ꝑsonns goeinge in this o^{r} present intended Voyadge to the East Indies in the good shipp named the Expedicōn: wch we humbly beseech Almightie God, to blesse wth a happy successe and Conclucōn.[1]

1 INPRIMIS whereas we the Gou^{r}no^{r} Deputie Comittees & Marchauntꝭ aforesaid have to o^{r} greate chardge prepared the said shipp named the Expedicōn of the burthen of 240 Tonnes, wherein Edmund Musgraue goeth m^{r} for a voyadge by Godꝭ grace to be made to the East Indies, And haue furnished the same sufficientlie and in plentifull manner, wth men, tackle, victualles and all other needfull ꝑuisions for such a voyadge, of a spetiall trust and Confidence, wch we haue in the integritie and iust carriadge of o^{r} said loueinge freinde David Middleton: we doe appointe and authorize him Captaine to goe in the same shipp, and to Comand all the menn therein, haueinge ꝑcured him sufficient authoritie from o^{r} Sou^{r}eigne lord the kingꝭ ma^{tie}: in that behalfe: Not doubtinge but that he will soe behaue himselfe, as he may be both feared and loued. And that he will wth all his dilligence and endeavors prosequute o^{r} designes & labour to bringe this o^{r} voyadge to a happie end.

2 Item for that Religious gou^{r}nm^{t} and exercise, doth best bynde menn to ꝑforme their Duties: We doe appointe and order: That prayers be said Morneinge & eveninge in the shipp, And the whole Company called therevnto, That all ioinctlie may wth reverence & humility pray vnto Almightie God to blesse & preserue them from all dangers in this longe and tedious voyadge: And for better ꝑformance thereof we haue deliu^{r}ed a Bible vnto the Pursar.

3 Item that noe blasphemeinge of God sweareinge thefte drunckennes or other lyke misdeameanors be vsed, But that the same be sevearelie punnished, And that noe diceinge, or other unlawfull games be ꝑmitted, ffor that the same ar most

[1] This Commission was read and approved at a Court held 13th April, 1609.

comolie the begyninge of quarrells & many tymes murther a iust occasion of Godę wrath and vengeance from wch the Lord deliver vs all: wherefore we doe order That there shall be ponishmentę prouided sett vpp and published in the said shipp for such Offences, whereby eu^{r}y man may take notice what he ought to avoied.

4 Item That noe liquor be spilt in the Ballast of the shipp or filthines be left wthin bourde, wch in heate breadeth noysome smells and infec̄cōn: But that the overlopps and other placę of the shipp, be kept cleane and sweete wch is a notable preservac̄ōn of health.

5 Item That Contynuall and true Iournalls, be kept of eu^{r}y daies course, and Navigac̄ōn duringe the whole voyadge, wth a true relac̄ōn of eu^{r}y thinge that passeth: And this to be done seu^{r}ally by Captaine, Master, Pilott, the Marchaunt Masters mate and pursar and they at Convenient tymes to Conferr togither aboute the same, To thend that yf any of them haue forgotten what an other hath obserued the same may be added whereby a ꝑfect discourse may be sett downe to be presented to the Gou^{r}no^{r} and Company when God shall graunte the said shipp safe retourne and to be kept for better direc̄cōn of posteritie.

6 Item That the Company & M^{r} take due notice of the seu^{r}all provisions, deliu^{r}ed to the said shipp, and to settle the same in the chardge of the Officers appointed for that purpose. And that the same be entred in the Pursars booke vnderwritten by the said Officers, To thend that such thingę as are ꝓuided, for their needfull supplies, may not be ymbecilled, And that nothinge thereof, be ymployed for any vse whatsoeuer, wthout warrant vnder the hand of the Captaine, directed to the Officer that hath such chardge wch warrant shall serue for his dischardge in his accompte otherwyse to be awnswearable for the same wth his wagę, And eu^{r}y such warrant to be registred in the pursars booke, The day of the monneth & the occasion, And this to be done alsoe by the Pursar vpon forfecture of soe much out of his wages.

7 Item That at eu^{r}y place where yo^{u} shall water and refresh yor selues yo^{u} shall call the whole Company together giueinge them most stricte & straight chardge and warneinge not to

straggle but to behaue them selues peaceably & Civillie towardꝭ the people of that place (yf any be there) the better to ꝑcure their freindshipp towardꝭ the supply of yor wantꝭ, And the like to be done and vsed, in eu^{r}y place where yo^{u} come, least the losse of yor liues and ou^{r}throwe of o^{r} voyadge, pay for yor disorders, besidꝭ an vtter discreditt to o^{r} Nac̃on: And that yor men doe vse, a discreete meane in eateinge of fruitꝭ, fresh victualls, or drinkeinge of water least they surfett, and fall into diseases, whereof we haue had too much experience: And the better to restraine vnrulie appetitꝭ: We thinke fit That yo^{u} the Captaine doe appointe some of the discreetest in yor Company to ꝑcure and prouide in such places, what yo^{u} want: And the same to be first brought vnto yo^{u}, and yo^{u} to reꝑte the same to yor Company as yo^{u} shall see good and needfull, And that none presume to doe contrary wthout seveare ponishment: Alsoe that yo^{u} haue a spetiall care, to see the sicke releeued wth such fresh meatꝭ and other Comfortable thinges, wherewth we haue furnished the said shipp for that purpose: And that the same be not otherwyse spent in Ryott & banquettinge, and soe the sicke ꝑishe for want of thingꝭ needfull.

8. Item when yo^{u} haue refreshed yor selues at Saldania or elswhere thereaboutꝭ, where yo^{u} shall thinke most convenient and good for harbor, & plentie of victualls: yo^{u} shall apply yor selues, and wth all possible speede endevour yor course for Bantam, And being arriued there, yo^{u} shall Conferr and take aduise of o^{r} ffactors for or Conc^{r}ninge yor voyadge to the Molluccos or Banda: And shall take alonge wth you thither such of o^{r} said ffactors there as yo^{u} shall thinke good, espetially Syddall for his experience as alsoe Spaldinge whome we hould the fittest ꝑsonns in that behalfe: But yf that yo^{u} cannott ꝑcure yor ladeinge at the Molluccoes and Banda: Then we leaue the same to yor discrec̃on, to be done at Bantam, or any other place where yo^{u} shall thinke will be most for o^{r} proffittꝭ.

9 Item yo^{u} shall espetiallie foresee, and take care, That in ladeinge either Cloues Nutmeggꝭ or Mace yo^{u} cleanes them as much as yo^{u} cann from dust and Rumps, That the shipp be not stuffed wth such vnproffitable ware as is not worth the Custome, And soe we loose all o^{r} chardgꝭ: wherefore rather burne the

same, then[1] lade it in the shipp And be carefull to buy dry Cloues and not such as are greene.

10 Item That yo^{u} be very carefull to haue yor due and full weight and the same putt into baggꝭ nombred and marked and sent abourd the shipp wth some ffactor or other trustie ꝑsonn, wth a ɫre Conteyneinge the ꝑticular of eu^{r}y bagge vnder the nomber, The same ɫre to be deliuered to the pursar, whome we chardge to weigh eu^{r}y bagge, at the takeing of yt into the shipp, whereby he may see that the weight is accordinge to the ɫre receiued, keepinge eu^{r}y ɫre and entringe the Contentꝭ in his booke whereby yf any error happen yt may be found out, wch we wish yo^{u} the Captaine to examyne eu^{r}y nighte That there growe noe abuse.

11 Item That the purser be Contynually aboorde the shipp and take true notice of all thingꝭ whatsoeu^{r} are brought into the shipp or carried out eyther by the Captaine Marchaunt ffacto^{r} Master Mariner, the pursar himselfe or any other whosoeuer, And to enter the same in his booke vnder the name of the Owner that eu^{r}y one may haue his due at the returne, As the pursar will awnsweare yt wth the losse of his wagꝭ: And yo^{u} the Captaine to giue the pursar stricte chardge in this behalfe.

12 Item, That there be but one hatch open (yf yt may be) at the ladeinge of the shipp, and thother hatches to be locked vp, and that the master or his Mate and the purser to stand by the open hatche when any goodꝭ are shott into hould lockeinge the same vpp when they haue left worke, and the key to be giuen to the Capteine to keepe.

13 Item That nothinge be bought, but what is espetiall good And that yo^{u} doe not overwett the Cloues,[2] badd nutmeggꝭ and mace haue taught vs to advise o^{r} ffactors to be more carefull.

14 Item, for that voyadgꝭ of this Condicõn and chardge cannott admitt any priuate trade our will is, And we doe expreslie order That neither yo^{u} the Captaine, nor any other, vpon any ꝑticuler, or other accompte, then the generall and ioincte stocke doe lade, or deale wth any of the Comodities herevnder expressed (Vizt) pepꝑ, Cloues, Nutmeggꝭ, Mace, Synamon, Ginger Indico Callicoes Ambergreece, Muske Alloes Beniamyn Gumlacka Rawe & sleeue silke Pearles Dyamondꝭ

[1] Than. [2] Some words appear to have been omitted here (cp. page 258).

Bezar stones: And that yf any shall soe doe the same shall be applyed to thaccompt of the Company as o^r owne propp goode It beinge noe way reasonable That wee should pay them their wages wth meate and drinke, And they lade those thinge in o^r shipp, wch should defray o^r chardge.

15. Item That in eu^ry place where yo^u come and trade yo^u shall compare their waighte & measures wth o^rs before yo^u buye To thend yo^u may knowe the Better what to doe And howe to make yor reckoninge, ffor wch purpose we haue putt a Chest wth weighte into our said Shippe.

16. Item we straightlie chardge That the best and sufficientest of o^r ffactors be appointed to wey, what is bought by weight on the land And to keepe a pfect Booke thereof that the same may be nightlie conferred wth the pursars booke, whereby errors or abuses may be the better found out.

17 Item we straightlie chardge that noe excessiue drinkeinge feastinge or banquettinge, or shooteinge of of Gonnes be at any tyme made or vsed either aboorde the Shipp att Sea, or on land, The same beinge a greate waste and Consumpcõn of victualls, wyne and powder & the cause of many diseases & disorders in the Company And therefore to be spent wth discrecõn and spareinge.

18 Item That yo^u matt the inside of the shipp before yo^u put or lade any spice in her, espetiallie where yo^u lade Cloues Pepp Nutmegge & Mace, And that yo^u make choise of such Nutmegge, as be lardge and sounde, And att the ladeinge thereof not to lyme them too much, for that doth burne them, Alsoe that in any Case, yo^u lay the Mace in Canisters in some fitt place by yt selfe, That yt be not spoyled by the heate of the other spice, takeinge good heede to buy that wch is bright, & not wythered nor red, nor darke browne Colored And lykewyse for Cloues to buy such as shall be free of dust, The wch those people doe vse to putt amongst them for their advantage in the waight.

19 Item That yf necessitie drawe yo^u at the ladeinge of any Cloues for better setlinge of them, to cast water vpon them, lett yt be but asprinkelinge wth some thinge for the purpose like a wateringe pott, for that too much wett in o^r Cloues in other voyadge, hath brought vs greate damadge.

20 Item That yf o^r ould Cloth wch was left at Bantam, be

not sould, Then you[u] shall Conferr and advyse wth o[r] ffactors there howe the same shall or may be vented, either by sendinge yt to Banda: or by leaueinge (yf neede be) a ffactory at Banda wth the same and addinge therevnto some money and some other Comodities as you[u] shall thinke fitt.

21 Item That you[u] the Captaine doe giue often notice to all ꝑsons goeinge w[th] you[u] in the shipp, what they are to obserue by this o[r] Comission & direcc͞ons, And that you[u] giue espetiall chardge to all o[r] ffactors. That they make diligent inquiry what Comodities are to be bought or bartered for in eu[r]y Island, or place where they shall come or arrive And what English m[r]chandize may be there vented And of what kinde & Color most vendible

22 Item That you[u] remember, aduise & putt o[r] ffactors at Bantam in mynde that they doe their best endevo[rs] to procure the Chineses to bringe from Chiney sleve and soweinge silkes of the Colo[r] and sizes we haue now deliu[r]ed vnto you[u] As alsoe some Rawe silkę that we may fall into some trade w[th] them, And see yf they can sell any of our English Cloth vnto them whereby to bringe them to the vse thereof.

23 Item, That you[u] remember to doe yo[r] best endevo[r] to bringe for the Lo: Thr͞er some parrattę Munkeys Marmesates, or other strange beastę and fowles, That you[u] esteeme rare and delightfull.[1]

24 Item, That for the quantities of moneys & m[r]chandize putt into this our said shipp, we referr you[u] to o[r] invoise deliu[r]ed vnto you[u] herew[th], togither w[th] the ꝑticular sortę Collors and prices, w[th] patternes of all sortę, whereby to make sale.

25 Item whereas heretofore the Company haue receiued greate wronge by the Generalls Captaines Masters and Mariners admittance of voluntary men to goe in o[r] shipps: We therefore hereby straightlie chardge you[u] the Captaine Master & other Officers, That you[u] suffer none such to goe alonge wth you w[ch] putt the Company to greate chardge besidę many other Inconveniencę, Nor any but such as are, or shall be allowed of by o[r] direcc͞on and whose names are entered into o[r] Bookę.

26 Item, for that yt is vnfitt, and inconvenient, That o[r] trade

[1] See note, page 130.

be ympted vnto any, but to o^r generall Company we doe hereby expreslie order & appointe, That yo^u chardge all o^r ffacto^rs, not to write or aduise any their ꝑticular freindꝭ or others of the prices of any Comodities, either there bought or sould But onelie in their generall t̃res to the Gou^rnor and Company.

27 Item That yo^u the Captaine at yor returne from Bantam for England doe bringe wth yo^u vnto vs from thence an Inventory of all o^r goodꝭ debtꝭ and moneys then remayneinge in those partꝭ. And that yo^u putt to o^r generall accompte all guiftꝭ presentꝭ & gratificac̃ons wch shall be giuen by any forreine prince, potentate or others, to whome we haue hertofore giuen or sent any presentꝭ, or to whome there shall be nowe any given.

28 *Item,* That by agenerall Consent of yo^u the Captaine ffactor Master Pilott & Mariners, some good order be by yo^u sett downe in writeinge, soe soone as yo^u come to Sea, conc^rninge the dispotic̃on of dead mens goodꝭ in the voyadge by sale at the maste, or otherwyse for buyeinge, sellinge borroweinge and lendinge one an other, And orderinge what Sallary shall be allowed the pursar, vpon eu^ry pound, for keepinge accompte thereof to avoied Controu^rsie and question heereafter, And eu^ry Mariner and others in the shipp to sett their hand or marke vnto the same order: But yf any ffactor shall happen to dye, Then his goodꝭ bookꝭ accomptꝭ & other thingꝭ are to be safelie preserued and brought home for England.

29 *Item,* that for better preservac̃on of health, yo^u doe from tyme to tyme, as the water Caske shall be emptied of fresh water, cause the same to be forthw^th filled againe wth salt water for prevenc̃on of leakeinge & mustines wch must be often shifted.

30 *Item,* touchinge the facte Comitted in the Indies by Sr Edward Michelborne thoughe we knowe o^r selues to be meerelie innocent therein, yett yf by any meanes, we or o^r goodꝭ should be dampnified thereby, we doe wish yo^u to seeke to that kinge & Magistrate for redresse & recompence thereof, The wch yf you cannot obtaine, Then o^r will and order is that you vse the benefitt of o^r kingꝭ ma^tꝭ Comission giuen yo^u in that behalfe.

31 *Item,* That yf the said David Middleton Captaine shall happen to dye goeinge outwardꝭ in this present voyadge (wch God forbid) then we will & appointe That Thomas Emmesworth

m^{r}chaunt & ffacto^{r} in this present voyadge shall succeede in his place, and be principall Comander in the said shipp vntill shee come to Bantam: And that yf the said David Middleton shall happen to dye at Bantam, That then yo^{u} the Master Pilott and other cheefe Officers, wch shall arive att Bantam shall Conferr and advise wth o^{r} ffactors at Bantam, wch of them there shall be held & esteemed the fittest ꝑsonn to succeede in his place & roome: And therevpon he wch they shall soe thinke fittest, our will is, shall ꝑcure the ladeinge of o^{r} said shipp, and retourne as principall Comander therein for England.

32 Item, for that we finde best proffitt, by the lardge sorte of pepꝑ, both for the prices wch yo^{u} pay aswell for thone as for thoter, we will that in any case yo^{u} buy of the lardgest sorte, And lett the same be putt by yt selfe into the shipp, That yt be not mingled wth any other: yett o^{r} desire is not to haue any pepꝑ except yt be to saue dead fraight.

33. Item we doe appointe and expreslie order, That yo^{u} the Captaine wth Thomas Emmesworth, the pursar & such others as yo^{u} the Captaine shall thinke meete to call vnto yo^{u}, doe dulie examyn the dealeinge of all or any of o^{r} ffactors at Bantam, either in or for o^{r} generall accompte or otherwyse or of all or any of their priuate trade or trades, since their goeinge thither: And that yf yo^{u} shall therevpon finde all or any of them, to haue dealt or traded for them selfes, or to haue willfullie or cuningelie abused and wronged vs therein, or to haue demeaned them selues contrary to o^{r} expresse order formerly giuen vnto them in that behalfe: Then we will that yo^{u} take notice of their misdemeanors, and to admonish them, for reformac̄on thereof, As alsoe to c^{r}tifie vnto vs the ꝑticuler abuses by them or any of them Comitted.

34. Item, Lastlie but wth the first to be remembred: We chardge and pray yo^{u} all, To haue an espetiall care and reguard: And to haue yor Eyes open to all devises & practices wch may be wrought against yo^{u}, or[1] shipp, or goodꝭ in eu^{r}ry or any place where yo^{u} come or shall ariue keepinge a Contynuall watch whereby yo^{u} may be ready to prevent any mischeefe intended against you, suspect all howe freindlie soeu^{r} they seeme: Be

[1] A mistake for "o^{r}."

ready still and stand vpon yor guarde, Trust not yor saffety to the carelesse attendance of the Comon Mariners whoe will not loose their present pleasures or ease, though the losse of their liues or[1] shipp and goodę depend vpon yt: And albeyt we haue sett downe eu^{r}y thinge wch we remember & desier to be done in ꝑticular yett yf you the Captaine David Middleton the said Thomas Emmesworth Edmund Musgraue M^{r}, Iohn Davis Pilott & Thomas Cleyburne[2] shall vpon due Consideracõn and Consultacõn together finde cause to alter any thinge before yo^{u} come vnto Bantam wch we haue herein sett downe as aforesaid havinge wth good advise resolued therevpon, We referr the same to yor discrecõns: And for better assistaunce and more wary ꝑceedinge in all courses, vpon all occacõns, & in all o^{r} affaires and busines for or conc^{r}ninge this present voyadge: We will & appoint the said Thomas Emmesworth (soe longe as he shall contynew wth you) and Edmund Musgraue Iohn Davis & Thomas Cleyburne to advise & Consulte wth you the Captaine of and aboute all thingę wch shall be needfull therein, whome we wish yo^{u} to ymbrace and vse wth a loueinge respect & freindly & diligently to hearken to their Councells puttinge in execution, what shall wth good deliberacõn be soe, by yo^{u} & them agreed vpon together, ffor the better avoiedinge of such Contencõns as were the last voyadge in the Consent. And thus not doubtinge of yor faithfull care & diligence herein: we comend yo^{u} and your endevo^{rs} to Godę providence, whome we hartilie pray to blesse you all & o^{r} affaires, And to guide yo^{u} wth his feare & defend yo^{u} from all dangers *Amen*. London the 14th day of Aprill 1609.

ꝑ me David Middleton

Sealed & deliu^{r}ed in the p^{r}sence of
Richard Mountney[3]
Richard Atkinson.

[1] A mistake for "o^{r}."

[2] Thomas Clayborne was appointed master's mate at 6*l.* per month on 13th March, 1609. It had been proposed to offer him the post of pilot, probably before it was known that Davis was willing to go to sea again. Clayborne had previously been with Sir Henry Middleton in the *Second Voyage*, of which he wrote the account given in *Purchas*.

[3] Elected in July, 1607, "husband" for the Company, a post which, with some slight interruptions, he held for very many years.

To o^{r} loueinge freindꝭ m^{r} Wm Kealinge, m^{r} W^{m}: Hawkins & to all other o^{r} Officers & servantꝭ in any o^{r} Ships Comeinge out of the East Indies.[1]

AFTER o^{r} hartie Comendations &c: Whereas the Officers of his ma^{t}ꝭ Customes doe vsuallie send some of their servauntꝭ abourde all shipps comeinge to any ꝑte of this Realme to haue care that by noe meanes his ma^{t}ꝭ Customes may be defrauded, to avoyde all blame to o^{r} selues and yo^{u}, we haue thought good to requier yo^{u} that yf any of their said servantꝭ shall come abourde of any of ou Shipps that yo^{u} doe intertaine them in kinde and loueing manner for the better execution of their place & his ma^{t}ꝭ service. And further accordinge to o^{r} instruccõns formerlie giuen yo^{u}, we earnestly wish & requier yo^{u} carefullie to keepe and reserue for his ma^{tie}: & the Lordꝭ all such rare fowles beastꝭ or other thingꝭ as are by you, or any of yor Company brought from those ꝑtꝭ, and to vse such meanes as none of them be sould or giuen away before they come to o^{r} handꝭ, for the comeinge thereof to the handꝭ of his ma^{tie}: or the Councell or any other by any other meanes then from vs, will be some disgrace & discontent to the Company. And thus not doubtinge of yor care herein we bid you farewell London the 14th of August 1609.

4 of this Teno^{r} deliu^{r}ed to m^{r} Worstenholme

Yo^{r} loueing freindꝭ the Company of Marchauntꝭ of London tradeinge to the East Indies.

[1] "And further yt is ordered that twoe lres be written in the name of the Companie. "The one . . . . Thother to m^{r} W^{m}: Kealeinge, m^{r} W^{m}: Hawkins, & to "all other the Companies Officers & servauntes in any their shipps comeinge out of "the East Indies in the behalfe of the Officers of his Maties: Customes, & for reserue- "inge of all strange fowles & beastes &c: for the kinge and Councell, of wch Teno^{r} "ffower lres were written as appereth in the Register & deliu^{r}ed to m^{r} Worstenholme "to be sent and disposed of as should be thought fitt." (*Court Minutes*, 14th Aug., 1609.)

To o^{r} loueinge freindꝭ Anthony Marlowe & ffrancis Bucke or either of them at Lisborne[1]

AFTER o^{r} hartie Comendac̃ons &c: yor ꝉres dated in Lisborne the 15th of Iulie last we haue receiued whereby as we are verrie sorrie to heare of yor hard mishapps, soe we haue done & will vse all possible and speedie meanes that in vs lieth for yor releefe and inlardgm^{t}, & will be readie to ꝑforme what other thingꝭ yo^{u} doe requier of vs by yor said ꝉres: In the meane season we haue thought good by this occasion not onelie to make knowne vnto yo^{u} o^{r} greefe for this yor distresse, but alsoe to advertice yo^{u} that for yor better releefe & Comfort we haue dealt wth o^{r} good freind m^{r} Iohn Eldred,[2] to giue order to his servant W^{m}: Squier remayneinge at Lisborne, to furnish yo^{u} for yor present necessities wth the some of Twoe hundred Duckettꝭ yf yo^{u} shall need soe much & further (yf need be) wth the some of three or fower hundred Duckettꝭ more, yf for the same yo^{u} cann assuredlie by any good meanes there, worke yor inlardgm^{t}: Wherein yo^{u} are to be well aduiced & be of some c^{r}teine growndꝭ before yo^{u} parte wth any money & thus wishinge yo^{u} to Comforte yor selues in the lord whoe will bringe theis yor troubles to a blessed yssewe in his good tyme as may make most to his glorie & yor Comfortꝭ in hast we end as we begunn the 14th of August 1609.

one of this Teno^{r} deliu^{r}ed to m^{r} Eldred

Yo^{r} loueing freindꝭ the Company of Marchauntꝭ of London tradeinge to the East Indies.

[1] See page 219. This letter was read and committed to the charge of Mr. Eldred, "whoe is intreated & hath taken vpon him to doe the same & to furnish them wth "moneys accordinge to the Teꝑo^{r} of the same lres," at a Court Meeting on 14th Aug., 1609.

[2] See page 164, note 6.

To the right wo^{ll}: my very loueinge freindę S^{r}: Thomas Walsingham knight & other his Ma^{t}ę: Iustices of the Peace Assembled at Crayford in Kent or elswheare.[1]

AFTER my hartiest Comendacōns &c: Wheareas Anthonie Emerson and shipwrightę latelie hired by the East India Company & by them ymployed about the builedinge of their Shipps at Deptford, doe notwthstandinge their said agreem^{t} now absent them selues from the said worke to the greate hindraunce thereof, and evill example vnto others. I ame in the name of the said Companie to intreate yor favo^{rs} herein, espetiallie beinge a Case of greate ymportaunce for the hono^{r} and proffitt of this kingdome Whereby they may be soe ponished accordinge to the statute in that respect ꝑuided, as yt be a warninge vnto them and others to abstaine from the like. And thus not doubtinge of yor kinde favo^{rs} herein I Comitt yo^{u} to the Tuicōn of Thalmightie. London the 25th of Septemƀ . 1609.

Yo^{r} loueinge freind
Tho: Smyth.

To the right wo^{ll}: my very loueinge freinde Sr Robert Mansfeild knight one of the principall Officers of his Ma^{t}ę: Navy.[2]

SR

The East India Companie haueinge caused certaine Iron Ordinance to be made readie for their shipps now abuildinge at Deptford, haue not as yett any Convenient place for the stowadge thereof. Wherefore I hartelie pray yo^{u} to affoorde them soe much favo^{r} as to giue yor order that the said Iron Ordinance may be suffered to be laid on his Ma^{t}ę

[1] "Itt is ordered that a lre be writt to the Iustices at Crayford to deale wth the "twoe Carpenters gone away, accordinge to the statute in that case prouided, as by "Register of Lres at lardge appereth." (*Court Minutes*, 25th September, 1609.)

[2] "And further yt is ordered That a lre be writt to Sr Robert Mansfeild for leaue "to lay the Iron Ordinance on the kinges Wharffe at Debtford as at lardge in the "Register Appeareth." (*Court Minutes*, 25th September, 1609.)

Wharfe at Deptford there to remaine for some shorte space vntill the Shipps be lanched. The wch yor favo^r^ the Companie will be readie to requite in the best manner they May: And I remaine

Yo^r^ very loueinge freinde

London the 25th of Septemƀ 1609. *Tho: Smyth:*

THEIS[1] are to Certifie all those whome yt may Concerne That we the Gou^r^no^r^ and Companie of the Marchaunte of London tradinge into the East Indies haue appointed the Bearer hereof Barber wth all expedicõn to make his repaier abourd o^r^ Shipp called the Dragon latelie come from the Indies, and there to remayne to foresee and vse all meanes for prevencõn that noe goode of what kinde soever be conveyed or carried out of the said Shipp w^th^out the warrant of the Gou^r^no^r^ of the said Company in writeinge accordinge to the Teno^r^ of a ĺre from the Lo: highe Thrẽr of England, whearevnto we doe authorize him by this o^r^ Comission. In witnes whereof I the Gou^r^no^r^ of the said Companie haue hearevnto sett my hand the 15th of *Nouember* 1609.

A Commission to m^r^ Barber to see that nothinge be carried out of the Dragon w^th^out order.

Tho: Smyth.

London the of March 1609.[2]

ALBEYT we haue receiued noe ĺres from yo^u^, nor yor Generall since yor depture, nor otherwyse heard from yo^u^, but by some vncertaine reporte from Cairo, whereby wee vnderstand yo^u^ haue traded at Mocho neere Aden, both in sellinge o^r^ English and buyinge those

[1] The arrival of the *Dragon* at Plymouth (in the *Third Voyage*) was announced at the Court held 25th September, 1609, but she was in so bad a state that it was the 15th of November before her arrival in the Downs was reported; "wherevpon yt was "ordered that m^r^ Barber doe w^th^all expedicon retourne againe to the Dragon w^th^ "Comission to foresee and prevent that noe kinde of Commodities be Conveyed out "of her &c: as by the same Comission appereth." (*Court Minutes.*)

[2] A letter to the factors of the *Fourth Voyage*, sent by the ships of the *Sixth Voyage*, under Sir Henry Middleton.

Rich: Reaue
Wm: Revett
Iohn Iourden
Phillip Glascocke
Ieofferey Carleile
Rich: Weekes
and others.

Country Comodities, whereof we hope you haue by the Carivan of Aleppo, and by the way of Cairo written vnto vs as alsoe haue sent Iohn Iourden overland accordinge to yor Comission,[1] wch yf you haue neglected you are worthy much blame, for yt may much preiudice the Company, and be the occasion of yor owne wauntє, for that we knowe not whither to direct either shippinge or ԉres vnto you: yett such is the care we haue of yor good that haueinge now sent out three Ships to say the Tradesincrease of 1000 Tuns,[2] the Pepp Corne of 240 Tuns and the Little Darlynge of 100 Tuns whereof is Admirall Sr Henrie Middleton[3] and mr Lawrence ffeemell[4] principall ffactor: we haue not onelie by them sent you theis ԉres but alsoe haue giuen them chardge in their Comission, that wheresoever they shall finde any of you they shewe you all loue and kindnes whereof we doubt not.

Our pleasure therefore is that all such stocke as is (for or accompt of the fourth voyadge) in all or any of yor Custodies or wch you may receiue, you doe as Mr ffemell shall aduise you (yf already you haue not) speedilie tourne into such Comodities as are best and most proffitable for theis partє, and wch will take least bulke, as good rawe silke, fine booke Callicoes yf they be cheepe, rich Indico, good druggє, cloues, or maces well chosen for we must pay freight for them to the accompt of the Sixt voyadge, yett doe we not soe tye you to the saveinge of freight but that you should send such Comodities whereof alsoe wee may make most proffitt, & the same to packe vpp very safe from wettinge markeinge them both vpon the Inner & outer surplus wth a distincte marke & no: whereby the same may be distinguished from goodє of any other voyadge.

[1] See page 245.

[2] Said to have been the largest merchant ship up to that time built in England.

[3] See page 46, note 3.

[4] Proposed for "general" in the *Fourth Voyage*, but "spared" until the next expedition. On 13th Nov., 1609, he was appointed a factor for the *Sixth Voyage* at a salary of 200*l.* per annum, with the stipulation that he should remain in the Indies at least three years. He died suddenly, 29th May, 1611, at Mocha, of poison, administered, as was thought, by the Aga, whom he had threatened to report at Constantinople.

And Concerninge yor selues whether yo^{u} shall stay in those partꝭ or not, we haue referred that vnto Sr Henry Middleton M^{r} ffemell and Captaine Hawkins to deale wth yo^{u} vpon tearmes of stayinge and to contynue the same wages wch we formerlie agreed wth yo^{u} for, that soe the chardge of soe many as shall there remaine may be put to the accompt of this Sixt voyadge, and the rest to come home in the first Shipp that retourneth for England. Yo^{u} shall alsoe vnderstand that in this Sixt voyadge we giue o^{r} ffacto^{rs}, noe liberty for any priuate trade but for soe much as they putt into the generall stocke, wee are contented to accept thereof bindinge them from priuate traffique directly or indirectlie, and for such wages as we are agreed vpon, they or their Assignes shall yearlie receiue the same in England, soe that they are not to receiue any wages in the Indies, exceptinge onlie some x^{li} yearelie to buy them apꝑell, and that to be paid them in Ryalls of 8 at 5^{s} ꝑ peece wch we knowe to be a reasonable rate consideringe they cost us here 4^{s}—6^{d} ꝑ Ryall besidꝭ the venture and forbearance.

Now therefore soe many of yo^{u} as shall be elected to stay there and shall be contented wth theis Condic̃ons, giueinge Bond for the true ꝑformance thereof shall be assured to haue yor wages according to agreement.

And because yo^{u} had some liberty granted by the fourth voyadge to adventure some small matter in priuate we are content that such as stay behinde as ffacto^{rs} (in payinge freight) shall send home such stocke as they haue gathered, vnto m^{r} Governo^{r} and Company wch shall be sould for their most aduantage, and yf they shall desyre the proceedꝭ thereof to be sent backe in the generall stocke, their request therein shall be ꝑformed, but hencforth noe priuate adventure to any ffacto^{r} will be ꝑmitted.

And yf any of you dislike of the restrainte of yor priuate trade, wee haue giuen order that yo^{u} may retourne in theis Shipps: but yf you shall be willinge to stay, yo^{u} may expect the Company will noe lesse Consider of yor deserueinges then yor care and diligence shall giue them iust occasion, for hitherto they haue never beene vngratefull vnto any that haue well deserued.

London the of March 1609.[1]

FFORASMUCH as since yor deptur̃e we haue receiued noe l̄res from you, nor Mr Rowles and yett haue hard by l̄res written from Cairo home (thoughe vncertaine intelligence) that you haue had good traffique at Mocho both in sellinge or English Comodities and byinge Indico and other mrchandize whereof we hope (though we haue not receiued them) you haue written l̄res by the Carivans and sent Iohn Iourden over land according to yor Comission, wch yf you haue not done will argue greate remisnes & may not onlie greatelie hinder the Company, but alsoe discouradge such ffactors as you haue lefte in those partℓ, for want of supplies Wherefore we haue by Sr Henry Middleton Generall of this or sixt voyadge not onlie written theis few lines vnto you but alsoe by him sent l̄res vnto any such ffactory as you may in any place haue planted prayinge yf by the prouidence of God you shall meete together that vpon receipt of this or l̄re you would relate vnto Sr Hen: Middleton, [or] his viceadmirall one mr ffeemell the whole proceedinge of yor voyadge and to aduise him where you haue traded, where you finde least danger, & most apparance of proffitt, As alsoe yf you haue lefte any of or stocke behinde, where, and at whose handℓ yt may be demanded to thend he may accordinge to order giuen him send or bringe home the same when he retourneth.

To mr Sharpey & mr Rowles

ffurther we desier you to assist him and mr Lawrance ffeemell wth yor best advice not onlie wch of those ffactors yor selfe haue placed in that Country, but alsoe wch amongst all the ffactors that wee haue either at Aden, Suratt, Bantam, or ells where wth whome you may haue conversed are the fittest men to be ymployed in or service both in reguard of their honest carriadge, and sufficient knowledge of that Country Comodities.

[1] A corresponding letter to the Commanders of the *Fourth Voyage*.

London ye 19th of March. 1609.

BY the Dragon wch God be praysed arryved at Plymouth the middle of Septemƀ last we receiued ƚres twoe from yo^{u} Iohn Hearne one from Roƀt Browne one from Iohn Sarys & one from Henry Sydall: By Iohn Hearnes ƚre the third of Septemƀ we haue aduise what pepꝑ, Alloes, white Benyamin and silke was sent for o^{r} accompt all wch we haue receiued by Godꝭ favo^{r} althoughe the Ship was very leakye and came weaklie home, in soe yll case as that we durst scarce adventure her (after she was lightened aboue 100 Tonns [)] to come for London notwthstandinge we finde avery greate want of the pepꝑ yo^{u} write was put abourd, to the full want as yt apꝑeth to vs to be, Aboue twentie Tuns each Tun cont 2000 waight:[1] wch seemeth the more strange vnto vs in that the pepꝑ yo^{u} laded at Bantam had lyen soe longe and dryed soe much, that of 7489 sackꝭ, there was lost 238 there, all wch Considered together maketh vs thinke that o^{r} busines was not well husbanded neither wth yo^{u} nor in the Shipp comeinge home: Therefore we pray yo^{u} that hereafter nothinge be bought nor sould privatelie but that yor Iournall or booke Couchant may contynually lay open for eu^{r}y one that is o^{r} ffacto^{r} to looke vpon, for wee hould yt noe way fitt, that he that is o^{r} cheefe ffacto^{r}, should carrie all the accomptꝭ close to him selfe in such sorte that those whoe are wth him can giue noe reason howe o^{r} Comodities are lessened, guiftꝭ given, nor howe the wantꝭ doe happen as some of yor selues haue written vnto vs in theis yor ƚres, that yo^{u} can yeald vs noe reason wch way the foresaid 238 baggꝭ of pepꝑ should be lost:

John Hearne
Robert Browne
Henry Sydall
Bantam

We are sorry that there hath not beene a Contynuall booke kept there that we might thereby haue discerned in good sorte howe o^{r} busines hath beene carried. ffor we are giuen to vnderstand that m^{r} Scott brought away his owne accomptꝭ as alsoe m^{r} Towerson did the lyke and lefte noe Coppies of them wth yo^{u}. It had beene fittinge for such as are the Companies servantꝭ to haue kept a booke for the Company, there to haue remaned, and haue brought home a Coppy thereof for their owne vse, or at least so much thereof as might concerne them. ffor an amendm^{t}

[1] *i.e.* twenty hundredweight.

whereof we haue sent you a lardge booke to be a Contynuall Couchant soe longe as yt shall last, willinge you the principall ffactor and those that shall succeede you, that from hencforth you suffer those that are factors wth you to be priuie to all thingꝭ bought and sould or otherwyse to be disposed of As alsoe that yor bookꝭ and accomptꝭ may be publique and comon to all the rest of or ffactors, wch shall be good for yor selfe to avoyed scandall or suspicõn: And will be alsoe agood informacõn vnto the rest of the ffactors vnder you, and bringe contentmt vnto vs, to free vs from suspicõn of any practizes when you shall carry yor busines publiquelie.

Wee write vnto you twoe yeares past by the *Assencõn* and *Vnion* as alsoe by the *Expedicõn,* Captaine, David Middleton, the Coppies of wch łres we doe herewthall send you.[1]

Albeyt we haue heretofore suffered you to haue private trade, yett the Company hath now vpon speciall consideracõn resolued, Not to ꝑmitt yt any longer, for that we finde that those whoe haue had the manadgeinge of or busines, haue had more care to inrich them selues, then to seeke or proffitt, for yf they had not soe done they might haue ymployed or stocke (wch they haue had in their handꝭ since Sr Iames Lancaster came from thence) soe as the benefitt thereof might haue borne the chardges of or howse at Bantam at the least.

We wrote vuto you by Captaine David Middleton that you should noe more pay yor selues yor wages by Royalls of 8 at iiijs the peece but att such a moderate rate, as might be indifferent:[2] yett now vpon better consideracõn the Company haue concluded, and giue you direct order to pay noe more wages at all there, then may be needfull for the comelie apꝑrellinge of any of or ffactors wch we deeme to be xli or 20 mrkꝭ at the most ꝑ Annū and the rest to be paid here in England, either to be adventured in the generall stocke or to such of yor freindꝭ, as you shall assigne the Company to pay yt vnto. And wthall such wages as you shall pay to lett the Ryall of 8 for fyve shillingꝭ.

Alsoe we signifie vnto you all, that althoughe any of you shall

[1] See pages 236 and 285.

[2] Fair to both sides, just; cp. the prayer in *English Church Liturgy* that those in authority "may truly and *indifferently* minister justice."

succeede such as were before you[u] in place yett there shall be noe succession of increase of wages allowed vnto you[u] except yt be by spetiall order & direccõn from the Governo[r] and Company. Wee haue appointed Sr Henry Middleton to be o[r] Generall, vnto whome we wish you[u] to shewe yor selues obedient, and to doe as he shall ymploy you[u] whether yt be by tarieinge there, or goeinge to any other place whether he shall see occasion to carry you[u].

Althoughe we had giuen order heretofore that noe man should bringe home any good℮ in o[r] Shipps of the nature and kinde that we o[r] selues doe lade, yett the greatest nomber in the Dragon brought home store of pepꝑ, w[ch] causeth vs to thinke that the same was stolne from vs and occasioned the want we found of o[r] pepꝑ in the said Shipp. ffor prevencõn whereof hereafter we haue reiterated the same Comandement, and wish eu[r]y one of you[u] that shall either be at the cleiringe of any of o[r] Shipps away from thence, or come home in any of them, that you[u] see and make diligent inquirie amongst the Company of the said Shipp publiquelie, whether any of them haue any good℮ of such kinde yea or noe. yf they haue and can make due proofe that they bought yt there, then you[u] are to pay them for yt & shoote yt into the hould: yf they haue none signifie soe much vnto vs, that they denied to haue any there.

We haue alsoe taken order, that whosoeu[r] shall lade any good℮ in o[r] Shipps and shall not register the same w[th] the Pursar shall haue yt taken from him. And we requier eu[r]y one of you[u] to doe yo[r] best that the same may be dulie ꝑformed.

We will doe o[r] best endevo[rs] to prevent that none such as S[r] Edward Michelborne was, should disturbe yo[r] quiett whoe dyed a yeare since hopinge that tyme will weare out the remembrance of his deed℮.

fforasmuch as we haue found greate inconvenyence by lettinge of yo[r] money there at 2 or 3 for one to be paid heare, whereby diu[r]s of the Mariners and their wyues and Children after their deathes haue beene ympou[r]ished we doe therefore thinke yt fitt, that noe such Exchandge be suffered or ꝑmitted for the avoidinge of scandall both from you[u] and vs.

It apꝑeth by the Accompt℮ sent home that you[u] haue drawne yo[r] wages after iiij[s] the Ryall of 8 from the first of October 1605

to the 31th of October 1608, wch being accompted after iiijs vjd the Ryall as yt costeth vs besidē the adventure we finde you haue allowed yor selues 470 Ryalls of 8 more then is yor due wch we expect to haue restored by you that haue receiued the same, as alsoe that from the 31th of Octob 1608 you receiue the Ryall of 8 at 5s and not otherwyse.

Thomas Harwood the Gunner of the Dragon giueth vs in accompt 20 barrells of powlder lefte wth you Iohn Hearne, whereof as of all thingē ells lefte vnder yor chardge we expect a good accompt.

There is one Wm: Lanwell lefte at Bantam whoe standeth indebted in the Pursars booke of the Dragon iijli—iiijs—xd wch you are to defaulke out of his wages there and make the Company Creditor for the same.

London the 15th of March 1609.

To mr Hawkins and the rest of or ffactors att Suratt &c:

OUR harty Comendacons remembred &c: yor tres of the fourth of Octob 1608[1] we receiued p Moloneux mr of the Dragon whoe by Godē assistaunce aryued saffelie at Plymouth in Septemb last being 1609 subscribed by Wm: Hawkins and Wm: ffinche, together wth a note from Wm: ffinche of wares aswell there to be bought as sould wth waightē measures valuacons of moneys & other pticular intelligences to good purpose and wch we cannot but Comend wishinge the lyke carefullnes to be contynued in you all. Wee vnderstand of yor saffe arriuall at the Barr of Suratt and of landinge yor goodē, together wth that vnhappie surprize of yor men & goodē by the Portugalls,[2] we doe vnderstand alsoe of the season of the yeare and of the depthes of or Shipps for that place, of all wch aduise we doubt not but to make good vse hereafter. Yett we cannot but blame you, for sendinge so much goodē and moneys a shore, before you had bought or laden any goodē backe againe, and alsoe for adventuringe the ymploymt of all yor moneys in one bote, yt

[1] Not now extant.

[2] See page 219, note.

beinge the first that yo^{u} sent from the shore to the Shipp, whereas yf you had sent lesse at once wth good caution, yo^{u} might haue prevented o^{r} losses of goodꝭ and men in greate measure yf not altogether, And howsoeu^{r} yo^{u} excuse yt, that yor men were fainte hearted and yealded wthout resistaunce, yett we are informed by Bucke and Marlowe now prisoners in Lisbone that they were destitute of powder and other meanes to defend them selues, wch was a greate neglect in yo^{u} to be soe secure,[1] as not to arme and animate yor men thorowlie, beinge in the Middest of dangers, and comittinge soe much goodꝭ to their chardge, we are informed by some of the Dragons Company that yo^{u} had sould much of yor lead and other english Comodities at Suratt, but in your ƚres yo^{u} mention onlie the disbursem^{t}ꝭ of all yor monie, yo^{u} write vs alsoe of greate Elaphauntꝭ teeth bought by the way but not what they cost, such thingꝭ yo^{u} doe not well to omytt we hope that o^{r} twoe shipps that we sett out hence in April 1608 . the *Vnion* and the *Assenc̄on* haue visited yo^{u} as we gaue them Comission, And that by makeinge saile of yor english Comodities yo^{u} did furnish yor selues wth Indico & other Cambaia goodꝭ in due tyme, yo^{u} giue vs good incourradgm^{t} touchinge the easinesse and the greate benefitt of placeinge a factory in Suratt and other places neare Cambaia, wch we alwaies soe conceaued, & cheeflie aymed at yt, to wch end besidꝭ all other meanes wherewth we did furnishe yo^{u} thether we gaue yo^{u} direcc̄ons, ƚres, and presentꝭ, wherewth soe soone as you should be landed to addresse yor selues to visitt the greate Magoll, that by his protecc̄on yor residence and ffactory at Suratt, might be more safelie setled before any further violence or treacherie of the Portugalls plottinge there, might be put in execuc̄on against yo^{u}, wch we greatlie feare yo^{u} did not hasten to prevent, till yt was too late, neither can we gather by yor ƚres that yo^{u} did land any of yor presentꝭ for the kinge, and therefore we cannot but feare that yor interteynem^{t} wth him will be accordinglie, and moreover in that spetiall other Cawtion wch we gaue you to beware and not to trust the Portugalls, we finde to o^{r} Coste that yo^{u} were too carelesse, all wch Considered thoughe we hope the best, yett we cannott but

[1] Unsuspecting. It was in his "secure hour" that Hamlet's father was murdered.

rest very doubtfull both of yor saffetie and of o^{r} goodꝭ, till wee doe heare further, we haue furnished in theis shipps for Suratt Elaphauntꝭ teeth, Quicksylver, and other Marchandize, for wch yo^{u} gaue vs aduise, and whereof the Cape Marchaunt M^{r} ffemell hath the Invoices, wth the sales whereof, as alsoe with his direc-cõns what to send ffor England, he is to make yo^{u} acquainted, & therein we requier yo^{u} to assist him wthall dilligence, and wth yor best endevo^{rs}. Those base thingꝭ as sweete fennell seedꝭ, Cum̃yn, longe pepꝑ, and such lyke as are not worth the fraight, we doe not expect nor doe wishe yo^{u} to send any: we haue resolued and doe thinke yt fitt Mr Hawkins, that yo^{u} doe in the first of theis three shipps retourne for England wth yor accounte Iournall, and such other yor obseruacõns touchinge the affaires of those Countries, that by yor intelligence we may be the better directed in o^{r} further proceedinge to settle in those partꝭ, and in any hand we giue yo^{u} straight chardge to foresee and prevent that the Mariners nor any other be suffered to pester the Shipps wth luggage, wch abuse had well neare beene the losse of the Dragon in hir nowe comeinge home, beinge pestred for want of gou^{r}nm^{t} (eu^{r}y man doeinge what he listed) wth at least one hundred Tuns of Mariners goodꝭ more then her burthen.

And forasmuch as we haue heretofore found that the priuate trade of our ffacto^{rs} hath beene carefully carryed for their owne Lucar and gaine wth the greate neglect of o^{rs}, conuertinge all the ritche & pretious thingꝭ to their owne vse & nothinge for the Company but pepꝑ and grosse Comodities, and seeing theis three shipps in this Sixt voyadge, are the begynninge of a new accoumpte, we haue ordered that nowe and hencforth neither o^{r} Generalls Marchantꝭ ffacto^{rs}, nor any other that we ymploye shall be ꝑmitted any pryvate dealeinge or trade for them selues and therefore Sr Hen: Middleton himselfe, M^{r} ffemale and all the rest that are now ymployed in this shippinge haue putt their moneys into the generall stocke, and haue giuen their seu^{r}all Bondꝭ wth suerties as them selues can witnesse not onelie to forbeare all priuate trade directlie or indirectlie for them selues, but alsoe to forbid and hinder all others from the lyke, and therefore soe many of yo^{u} of the third voyadge as are now there resident, or shall be lefte there to Contynew still, notwthstandinge any lib̃tie of priuate

trade much or little admitted vnto yo^{u} in the said third voyadge & seeinge this voyadge is the begynninge of a new account wherein we intend to carry an even and equall hand to all that we ymploy, we doe therefore lett yo^{u} knowe that you are hencforth to forbeare all priuate tradinge for yor selues, & to ymploy yor selues onlie and whollie for the generall stocke giueing bondę to Sr Henry, Mr Downton[1] or M^{r} ffemale to the Companies vse for the true ꝑformance thereof, onlie for apparrell and such vses yo^{u} are to take of yor wages soe much as will suffice soe yt exceed not x^{li} ꝑ Annū accounteinge the Ryall of 8 at 5^{s}, and the rest of yor wages to be paid yo^{u} in England, neyther hath the Generall or Cape Marchant any authoritie or power to augment wages wth any of yo^{u} but we haue power to gratifie any man that we shall thinke to deserue the same, wch may be sufficient incourradgm^{t} to styrr vp your best endevo^{rs} in o^{r} seruice. And we haue giuen order to displace and bringe home all such as by their refusall shall shewe them selues to be otherwyse disposed then in o^{r} Comission we haue ordayned. And towchinge Sr Edward Michelborne (whoe is dead almost a yeare since) howsoeu^{r} we suspected him to haue gotten his goodę by wrongfull courses yet we knowe not in ꝑticular whome he had wronged. Therefore as yett we can say nothinge to that matter in as much as we receiued not the Captaines ɫres wch you mention were taken by the Portugalls, that he had directed to o^{r} kinge complaineinge of his losses And thus wishinge yor prosperyty and good successe we Comitt yo^{u} to God and rest.

[1] Nicholas Downton was the lieutenant general of the *Sixth Voyage*, and had charge of the *Peppercorn*, with which he returned in safety, though in sore plight, in the autumn of 1613. In the following spring he sailed again, in the *New Year's Gift*, in command of a voyage on account of the *First Joint Stock*. At Surat he had to sustain a formidable attack from a Portuguese fleet, but successfully repulsed them. He next proceeded to Bantam, which was reached in June, 1615; and here he died on the 6th August, "death lying in ambush to intrap," says Purchas, "whom by "open force he could not deuoure."

Instruccõns[1] giuen by vs the Gou^{r}no^{r} & Comittees for the Company of Marchauntꝭ tradinge [into] the East Indies vnto Lawrence ffemale our principall ffacto^{r} and the rest of o^{r} ffactors now ymployed in this sixt voyadge.

1 INPRIMIS forasmuch as in o^{r} generall Comission we haue largelie sett downe what we haue thought necessary to be obserued in o^{r} generall busines and doe herewth deliver yo^{u} a Coppy thereof praying yo^{u} as much as in yo^{u} lieth to obserue the contentꝭ thereof, we haue thought y^{t} fitt onlie[2] for yor ꝑticulare direccõns to recomend to yor Consideracõn this o^{r} aduise followinge

2 And because we haue beene ꝑswaded to appointe and nominate yo^{u} o^{r} principall and cheefe ffacto^{r} in this voyadge out of the good reportꝭ of diuers yor freindꝭ and o^{r} owne opinion of yor honest behavio^{r} And the hope of yor instruccious endevo^{r} and skilfull experience in the manadgeing the affaires of m^{r}chandize of soe greate ymportance as yo^{u} knowe theis to be, we wish yo^{u} that wheresoeu^{r} yo^{u} shall come or settle a ffactory, to inquier and informe yor selfe sufficiently of the Condicons and manners of the people, and gou^{r}nm^{t} and what Comodity we may send from hence most vendable in those ꝑtꝭ, Espetially concerninge wollen Comodities, and other the natiue Comodities of o^{r} owne Country whereby we may be able to dryue a trade wthout the transportacõn of money wch is the cheefe scope of o^{r} desires And of those sortꝭ of Comodities aswell wollen as others the quallity quantity culler and price And of Cloth whether highe shorne or lowe, strayned or vnstrayned, And in lyke sorte to aduise of all other Comodities what yo^{u} shall imagine needfull for o^{r} further direccõns.

3 Alsoe wee desier to vnderstand what comodity yo^{u} finde there wch may bee vented to proffitt here or any other place wherevnto o^{r} ships shall nauigate in this or in any other succeedinge voyadge. As alsoe what trade those people haue wth other nations either remote or neare confineinge vnto[3] them,

[1] There is another copy of this document among the *Marine Records* at the India Office (marked C 1). The two have been carefully compared, and differences of any importance noted.

[2] "Wee haue only thought it fit for" &c. (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

[3] Bordering upon.

And wherein there traffique espetially consistę together wth the valuacōn of their coynes, Their seu^rall weightę and measures and what other occurrence needfull for vs to knowe, and thereof to endevo^r by all possible meanes to giue vs intelligence overland, as by the way of the red sea to Cairo directing yor ɫres to the ffrench Consull there Resident, To be sent to Mercellus[1] inclosed to Henery Berry or any other Englishman there Resident, Alsoe by the Persian gulfe by any Carauan throughe Persia either bound for Constantinople, Aleppo, or Tripole directing yor ɫres to the ymbassado^r or Consull there resident to be Conveyed vnto vs, As alsoe by the Caspyan Sea throughe Muscovia vnto the English Agent there beinge, To wch purpose we giue yo^u an Alphabett of Characters wherein we wish yo^u to write for more secrecy.

4 Yf yo^u should touche at Aden or Machowe[2] in the red sea beinge in yor way before yo^u come at Suratte we wish yo^u to inquier whether those of the fourth voyadge haue not setled a factory theare, yf they haue wee desier that they may receiue such comforte from yo^u as yo^u may Conveniently afford them and acquainte them of the intelligence we haue had by other mens ɫres of o^r ships beinge at Machowe, and of the bartringe for Indico, But not haueinge any ɫres from them, wch as they knowe wee gaue them in spetiall chardge & to that purpose sent one or twoe to be sent from Aden overland, wee are ignorant whether there be any incourradgm^t to maintaine trade in those partę, But yf by their ɫres or by any other meanes we shall vnderstand any hope of good trade, Althoughe yt be but for vent of o^r english Comodities onelie we shall not omitt to frequent those portę[3] wth o^r next shippinge, In the meane tyme yf yo^u may put of in any reasonable sorte either for syluer or gould, any of the Comodities we now send we wishe the same to be done as more att large in o^r generall Comission is expressed.

5 Att yor comeing to Suratt informe yor selfe whether m^r W^m: Hawkins or any other before yor arriuall haue setled Capitulacōns wth the greate Magoule of that Country fitt and safe for o^r quiett trade into his Territorie & yf the same be not done in such sufficient manner as yo^u deeme expedient, Then wee wishe yo^u in

[1] Marseilles.
[2] Mocha.
[3] Partes (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

the meane tyme to procure such safe Conducte from the kinge of Cambaia, & the other cheefe Officers of that Country as may incourrage yo^{u} to negotiate amongst them And wthall convenient expedicõn to dispeede o^{r} Ships from thence, accordinge as in o^{r} Comission generall we haue att lardge directed yo^{u} And that done then yo^{u} may in comely sorte accompanied wth such others of o^{r} ffacto^{rs} as yo^{u} shall thinke fitt, repair vnto the Courte of the greate Magull to establish further Capitulacõn for o^{r} peaceable trade either at Suratt or any other porte or portę, place or places wthin any of his dominions alwaies remembringe the hono^{r} of o^{r} kinge and Country & the reputacons of o^{r} negotiacõns in those partę & for the greater dignity of yor ymploym^{t} vnto him we haue ꝑcured his Maties l̃re vnto the Magull, the originall & Coppy whereof we deliu^{r} yo^{u} wishinge that the deliu^{r}y thereof may be wth that hono^{r} that may be well fittinge soe greate a Monarche, & as the oportunity of the place & other yor Conveniencę in those ꝑtę shall ꝑmitt accompanyinge some honorable present of veluett Plate or whate ells more acceptable both vnto the greate Magull & some spetiall men aboute him as in yor good discreecõn shall seeme meete.

6 And for yor better instruccõns we doe herewth deliu^{r} yo^{u} the Coppy of such priuiledgę as Sr Iames Lancaster obtayned from the kinge of Achine wherevnto yo^{u} may ad or diminishe as occasion offereth & the lyke Coppy we haue formerly deliu^{r}ed to those of the third and fourth voyadge.

7 ffurther we wish yo^{u} diligently to informe yor selfe whether we may not settle a ffactory at Dabull neare Suratt or Negratittę[1] in the Ryver of Syndus or in any other porte towne, where o^{r} shippinge may not be subiect to bard[2] hauens as at Suratt nor in soe greate danger of the Portugalls And where we may aswell vent o^{r} Comodities and make retornes in the Comodities of those Countries at reasonable ratę.

8 Alsoe inquier as much as yo^{u} can of the depth, breadth, Ebbs, flowingę, Currantę & sholes of the portę & havens thereaboutę & what the chardge of transportacõn of Comodytie from porte to porte will cost by land as by Sea and whatt customes &

[1] See page 252, note.

[2] Barred.

duties are payable at each porte aswell for goodꝭ and money as ancoradge of shippinge &c:

9 If any Comodities either of the fourth voyadge shall be prouided at Aden or of the third or fourth voyadge at Suratt or any other poorte wherevnto yor shippinge shall arriue wch are to be sent for England we wish you to suffer the same to be laden abourd theis or shipps vnder seurall markꝭ aswell wthin the Canvas or other Courture aswthout for the better discoury thereof, And that there be ꝑticular Invoices & bills of ladeinge of all the seurall ꝑcells that shall be laden for each accounte for avoydeinge Confusion in theis ꝑticular accomptꝭ alsoe yf any remainders shall be lefte & deliured over vntō you we would haue a true and ꝑfect Inventory thereof kept in a booke Couchant, wherein we will that all busines, either for buyinge sellinge bartringe exchandging shippinge receaueingꝭ transportacõns and what ells needfull to be registred concrninge or busines and yor ymploymt be from tyme to tyme dulie trulie and fairelie kept and written and a true coppy thereof sent vs by eury shippinge both vnderwritten by or cheefe Agent as alsoe by fower or fyue of those or ffactors wch are in principall places of ymploymt vnder him.

10 And for the better passinge of yor busines wheresoeur you recide we thinke yt fitt & soe requier that you appointe out of the best quallified amongst those ffactors wch are vnder yor gournmt One whoe [shall] keepe bookꝭ faire written, aswell Iournall as lidger after the order of Debitor & Creditor of all or busines there passed, and alsoe that some other there vnto most apt may be appointed Casheare to receiue and pay keepinge a Cashe booke very faire written wthout blottinge scrapeinge or interlyneinge and alsoe that you doe appointe eury other ffactor in such other Offices and places as they are best capeable wth this Caution that you doe weekelie or oftener if be soe requisite call them to render a reason and giue accompte of their seurall chardge and accordinge to their behaviors & good ꝑformance thereof either to contynew them in their chardge or to displace them wth such reprehension as you thinke needfull.

11 And because there is noe meanes more prevalent to strengthen and Confirme the waies of the godlie in righteousnes

then the spiritt of God wch is the guide vnto all good motions,[1] and noe ayde more pregnant to support and vphould the siner from fallinge into wickednes then the grace of God wch preserueth in all good workę and that almighty god out of his Mercy in Ihesus Christe hath promysed not onlie to here vs when we call vpon him, but alsoe to graunte vs his spiritt of grace to strengthen and assiste vs in all accõns wch Sathan or the world can inforce against vs, wee exhorte yo^{u} in the feare of god to be very carefull to assemble together yor whole familie eu^{r}y morninge and eveninge And to Ioyne together in all humility wth harty prayer to almighty god for his m^{r}cifull proteccõn and favo^{r} to yo^{u} in all yor proceedingę and for all other his graces needfull for a true Christian to desier.

12 And for that Ciuell behauio^{r} is very Requisite for the begettinge of loue and estimacõn amongst those heathenishe people we pray yo^{u} to settle such modest and sober governm^{t} in yor houshould that neyther amongst themselues there bee contentious quarrells or other occasions of strife wch may tend to the preiudice of o^{r} affaires and be a scandull to o^{r} profession and religion, As alsoe that none of yor people giue iust cause to any stranger to Complaine of their misdemeano^{rs}.

13 And because we desier the hono^{r} of o^{r} kinge and the reputacõn of o^{r} traffique amongst them we wishe yo^{u} to comporte yor selfe, both in yor habitt and howse keepinge in such comelie and convenient manner as neyther may disparadge o^{r} busines nor be accompted too excessiue in expences.

14 And for that we imagine yf yo^{u} settle at Surate yo^{u} shall not soe speedilie finde dispacth of all the Comodities wee haue appointed to be there landed, but that there will be a greate parte thereof lefte to sell after the deꝑture of o^{r} Shipps from thence. Wee pray yo^{u} to advance the price thereof to the vttermost, for by settinge a good estimacõn of o^{r} Comodities at the firste, we shall be the better able to Contynue the same heereafter wch may well be done when we haue the trade onlie wth them.

15 And for that o^{r} stocke remaineinge behinde in yor handę may be of some good value, we would haue yo^{u} to prouide some

[1] Acctions (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

speciall Comodities at the best tyme of their cheepnes as yo^{u} knowe are most vendible in England & the same to haue in a readines againste o^{r} next shippinge, wch God willinge yf we haue incourradgm^{t} shall be yearelie.

16. And for that yo^{u} shall not alwaies finde such Comodities as yo^{u} desier, but may haue money lyinge in Chest, We expect yo^{u} will make such proffitt thereof, either by ymploym^{t} in Comodities to Resell at dearer markettꝭ:[1] or otherwyse as the trafficke of that Country shall afford, and soe as yo^{u} may doe the same wth saffetie, And not to be prevented when yo^{u} shall haue occasion to vse the same for to prouide Comodity for o^{r} purpose herein wee must depend principally vpon yor prouidence & proffitable reguard to o^{r} affaires.

17 And for that there be many ffacto^{rs} abroad dispersed as wee Imagine in sundry places wch haue beene sent out by the Adventurers aswell of the third voyadge as of the fourth, Wee will that yf yo^{u} finde any of them in those places, wherevnto yo^{u} shall come, wch are more fittinge to remaine there, Then those that now goe in theis Shipps, That then yo^{u} doe Contynewe them in such chardge as yo^{u} thinke fittinge. Prouided that they are to expect noe increase of wages, other then what was formerlie agreed wth them here in England, As alsoe that they are not to requier[2] their wages any more in the Country but here in England either at their retourne, or by their appointem^{t} vnto their freindꝭ onelie wee are Content to allowe them Tenn poundꝭ or xx m^{r}kꝭ ꝑ Annū, yf they desier the same to finde them apꝑrell, And to be accompted to be receiued after 5^{s} starlinge for the Riall of 8, & not otherwyse. And whereas some fewe of them haue beene allowed to trade yearelie for some small stocke, wee doe now absolutelie disallowe[3] thereof & will noe longer ꝑmitt any of them to exercise any priuate trade whatsoeu^{r}.

18 And therefore yf any of them shall dislike to contynewe there, vpon theis Condic̄ons we wish yo^{u} to send him[4] for England wth o^{r} first shippinge and for that we shall desier to vnderstand from m^{r} Hawkins more ꝑticuler adu^{r}ticem^{t} of those ꝑties we desier that he may come home in one of theis o^{r} three

[1] Rates (*Mar. Rec.* copy).
[2] Receyue (*Mar. Rec.* copy).
[3] Allowe (*Mar. Rec.* copy),—an evident blunder.
[4] Them (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

Shipps, In some convenient manner, respectinge the place we sent him forthe.

19 And althoughe wee knowe yo^{u} are not ignoraunt what yt is to deale wth people of faithlesse condicõn, yett wee thinke yt not amisse to put yo^{u} in mynde to be very carefull to buy of the best sorte of eu^{r}y Comodity, & for thingꝭ garbleable to haue them made very cleane for otherwyse both Coste, fraight, costome & chardge is cleane loste, alsoe lett yor goodꝭ be carefully packed and faierlie marked both wthin and wthout, and distincte, And Invoices ꝑfect sent by eu^{r}y Shipp wth bills of ladeinge and the accompte of the Costꝭ and chardgꝭ of every Comoditie in m^{r}chantlike order, as alsoe send the Inventory of all goodꝭ remaineinge vpon eu^{r}y accompte & the valuacõn thereof & keepe seuerall[1] accomptꝭ of eu^{r}y voyadge.

20 Wee vnderstand that in the Persian gulfe vpon the Coaste of Arabia over against Ormus there is greate store of pearle fished,[2] whereof as of the needfull occurrances we pray yo^{u} giue vs intelligence.

21 When yo^{u} shall repaier to the greate Magull or be otherwyse setled in his Countrie wth peaceable trade yo^{u} may endevo^{r} by the best meanes yo^{u} can either by the Magull or some other his cheefe Comanders in his Country to procure what yo^{u} may for the restitucõn of o^{r} goodꝭ taken by the Portugall from vs wthin the streame[3] of Suratt, As alsoe for the release of o^{r} people at Goa, yf the same be not already done, or wthout hope to be[4] obtayned in yor Capitulacõns at Suratt yo^{u} are amongst others to endevo^{r} to procure to be free from paym^{t} of Customes wholly, aswell of goodꝭ as for moneys both inwardꝭ as outwardꝭ yf yo^{u} can obtaine the same. But yf yo^{u} can not obtaine the same soe generally yet we doubt not but yo^{u} shall agree for some reasonable Customes vpon goodꝭ onely & that yor moneys may be free of all dutie, of custome & such lyke, and whatsoeu^{r} yo^{u} shall agree to pay yt may be for such goodꝭ yo^{u} shall onlie land at Suratt,[5] &

[1] Omitted in *Mar. Rec.* copy.

[2] The reference is to the famous pearl fishery of the Bahrein Islands.

[3] Streames (*Mar. Rec.* copy). For the occurrence referred to, see page 219, note.

[4] To bee donne or obtained (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

[5] For such goodes onlie as you shall land att Surratt (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

that the rest vnladen[1] may be free thereof, And for that we Imagine that the Portugalls will endevor by all meanes possible as well by forces by Sea, As practises ashore to intercept you in yor busines we pray you to be watchfull & vigilent to prevent all their enterprices against you whatsoeur.

22 Wee deliver vnto you twoe gould Ringẽ sett wth Emraules being very faire stones the wch you may either giue for presentẽ at Suratt, yf you see good occasion or otherwyse to sell them for or most advantage. And because nothinge is more crteine then death, and vncrteine then the tyme thereof, we would willingly establishe such a course in the Succession of or cheefe ffactor as may giue vs good hope of the good accomplishmt of or affaires And take away all occasion of Emulacõn from amongst you, And therefore wee doe resolue and ordeine, that yf you mr Lawrence ffemell shall happen to depte this lyfe before such tyme as you shall be settled at Suratt That then Iohn ffowler doe succeede you in yor place vntill their arriuall thither, And yf he happen to die then consequentlie Hughe ffraine,[2] Beniamyn Greene, Robert Larkyn,[3] Thomas Glemon,[4] Iohn Williams,[5] ffrancis Slany Robert Weeb[6] Iohn Stoughton & Baylie Ball and Wm: Poulter & Wm: Reynoldẽ to be attendant vpon the cheefe ffactor whosoeur, But when God shall send you Iohn ffowler and the rest to Suratt & that mr ffemall be depted this lyfe before, Then wee thinke fitt that yf either mr Wm: Hawkins, or wm ffinche bee there resident & liueinge[7] That then mr Hawkins be or cheefe Agent duringe his aboade there, And wm ffinche to succeede him and soe consequentlie Iohn ffowler, Hughe ffraine and the rest accordinge as they are by vs heere inrancked, But yf mr ffemalle shall liue vntill his arriuall & settlinge at Suratt or ells where in the East

[1] This seems to be a mistake for "unlanded." *Mar. Rec.* copy has "unladed."

[2] Engaged as factor, 16th Nov., 1609; died at Bantam, apparently in 1613.

[3] Engaged, 15th Jan., 1610, to serve seven years and to adventure 100*l.*; he was an active servant of the Company, and for some time was chief of the factory at Patani, where he died, 12th May, 1616.

[4] Glemham (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

[5] Engaged, 8th Jan., 1610; died towards the end of 1613, while on a voyage to Sukadana.

[6] Apparently an error for Rowland Webb.

[7] Lyeinge (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

Indies then o^{r} desier is in case of his death, that he would make choise aswell amongst o^{r} other ffacto^{rs} there resident as of theis we now send, of such a man whoe for his honest conu^{r}sation & best vnderstandinge to mannadge soe waightie a busines as this chardge is he shall deeme most fitt wishinge herein that noe ꝑtiall respect be had of any but the ꝑson most worthiest may be appointed to be both o^{r} cheefe Agent and super intendant to the rest of o^{r} ffacto^{rs} vnder him straightlie chardgeinge eu^{r}y one of yo^{u} that are interteyned in this o^{r} seruice as you tender o^{r} favo^{rs} and yor owne preferm^{t}. That yo^{u} giue due respect of priority aswell to o^{r} cheefe Agent as to all other o^{r} ffacto^{rs} vnder him accordinge to their degrees and places & that there be noe swellinge ambition amongst yo^{u}, Envieinge to giue p^{r}sidency to such as either by o^{r} selues o^{r} by o^{r} cheefe Agent shalbe placed before yo^{u} but eu^{r}y one in his seu^{r}all place & accordinge to his place to endevo^{r} o^{r} benefitt in yor ymploym^{t} in o^{r} seruice and the mutuall preseruac̃on of Christian loue amongst yo^{u}, And althoughe by accidentall[1] succession of place may fall vpon some one of yo^{u} whose wages is but small yett we will not yeald to any Succession of Sallary or increase of wages, but retaine that power in o^{r} selues to reward where we shall finde the same convenient, there is one Baylie Ball whoe hath beene a houshoulder[2] & reputed an honest man, But now content to goe as Steward in the Pepꝑ Corne whose name we haue added amongst the rest of o^{r} ffacto^{rs}, for that we imaginne he may fitt for better place yf yo^{u} keepe, him in the Country wch we leaue to yor discrec̃on.

23. Iff yo^{u} shall finde in yor trauaile or can convenientlie come by any rare byrdꝭ[3] or beastꝭ or any other thingꝭ fitt for vs to present to his ma^{tie}: or any of the noble Lordꝭ that are o^{r} honorable freindꝭ we pray and requier yo^{u} to be carefull to prouide and send the same wth espetiall chardge to some carefull man or men that retourne to see them carefully kept & deliu^{r}ed to vs. And wthall yf yo^{u} shall knowe any of the Mariners or other to haue any such wch yo^{u} can not procure from them for reson then that yo^{u} send vs notice thereof to the end we may take order[4] therein accordinglie.

[1] Accident (*Mar. Rec.* copy). [2] Housekeepper (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

[3] Anie rare thinges as fine birdes (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

[4] Other order (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

Sr Thomas Smyth[1]
Henry Boothby
Wm Speede
Edward Langley
William Reynoldꝭ
Rowland Webb.
Beniamyn Greene
Hughe Greete
Thomas Glenham
Robert Larkyn

ffr: Slany

Lawrence ffemell
Iohn Williams
Hughe ffraine
Iohn Stoughton
George Cockaine

A Comission[2] sett downe by Vs the Governo^{r} Deputy & Comittees for the Marchauntꝭ of London tradeinge to the East Indies for better direccõn of o^{r} loueinge freind Sr Henry Middleton Generall the Leiutenante & others the Marchauntꝭ, M^{rs}: & Mariners in this o^{r} intended VIth voyadge [to] the East Indies wch we humblie beseech Almightie God to blesse wth a happie Conclucõn.

In London the day of March 1609.

1. INPRIMIS whereas wee the Marchauntꝭ abouesaid wth o^{r} greate chardge & trouble haue p^{r}pared twoe shipps and apynnace (to say) the Trades Increase Gyles Thornton[3] m^{r}. The Pepper Corne Abraham

[1] The *Mar. Rec.* copy concludes with—

To this have firmed
Sr Thomas Smith gou^{r}nor
Sr John Wattes — Hughe Hamersly
Robert Bell — Robert Middellton
William Harryson — Thomas Stiles
Robert Ofley

Of these the copyist of the text has entered only the governor's name; the others being copies of the signatures of the factors concerned, appended as an acknowledgment that they had made themselves acquainted with the instructions contained in the document (see page 38, note).

[2] The manuscript in the *Marine Records* referred to on page 319, note, contains also a copy of this document, which has been compared in similar manner with the present text, and variations noted.

[3] Died in the voyage, together with his son, and two servants.

Lawes[1] M^{r} & the little Darlinge William Pemerton M^{r}: for a voyadge by Godꝭ grace in them to be made to the East Indies [and] haue furnished the same sufficientlie & in plentifull manner wth men tackle victualls & all other needfull ꝑuisions, fitt for such a voyadge Of an espetiall trust & confidence we haue of the Integrity, wisdome & resolucõn of o^{r} loueinge freind Sr Henry Middleton knight doe appointe & authorize him Generall to goe in the *Trades increase* & to Comand all o^{r} said Ships and the men in them, haueinge ꝑcured him sufficient authority from o^{r} Sou^{r}eigne Lord the kingꝭ ma^{tie}: for that purpose[2] not doubtinge but that he will soe behaue himselfe in his chardge as he may bee both feared & loued, And that he will wthall his diligence & endevo^{r} prosequute o^{r} designes & labo^{r} to bringe this costly voyadge to a happie end.

2 Item wee doe appointe and ordeine o^{r} loueinge freind m^{r} Nicholas Downton to be Leiuetenant of the said Shipps and men and to take his passadge in the Pepꝑ Corne. & Beniamyn Greene to be cheefe Marchaunt in the Little Darlinge as alsoe o^{r} good freind m^{r} Lawrence ffemell o^{r} cheefe Agent for o^{r} busines at Suratt in the East Indies And Mathewe Mollenoux to be Pilott maio^{r} for this voyadge, whome we appointe to take passadge in the Trades Increase. All wch Comanders Marchauntꝭ ffacto^{rs} M^{rs}: & Mariners we trust will soe carry them selues wth due respect one to another & obedience to eu^{r}y one of their Superio^{rs} as loue and kindnes may be Contynued on all sides & all wholie apply their wittꝭ and endevo^{rs} for the due ꝑformance of this voyadge in the best manner they may for the good of the Company.

3. Item: And for that religious governm^{t} doth best binde men to ꝑforme their duties yt is principally to be cared for, that prayers be said eu^{r}y morneinge & eveninge in eu^{r}y Shipp & the whole Company called therevnto wth diligent Eyes that none be wantinge soe as all may ioyntlie wth reverence & humility pray vnto Almightie God to blesse and preserue them from all dangers in this longe and tedious voyadge.

4 Item That noe blasphemeinge of God, Swearinge, Thefte, Drunkennes, or otherlyke disorders be vsed but that the same be severelie ponished, & that noe diceinge or other vnlawfull games

[1] Died on the homeward voyage of the *Peppercorn*, 27th July, 1613.

[2] See page 356.

be admitted for that most comonlie the same is the begyninge of quarrellinge and many tymes occasions of murthers a iust provokacōn of Godę wrath & vengeance (from wch the Lord deliu^r^ vs all) therefore yt shall be needfull that such orders be sett vp and published in eu^r^y Shipp & such ponishm^t^ appointed for such Offences as may giue notice to eu^r^y man what he ought to avoied.

5 Item that spetiall order be giuen that noe liquor be spilt in the ballast of the Shipps or filthines be lefte w^th^in bourde wch in heate breadeth noysome smells & infeccōn but that there be a diligent care to keepe the overlopps & other places of the Shipps cleane & sweete wch is a notable preseruacōn of health wherein thofficers of o^r^ Shipps in former voyadgę haue beene much to be blamed, to the greate spoile of o^r^ Shipps & breedinge of sicknes wch we trust in this will be more carefully reguarded.

6 Item that the Generall Leiuetenante & m^rs^: of the Shipps doe take due notice by Inventory from eu^r^y Officer of the Shipps before they depte out of the riuer of Thames of the seu^r^all puisions deliu^r^ed into each Shipp and soe soone as they shall come to Sea & not before to settle the same in the chardge of the Officers appointed for that purpose in each Shipp vntill wch tyme all stores are to remaine vnder locke and key and that the same be entred in the Pursars bookę vnderwritten by the said Officers to thend that such thingę as are prouided for their needfull supplies may not be ymbecilled & that nothinge thereof of any valewe be ymployed for any vse whatsoeu^r^ w^th^out a warrant vnder the hand of the Generall, Leiuetenante or cheefe Marchant of each Shipp respectiuely directed to the Officer that hath such chardge wch warrant shall serue for their dischardge in their accomptę ells otherwyse to be awnswerable for the same wth their wages: And eu^r^y such warrant to be registred in the purcers booke, the day of the monneth & thoccacōn & this vpon forfecture of soe much out of the Purcers wages this order to be obserued in each Shipp as aforesaid, that at the retourne of the said Shipps a true accompt may be yealded howe and in what manner the same haue beene vsed and ymployed.

7 Item That the Generall & m^r^ of the Shipp doe sett downe & deliver such instruccōns vnto the Comanders of thother Shipps that they may keepe company together for the better releife and

comforte one of an other & yf seperacõn of them should happen by Constrainte of weather or tempest that they shall agree of a course beforehand & of a place whether to apply them selues to finde the rest.

8. Item That contynuall & true Iournalls be kept of eury dayes Nauigacõn duringe the whole voyadge, wth a true relacõn of eury materiall thinge that passeth & this not onlie to be done by the Leiuetenant but alsoe by the Marchauntꝭ pursar Pilottꝭ[1] Mr & Mrs matꝭ & that some of the principalls in each Shipp may conferr their obseruacõns together at convenient tymes once or twyce eury weeke at the least to the end yf any haue forgotten what an other hath obserued the same may be added, soe as a ꝑfect discourse[2] may be sett downe to be presented to the Governor & Company when God shall grante them a safe retourne to be kept for better direccõn of posterytie.

9. Item we Comend vnto you the Generall principally & to the rest of the Comanders and masters of a speciall care, that at eury place where you shall water & refresh yor menn you call the Companies together geueing them expresse warninge to behaue themselues peaceably & ciuilly towardꝭ the people of those places the better to procure their freindshipp towardꝭ the supply of yor wantꝭ, & the lyke in eury place where you come least the losse of yor liues & ourthrowe of this voyadge pay for their disorders besidꝭ an vtter discreditt to or nacõn.

10 Item And that yor men doe vse a discreete meane in eatinge of fruitꝭ & fresh victualls least they surfett & fall into diseases whereof we haue had too much experience And the better to refraine vnruly appetitꝭ we hould yt convenient that the Generall appointe some of the discreetest in the Companies to ꝓcure & prouide in such places what you want & the same beinge prouided & brought to the Generall, by him to be reparted to each Company what may be needfull & that none presume to doe the Contrary wthout seveare ponishmt. And that espetiall care be had to releiue the Sicke wth such fresh meatꝭ & other comfortable thingꝭ wherewth we haue furnished each Shipp for that purpose & not otherwyse to be spent in Ryott & banquettinge & soe the sicke ꝑishe for want of thingꝭ needfull.

[1] Pilot (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

[2] Discouery (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

11 And whereas the straglinge of yor men in any place where they shall arriue or come, may not onlie proue the losse of such as shall soe straggle notwthstandinge they should be armed but alsoe thereby much hurte might happen to the residue of or people. Yt is ordered that you doe not ꝑmitt any man in any place to straggle or goe from the rest of yor Companies vnles vpon espetiall occasion you giue warrant therevnto vpon paine of seveare ponishmt to be inflicted vpon such as shall doe to the Contrary still doubtinge the worste & standinge vpon yor guard wthout giueinge any trust to the people of the place.

12 Item yt is expreslie ordered that by a generall consent of you the Generall Leiuetenante Marchaunt℮ ffactors Masters & Mariners some good order be by you taken and sett downe in writeinge soe soone as you come to Sea concrninge the disposeinge of dead mens good℮ in the voyadge, either by comittinge the same by Inventory to the ꝑticuler keepinge of some men in the Shipps & this vpon some convenient consideracõn for keepinge the same or by sale of soe much thereof at the maine maste as may not exceede a third parte of the buyers wages for either buyinge or borroweinge to prevent such preiudice to or Company as we haue felte, by Mariners buyinge soe much as their whole wages came vnto whereby they haue not onlie forsaken or shipps before their dischardge but alsoe depriued vs of meanes to redresse such wrog℮ as they haue many waies done vs in the voyadge. And to order what sallarie shall be geven the Pursar for keepinge accompt thereof to avoied question & controuersie heereafter Alsoe that there be noe dealeinge by Exchādge betwixt ꝑty & ꝑty neither money for money Comoditee for money, or Comodity for Comodity neither outward℮ nor homeward℮ for such Exchandge giueth way for them to bringe more then they should or take & purloyne of or good℮ they ought not, for prevencõn whereof wee order that neither the Pursar or any other doe register witnes or take knowledge of any such Contracte by Exchandge. And noe man to be admitted meanes to bringe good℮ aboard in any the Shipps more then their Chest appointed them will Containe & the same good℮ to be ꝑticularly entred into the Pursers book℮ vpon paine of forfecture to the Company: that wch shall not be soe entred eury Mariner and

other of the said Shipps to sett their hand*e* or mark*e* to the said orders mentioned in this 12[1] article. And yf any ffacto^r^ shall happen to die, his good*e* Book*e* accompt*e* and other thing*e* are to be ordered[2] of the Generall & Leiuetenante safely reserued & brought come for England, an Inventory first taken thereof & registred in the purcers booke, to be witnessed by 2 or 3 other of the Marchaunt*e*.

13 Item for better preseruacōn of health o^r^ order is that from tyme to tyme as the water Caske shall be emptied of fresh water yt be forthw^th^ againe filled wth salt water for prevencōn of leakeinge[3] and mustines.

14 Item In yor passadge betweene the Island of St Lawrence & the Coaste of Sophola[4] beware of the flatt*e* of Iudea[5] vpon wch flatt*e* it is said that the Currant doth strongly run, whereby many shipps haue ꝑished, therefore wth greate care to be avoieded.

[6]Item for the fittest place for refreshinge whether at Saldania or at the Bay of St Augustine in St Lawrence Island we referr the same to yor discrecōn to doe therein as occasion may vrdge still fixinge yor thought*e* & resolucōn to arriue at the Barr of Suratt by thend of September next accordinge to yor designes wch is the maine and principall scope of this o^r^ voyadge wth this further aduise that wheresoeu^r^ yo^u^ shall water yo^u^ make noe longer stay then necessetie shall inforce, to thend yo^u^ may haue some oportunity for refreshm^t^ at Succatora there to sett vp o^r^[7] Pynnasse and buy some Alloes Sacatrina to the quantity of 2 or 3 Tonns, where we pray yo^u^ to take notice that in the third voyadge W^m^: Kealeing bought there twenty fower hundred waight at 20 Ryalls of 8 the hundred pound wch is 104^li^ of o^rs^.

15 Item wee desier that[8] rather yo^u^ touch at Succatora for that we hope yo^u^ shall meete wth some Guzaratt*e*[9] at that place from whome yo^u^ may receiue some Intelligence whither W^m^:

[1] "Tenth" in *Mar. Rec.* copy, in which paragraphs 10 and 11 of the text are included in paragraph 9.
[2] By order (*Mar. Rec.* copy). [3] Leakidge (*Mar. Rec.* copy). [4] Sofala.
[5] India (*Mar. Rec.* copy). See page 118, note.
[6] This paragraph has been missed in the numbering. [7] Your (*Mar. Rec.* copy).
[8] The (*Mar. Rec.* copy). [9] Guzerat (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

Hawkins and the rest of o^{r} ffacto^{rs} lefte at Suratte out of the Hecto^{r} are liueinge or not, and in what state o^{r} busines there standeth whereby yo^{u} may the better there gouerne yor selues for ꝑformance of o^{r} desiers, But yf the tyme of the Monson be soe farr spent that yo^{u} cannot arriue at the Barr of Suratt by thend of Septemƀ or middle of October next at the farthest, then we will yo^{u} to take the first oportunytie eyther to sayle to Aden or Mocha alias Mochow[1] wthin the mouth of the red Sea aboute some ten leagues distant from Aden as we vnderstand, Att wch porte of Mocha we haue heard the Shipps of the fourth voyadge haue traded. And where we doubt not, yo^{u} may sell Cloth, lead, Iron, Tynn, Quicksylver & some red caps for money or gould, for that wee thinke Comodities will be too deare in that place, Consideringe o^{r} purpose that yo^{u} goe to Suratt except yo^{u} may buy Cloues maces or nutmeggꝭ at a reasonable rate wch are said to be good Comodities at Suratt as well as here in England In this place yo^{u} must spend the tyme till oportunity doe serue to goe for Suratt wch will not be till towardꝭ the end of August followinge, soe as yo^{u} may arriue there by the end of Septemƀ wch we pray yo^{u} to endevo^{r} by all possible meanes, But stayinge at Aden or Mocha haue espetiall care that yor men giue noe offence to the people there, still keepinge good watch and standinge vpon yor guard & that out of any danger of any Castle, fforte, or Gallies to prevent mischeefe

16 Item being arriued at Suratt we desier yo^{u} to vse the best meanes yo^{u} can p^{r}sently to vnderstand of the state of W^{m}: Hawkins & the rest of o^{r} people there and heareinge of their saffeties either to send vp yor longe boate wth yor Indian Iohn or some other whome yo^{u} thinke more fitt, or finde some meanes to cause some of the ffacto^{rs} come abourd yo^{u}, either the said m^{r} Hawkins: W^{m}: ffinche, Iohn Dorchester or any other of o^{r} ffacto^{rs} there, of whome take due informacōn of the state of the Country, howe they haue beene accepted of by the kinge, howe entreated by the people what priuiledges they have gott, what Comodities of o^{rs} are there requested, what they haue of that Country Comodities vpon their handꝭ to be laden acquaintinge

[1] Mohow (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

them alsoe what Comodities yo^u haue brought and the quantities and takeinge knowledge of their worth there as alsoe what Comodities are there presentlie to be had and at what prices aswell fittinge for England as Priaman Bantam Banda & the Molloccos & whether the same may be had wth such speede as yo^u[1] may take hould of the Monson to goe to those ptę. What forces the Portugalls[2] haue howe ready the Guzarattę are to helpe o^r nation & of all other needfull intelligences, by whome yf yo^u be incourradged we wish yo^u to send in the Darlynge and in her m^r Lawrence ffemell o^r principall Agent wth such Comodities as may be most vendible w^thall speede geueing them warneing to be ready to w^thstand any Enimies and keepe good watch to prevent any mischeefe of fyre or otherwyse wch lett them be sure the Portugalls will practize against them.

17 Item for that we haue prouided (as yo^u knowe) and laden in theis shipps sundry Comodities of good valew principally for that place as Leade, Tynn, Elaphauntę teeth, Quicksylver, sword bladę vermillion red lead Cloth kersies lookinge glasses and some red caps accordinge to an Invoice[3] thereof herew^th deliu^red yo^u wee hould yt convenient that the same be laden in such frigattę as may be prouided for that purpose and the same sent vp to Suratt w^thall speede wafted wth the Pepp Corne yf yo^u finde Incouradgm^t as aforesaid. And for better pformance of what is to be done before o^r Agent goe vp to Suratt, we pray yo^u and him to Consult & take good aduise wth the rest for the deliu^ry of his ma^tę ℓres now sent. what presentę are to be deliu^red, to whome, by whome, & in what manner the same to be done wth that speede & dilligence that shall be requisite Consideringe the shortnes of the tyme in keepinge the Monson for obtayneinge yor other portę, ffor wch presentę we haue sent in the Trades Increase 13 peecę of velvettę of diu^rs Colo^rs[4] as appeth by the Invoice out of wch yo^u are to take for quantity & Colo^r what shall be

[1] "They" in *Mar. Rec.* copy,—an obvious error.

[2] Spaniardes (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

[3] Inventory (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

[4] *Mar. Rec.* copy adds "viz. 3 peeces Crimson 2 ps of Incarnadine, 1 ps. purple: "1 ps. rose culler, 1: ps Orringe 3 ps: Greene. [*in margin*, greene, sad grene, french gr] 1 ps: gingeline: 1 ps Blacke," and omits "as appereth by the Invoice."

thought needfull for that purpose the rest to be sould for o^{r} Companies benefitt Alsoe we haue sent (as yo^{u} knowe[ )] in the same Shipp 228$\frac{8}{20}$[1] ounces of guilte plate out of wch yf yo^{u} thinke requisite some alsoe may be geven for presentę accordinge to aduise of m^{r} Hawkins & the rest, yf any thinge be presented to the kinge, Prince or greate Potentate, yt is to be done (as yo^{u} knowe) wth state and Comlines, for presentę for meaner ꝑsonns we wish yo^{u} to chuse out amonge o^{r} Clothes such Cullers as may be acceptable vnto them for vestę for better ꝑformeinge of this busines & accompanyinge o^{r} cheefe Agent, we haue appointed Iohn ^{2} ffowler Hughe ^{3} ffraine Beniaymyn ^{4} Greene Thomas ^{5} Glenham Rowland ^{6} Webb Rob̃t ^{7} Larkyn Iohn ^{8} Williams ffrancis ^{9} Slany & Iohn ^{10} Stoughton[2] to remaine there as ffacto^{rs}[3] yf yt shall be thought fitt to leaue there soe many as the occasions in yor discrecõns may be serued and Wm Powlter & Wm Reynoldę for his attendauntę.

18 Item yf o^{r} former ffacto^{rs} haue not procured a convenient howse to lodge all o^{r} people & Containe all o^{r} goodę wee wish o^{r} cheefe Agent to Conferr wth them how they may obtaine a larger and such a one as may be stronge, and of defence soe as both they and o^{r} goodę may remaine in saffety

19 Item the busines aforesaid beinge done, Consideracõn is to be had for the ladinge and dispatch of o^{r} Shipps and whether yt will be requisite to make sale of o^{r} goodę at the then currant prices for the ꝑformance of the said ladinge, or whether yt will be better to expect higher prices, by keepinge the same till fitter oportunitie remembringe that what prices shall now be sett of o^{r} goodę will be a president for heereafter & therefore needfull[4] to hould o^{r} goodę in spetiall reputacõn, for m^{r}chandize sodenlie sould doe comonlie giue small aduancment in price, therefore in this pointe yo^{u} are to be well aduized, yf then yo^{u} shall hould yt more beneficiall to keep o^{r} goodę for better m^{r}kettę yo^{u} may out

[1] 228$\frac{2}{5}$ (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

[2] In *Mar. Rec.* copy John Stoughton (or Stoweton, as he is called) comes next after Rowland Webb.

[3] The figures placed above the names in the manuscript, and here reproduced, seem intended to mark the order of precedence.

[4] Omitted in *Mar. Rec.* copy.

of such moneys wch we haue now sent (wch are alsoe mentioned in o^{r}[1] Invoice) prouide such thinge as yo^{u} thinke necessary to be retourned for England wch together wth the goode remaineinge vpon yor hande formerly bought, wee wish yo^{u} to lade aboard the Pepp Corne and the Darlynge yf sufficient to loade them both may there be had, or but one of them yf yo^{u} shall finde reason & wthout preiudice to o^{r} trade wherein obserue this as agenerall order that the goode of eu^{r}y voyadge may be m^{r}ked and nombred seu^{r}ally and soe expressed in yor Cargasons & accompte that the goode of each voyadge may be knowne by them selues for that they doe not Concerne the selfe same aduenturers. And hereof therefore yo^{u} are to be very carefull to prevent wronge in ladinge of goode wee note theis asspetiall Comodities wch we desier Viz: Indico, of the very best aswell flatt as round soe muchas yo^{u} may (wth o^{r} moneys) well Compasse, other Comodities being alsoe to be had but lett yor care be extraordinary to buy the best that may be had for money aswell Indico as of all other Comodities. Callicoes white tasselled booke, good quantity & some of the courser sorte. Callicoes light colored alsoe as carnacõn light watchette strawe Cullers & other[2] light Colo^{rs} but none of them course or sad cullers in any manner in theis yo^{u} may ymploy to the valewe of twoe thousand Rialls of eight. Shashes[3] of all sorte for a thowsand Rialls of 8. Synamon of Zelan the best that can be gotten well packed vp in skynns *twenty Tonns*[4] but of noe other sorte neither Scaveson nor Cowchin. Cotton yerne of the finest 20 *Tonns*. Cotton yearne somewhat courser *aboute fyue tonns*. Greene Ginger of the best and largest such as that of Battecala 4 *Tonns* red Saunders wood *aboute* 3 Tonns. Turbith 2 *Tonns*. Opium *fiue hundred pounde weight*. Beniamyn 10 *Tonns*.[5] Sall Armoniake 2 *Tons* Olibanu *yf good* 10 *Tonns*. Lignum Alloes as much as yo^{u} can gett. Worme seede clensed as much as possiblie may be from the Chaffe & dust by sifteinge & winnoinge for that the dust and chaffe is here worth nothinge, *to* the quantity

[1] Your (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

[2] Other such (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

[3] Shasses (*Mar. Rec.* copy). "Shashes are long Towels of Callico woond about their heads." (Sandys' *Travels* in *Purchas*, Lib. VIII., ch. 8). See also notes on page 59 of the present volume.

[4] The words in italics are underlined in the manuscript.

[5] *Mar. Rec.* copy adds: "if there to be had [at re]asonable rate."

of *fower*[1] *hundred kintolls.* Gum lack: as much as yoᵘ can gett of the best & second sorte but none of the worst of any hande Sugers of the best some *twenty* chestę for a triall. Silke of persia yf to be had agood quantity. Theis Comodities being bought & packed wᵗʰ mʳchantlike care to prevent damadge mʳked & nombred accordinge to former direccõn both of the inside and outside for better satisfaccõn of the Company in the difference of the sortę and contentę, the rather for that the outmost mʳke may be by longe lying at Sea worne out, the same to be laden & the shipps to be dispatched away wᵗʰall expedicõn for England.[2] And now as a first busines in dispatch to be remembred we wish yoᵘ to prouide such Callicoes and other Comodities as may be fittinge for Pryaman, Bantam, Banda, & the Molloccoes & the same being orderly packed to be shipped wᵗʰall speede in the Trades Increase for those places wᶜʰ wᵗʰ *fifty* thowsand rialls of eight that we wish yoᵘ to receiue for[3] ymploymᵗ at Suratt as alsoe the Iron we now send *Twenty* tonns of lead in chestę, *three* bales wᵗʰ Cloth[4] prouided for Bantam the said shipp to take her first oportunity to sayle for Pryaman, together wᵗʰ that shipp of the other twoe not dispatched for England.

20 Item beinge arriued at Priaman to make there sale of soe much of yoʳ Iron, Callicoes, & Pintadoes as yoᵘ shall finde fittinge, soe much for gould as yoᵘ may & the rest for large pepper wherein haue a spetiall care to buy none greene for breath in[5] waight but such as shall be dry and cleane[6] from dust to the quantety of fower hundreth Tonns or thereaboutę & some ten tonns of Beniamyn theis Comodities to be weighed by yoʳ owne waightę into the Shipp & the Purser to keepe due notice of the same with such of the ffactoʳˢ as shall be appointed for that purpose that they may be able to giue vs agood accompt thereof, In execucõn of this busines take this for aduise, that yoᵘ make shewe to be gone from thence wᵗʰ a purpose to buy noe pepꝑ, for that when they ꝑceaue yoᵘ purpose to deꝑte they will offer yoᵘ pepꝑ at much lower rate than otherwyse, therefore yt is fitt to seeme vnwilling

[1] One hundred quintalls (*Mar. Rec.* copy).
[2] London (*Mar. Rec.* copy).
[3] Reserue from (*Mar. Rec.* copy). This is evidently the right reading.
[4] Twelue strayned Clothes (*Mar. Rec.* copy).
[5] Breach of (*Mar. Rec.* copy).
[6] Freed (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

to buy and some tymes to make refusall will not be amisse, beside make shewe that you haue but few Callicoes or other Comodities to sell, the better to giue them edge to buy, In the pformance of this busines remember still yor purpose to goe for Bantam and Banda that you slip not the oportunity of the Monson, And soe wth what you haue there taken in and restinge in the Shipp for Bantam there dischardge both Iron, leade, Callicoes & Cloth &c: prepared for that place for a stocke to prouide Lamkin silke of the finest & whitest (but noe Canton[1] silke at any hand) wth what other thinge you shall hould needfull against yor retourne from Banda whether we wish you to make all possible haste takeinge wth you such factors to leaue there as in yor iudgmt shall be thought meete, and for stocke of the fyfty thowsand rialle before mentioned what you thinke requisite and such China stuffe and dishes as you may learne at Bantam to be fittinge for the place.

21 Item being arriued at Banda present such guifte to the Gouvnor or Savander[2] there as in yor discrecõn shall seeme fittinge and there prouide three hundreth Tonns of Nutmegge of the best and soundest that may be gotten, freed from dust and rumps all that may be, remembringe that the same will not be worth the freight & chardge Alsoe 20 Tons of Maces the lardgest and brightest that may be gotten but none that is darke Colored red maces, wch are called femenyn maces & here little worth, for accomplishinge hereof as alsoe for to leaue stocke convenient there for puicõn for a future voyadge, keepe in yor shipp soe much money & Callicoes as you may deeme sufficient. And yf being arriued at Banda you hold it possible & find yt convenient to goe to the Maluccos whilest the Nutmegge & maces are puideinge, to seeke for Cloues, and haueing gotten to yor content therein, to retourne to Banda there to take in the mace & nutmegge & wth speede to retourne to Bantam leaueing a Convenient nomber of ffactors & stocke as shall be needfull at Banda as aforesaid. And beinge retorned to Bantam & haueinge brought a true pticular of what is lefte at Banda vnder the hande of the ffactors there, then to take in such silke and other thinge as shall in yor absence be prouided there for London, where haueing setled the busines &

[1] Cotton (*Mar. Rec.* copy); but see page 286. [2] Satiander (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

facto^{rs} in good order & taken a ꝑticular relacõn of o^{r} accomptꝭ and Comodities there lefte, the Coppies whereof to be signed by o^{r} ffacto^{rs} & to be brought alonge wth yo^{u}, and order geven by yo^{u} to keepe accompt of eu^{r}y voyadge by yt selfe & soe of the retornes in lyke manner that the Adventurers vpon eu^{r}y voyadge may haue their right as they Consist of diu^{r}sity of Adventurers, then in Godꝭ name wth all due speede to retorne for England.

And haueing thus farr ꝑceeded in a direct course we hould yt fitt to looke backe to the Barr at Suratt and there to Consider yf thingꝭ fall out contrary to expectacõn that neither o^{r} people should be there in saffetie nor the place fitt for o^{r} trade ne yett incouradgm^{t} to pursue the same any farther In reguard of the Comodities prouided fitt for the seruice of that place & Aden & not elswhere wthin o^{r} knowledge o^{r} expresse order is that vpon notice of the premisses yo^{u} forthwth wth the Monson retourne for Aden or Mocha in the red Sea yf in yor passadge to Suratt yo^{u} haue not visited the same & done what might be done for the vent of o^{r} Comodities & there to try for dispatch & vent of o^{r} said Marchandize wch beinge effected according to o^{r} desires, yf possiblie yo^{u} may be fitted by the Iunckꝭ arriueing there from diu^{r}s portꝭ out of the Indies wth m^{r}chandize fitting for England,[1] to lade either one twoe or all of o^{r} Shipps wth the same goodꝭ brought thether as namelie smooth pepꝑ, druggꝭ of all sortꝭ fitting for this place, Indico of the best sorte, Nutmeggꝭ, Maces, Synamond Callicoes Beniamyn, Olibanum, Mirr, Opyum, red Sanders lignum Alloes and such like & the Ship or shipps soe laden wth speede to direct their course for England, And yf any of the Shipps remaine vnladen, then wth such Callicoes as yo^{u} can buy of the Iunckꝭ fittinge for Pryaman Bantam or Banda or the Molloccos to saile directlie for Pryaman and there to pursue trade & from thence further as aforesaid as in yor discrecõn shall seeme best.

22 Item we thinke yt not amisse further to aduise yo^{u} that findinge faile of trade at Suratt you endevo^{r} whilest yo^{u} are there to inuite the Guzarattꝭ wth such Comodities as yo^{u} looke for to repaier to the portꝭ of Delisha or Tamarie at the Iland of Socotara where yo^{u} may agree to deale wth them for the same,

[1] London (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

wch yf yo^u^ doe y^u^ & they alsoe shall saue much Customes yo^u^ shall pay in other portę to the Governo^rs^ thereof, yt is to be vnderstoode yf noe trade be[1] to be had at Suratt there shall be noe cause to settle any ffactory there, In such case we appointe m^r^ Lawrence ffemell & the rest of o^r^ ffacto^rs^ now sent to proceede wth yo^u^ to Aden or Mocha or to such other place as yo^u^ shall thinke fitt to direct yor course for benefitt of trade & findinge any such place as may be beneficiall to o^r^ Company aswell for vent of Cloth and other o^r^ English m^r^chandizes as for Comodities of those Countries fittinge for this wee referr to yor discrecõn the setlinge of o^r^ ffactory there and the appointem^t^ of any of o^r^ ffacto^rs^ to reside there wth such stocke as in yor iudgment may seeme Competent to defray their chardge & make ꝑuision of Comodities wch that Country may yeald against the arriuall of a second supply And in that place m^r^ ffemell to be o^r^ principall Agent But findinge noe such place & proceeding to Bantam o^r^ order is that the ymploym^t^ of o^r^ Shipps for ꝑformance of their ladeinge be at yor *direccõn*, and that M^r^ ffemell shall there be lefte cheefe Agent and soe many of the rest of o^r^ ffacto^rs^ now sent as yo^u^ and he shall deeme fitt, the rest to be placed at Banda & all o^r^ ould ffacto^rs^ to be brought home wth yo^u^ from thence excepting Augustine Spauldinge and twoe more such as haue that languadge the out[2] ould ffacto^rs^[2] to deliu^r^ vp their chardge by accompte & Inventory to o^r^ said Agent & to bringe home a Coppy of the same to be deliu^r^ed to the Gou^r^no^r^ and Comittees of the Company then beinge.

23 Item we ordaine that such of the ffacto^rs^ as shall remaine in the ships at the buyinge of any goodę shall be ymployed to weigh the same, pay the money, and keepe due accompt thereof & that nothinge be done either in buyinge or sellinge of goodę w^th^out their priuity that they may write the same into their bookę & be abell to giue vs reason for what is bought or sould either by writeing or at their retourne for England, and that they shall acquaynte the Generall & cheife Comander in eu^r^y shipp eu^r^y night wth what they haue done that day & that the Pursars booke & theirs shall then be compared together, soe as yt may appeare whether all that hath beene bought hath beene receiued

[1] Bee not (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

[2] Not in *Mar. Rec.* copy.

into the Shipp & there weighed aswell as on the Shore. notice to be geven[1] what is wantinge & enquiry[2] what is become thereof & Coppies of eu^r^y of the said accomptę to be sent home by Sondry Shipps, & the same accomptę for what hath beene then done at Pryaman, Bantam, Banda, & the Molloccoes be alsoe registred in o^r^ bookę at Bantam.

24 Item that all thingę bought and sould in eu^r^y place by[3] by some of o^r^ ffacto^rs^ for that purpose residinge there faier written in o^r^ bookę wch we now send signed by the Gou^r^no^r^ & Comittees, wch bookę we order to be deliu^r^ed one for o^r^ ffacto^rs^ at Suratt, one for the ffacto^rs^ at Banda, one for the ffacto^rs^ at Bantam, and thother for them at Pryaman or ells where where ffacto^rs^ shall recide for vs, And the same bookę there in the seu^r^all places to be kept as recordę of those that shall succeede and that out of the same we may haue Coppies of what wee shall requier for the Companies better satisfaccōn. Alsoe that none of o^r^ ffacto^rs^ whomsoeu^r^ be suffered to bringe from thence any bookę of accomptę either passed by him selfe or by any others, other then Coppies for him selfe or for vs subscribed by him that shall succeede in that chardge and twoe more of o^r^ ffacto^rs^ there the said Coppies soe sent to be sealed vpp. And in theis yor passadges and traffiques o^r^ desier is that yo^u^ should informe yor selfe of safe harbo^rs^ and places of repaier for the vent of o^r^ English Comodities either aboute the porte of *Sabull*[4] nere Suratt or the riuer Syndus & Laree,[5] or the Cape of *Rosalgat*[6] or any Coste of the porte[7] of Arabia where yo^u^ may haue kinde interteynem^t^ of[8] freedome from Enimies, to wch places yo^u^ may assay to invite Mores Guz^r^attę or any other people tradeinge in those partę, wth such m^r^chandize as may be fitt for this Country and be rendred for such as we shall send at such tymes as yo^u^ may suppose o^r^ shippinge may wth Conveniencie arriue there, amongst wch portę we hould the portę aforesaid in the Iland of Socotora

[1] Taken (*Mar. Rec.* copy).
[2] Inquired (*Mar. Rec.* copy).
[3] Bee (*Mar. Rec.* copy).
[4] Dabull (*Mar. Rec.* copy).
[5] See note 2, page 251.
[6] Resolgate (*Mar. Rec.* copy). The "Rozel-gate" of Herbert (1665), "Rouselgout" of Fryer (1698), "Cape Russelgate" of Anglo-Indians, Ras-el-Hadd, *i.e.* "Cape of the (S.E.) Limit," the low and sandy promontory of Arabia Felix which gives entrance to the Gulf of Oman.
[7] Or any porte of the cost (*Mar. Rec.* copy).
[8] Or (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

&c: to be most fittest aswell for the neernes of the place as saueinge the Customes & the highe way for the Guzaratt̨ and other tradinge into the red Sea at their ordinary seasons And thus haueing sett downe what we thinke needfull for o^r^ busines of m^r^chandizeinge we thinke y^t^ fittinge to sett downe some what for order in the generall gou^r^nm^t^ in o^r^ shippinge &c:

25 Item we sett downe for o^r^ absolute order and resolucõn that noe ꝑson whatsoeu^r^ wch shall succeede by appointem^t^ or otherwyse in any place of Comand or Office either in any of o^r^ shipps, or in any of o^r^ ffactories at Bantam Banda Suratt or any other place whatsoeu^r^ shall take or be allowed the wages of his p^r^dicesso^rs^ but though he be remoued preferred and come to any such place or office he shall content himselfe wth such wages as we haue formerlie agreed wth him for w^th^out any further demand or encroachment vpon the Company for the same vnlesse the Governo^r^ and Comittees of o^r^ Company for the tyme beinge shall be pleased to graunte the same, or any other allowance of gratitude or reward̨ vpon their desert̨.

26 Item for that the Company accompteth y^t^ presumption for any o^r^ ffacto^rs^ to assume to them selues the name of Captaine w^th^out their expresse order, we ordeyne that they shall come home as priuate Marchaunt̨ & onlie reteyne that title prayinge yo^u^ the Generall to forbeare to Conferr any other title or dignity vpon them.

27 Item That noe Cabens be altered nor ꝑticions pulled downe in any of o^r^ Shipps or chandged from the state they now are in at the settinge out of the same wch in former voyadges haue beene done to the greate hurte of o^r^ Company and discontent & hazard of all.

28 Item that noe wages to noe ꝑson whatsoeu^r^ be increased or giuen contrary to what wee haue already here appointed but the ꝑties to be referred to be rewarded by the Company at their retourne as they shall be found to haue deserued: Nor m^rs^: ffacto^rs^, nor other Officers of speciall place in o^r^ Shipps to be remoued w^th^out Consent of such of the Counsell as we haue appointed to aduise wth yo^u^ the Generall vpon all o^r^ occasions, to wch end we haue thought y^t^ convenient & soe ordered, that m^r^ Nicholas Downton, m^r^ Lawrence ffemell and such others as yo^u^

the Generall shall thinke good to call vnto yo^{u} shall vpon any occasion consult & aduise wth yo^{u} for the disposeinge of any busines of ymportance in this voyadge whose ꝑsons and counsells we pray yo^{u} loueinglie to ymbrace, And all them same in the Councell aforenamed excepting them lefte in the Countrie as ffacto^{rs} to be in lyke manner of the Councell wth yo^{u} homewardꝭ yf they or any of them doe retourne wth yo^{u}. And not soe to thinke vpon aucthority sett vpon yo^{u} that the same should serue for any yor ꝑticular respect knowinge that a wise man is best tried when he is put in authority & that he is accompted of more fortitude that over cometh himselfe then he that prevaileth against a multitude.

29 Item as yo^{u} knowe this voyadge being exceedinge troublesome & costlie will not admitt any priuate trade but whatsoeu^{r} is achiued by this generall & greate chardge should be applyed to the benefitt of o^{r} whole Company. Therefore we sett yt downe as an absolute order that noe man neither Generall, Leiutenant, Marchaunt, Master or Mariner or any other ꝑson or ꝑsons whatsoeu^{r} in any theis o^{r} Shipps doe trade or deale for any m^{r}chandize whatsoeu^{r} wch we shall prouide for o^{r} retourne or any other sorte of m^{r}chandize more then will be conteyned wthin his proportioned chest of allowance for this voyadge and the same to be registred in the pursars booke to thend that yf any ꝑson die vpon the voyadge their freindꝭ & executo^{rs} may knowe what they had & take notice what is become of the same houlding yt most reasonable[1] that those whoe lyue by o^{r} ymploym^{t} should deale wth the Comodities wch we labo^{r} to gett to produce meanes for paym^{t} of their wages and defrayinge of chardges of this o^{r} greate and costlie voyadge.

30 Item we forbid all vnnecessary expence of shooteing of Ordinance at drinking of healthes[2] or at the Captaines goeing

[1] Vnreasonable (*Mar. Rec.* copy); this is evidently the right rendering.

[2] Cp. *Hamlet*, Act I., Scene 2:—

> "In grace whereof,
> No jocund health that Denmark drinks to-day,
> But the great cannon to the clouds shall tell,
> And the king's rouse the heavens shall bruit again,
> Re-speaking earthly thunder."

ashore or such lyke for that thereby much poulder is wastfully consumed and o^{r} shipp and goodꝭ put in much hazard & danger & lykewyse by yt way is geven to the Gunners vnder culler thereof to ymbecille the same.

31 Item for avoieding Confusion in the gou^{r}nm^{t} of o^{r} people & for that nothing is soe vncertaine as the state of mans lyfe. Wee ordaine that yf God shall call yo^{u} Sr Henry Middleton (during this voyadge) out of this world wch God defend then that m^{r} Nicholas Downton shall succeede yo^{u} & excercyse yor chardge whome we trust will soe behaue himselfe therein as shall be agreable to the good reporte of sundry men of worth giuen of him: But yf yt shall please God that the said m^{r} Nicholas Downton shall deꝑte this lyfe then we Comitt the government of o^{r} Shipps & the Mariners therein to such as we haue nominated in a writeing subscribed by the Gou^{r}no^{r} & sealed wth the seale of o^{r} Company put vpp into a boxe sealed wth hard waxe & deliu^{r}ed to Sr Henrie Middleton to be kept close and not opened soe longe as the said Sr Henry Middleton[1] & Nicholas Downton or either of them shall lyue: but yf yt shall please God to take both of them out of this world Then we ordaine that all o^{r} M^{rs} & Mariners in o^{r} said Shipps shall submitt them selues to the gouernm^{t} and Comand of such ꝑson or ꝑsons as we haue nominated therevnto in o^{r} said writeinge sealed vp in a Boxe as aforesaid. Prouided alwaies that noe ꝑson what soeu^{r} wch shall succeede in the aforesaid place of government shall demand be allowed or expect the wages of his predicessor but shall content himselfe wth his first wages promysed him by the Company.

32 Item for that in sondry voyadges heretofore the Company haue beene much wronged by the Generalls Captaines & m^{rs} of their Shipps in takeing diu^{r}s ꝑsons into the same shipps & carryinge them alonge wth them in the said voyadge to the East Indies for their ꝑticuler gaine and proffitt & haue lefte the same ꝑties amonge o^{r} Company ffacto^{rs} in the Indies where they haue driuen and handled for them selues & their freindꝭ a ꝑticular trade to the greate chardge & hindrance[2] of o^{r} Company, & haue

[1] The words "to be kept .... Middleton" have been omitted in the *Mar. Rec.* copy.

[2] Preiudice (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

practised wth or ffactors there to deceaue vs, and to convey[1] sundry of the ritchest Comodities of those ptꝭ to their priuate vses. It is therefore or expresse order & direccõn to you Sr Henry Middleton Generall of this or ffleete & to Nicholas Downton Leiuetenant of the same & to all other the Marchauntꝭ ffactors mrs Pursars & Mariners and eury other pson or psons enterteyned, and hired to serue in this said voyadge that neither you or any of you shall admitt or suffer to passe in, or receiue into any of or said Shipps in this or now intended voyadge any pson or psonns of what degree or quality soeuer other then such pson or psons as are interteyned & hired by the Governor and Comittees of or said Company to passe therein.

33. Item yf duringe yor Contynuance in the ptꝭ of the Indies vpon good aduise & Consideracõn you finde yt more proffitable for the Company to haue one of theis Shipps remaine in the Country there to trade from place to place then to retorne home laden wth the rest, Then we referr the same to be ordered by you as shall seeme good in yor discrecõn to make choise of one of the smaller Shipps to be employed for that purpose.

34 Item. And lastly to prevent disorders & misbehaviors of the Mariners of theis or shipps either in their passadge out, or retourne home vpon or owne Coastꝭ wee ordaine that you sufferr none of or foresaid Shipps either outwardꝭ or homewardꝭ to goe into any of the portꝭ of ffalmouth Plymouth or Darthmouth vnlesse necessity compell you therevnto.

And soe haueing remembred what we thinke needfull for yor direccõn in this voyadge & relyinge vpon yor dilligence & care in pursueing or busines to or most aduantage wee Comitt you to the proteccõn of Almighty God whome we beseech to blesse yor endeavors & graunte you a saffe passadge and saffe retourne to all or Compfortꝭ.

Considering that vnto mr Sharpey Generall of the fourth voyadge Comission was geven to seeke for trade at Aden Mocha Suratt Cambaia Laree, Nigertuttey in the Ryver Syndus, at Priaman Banda or the Molluccoes & where he found yt most convenient & proffitable that he should there settle a factory for

[1] "Containe" in *Mar. Rec.* copy,—an evident blunder.

increase of trade to the benefitt of the Generall Company, forasmuch as yt is credibly reported that they haue traded at Mocha we suppose that they haue there setled a factory, wherefore we pray yo^u^ at yor arriuall at Socotora carefully to enquire what is become of them and hereing that they haue left ffacto^rs^ at Mocha we pray yo^u^ vse yor best meanes to send o^r^ łres vnto them wch herew^th^ are deliu^r^ed yo^u^,[1] that they may receiue some comforte or there findinge noe good[2] conveyaunce we Suppose at Suratt yo^u^ shall not onlie heare of them, but from thence by the Iunckę bound to Moccha yo^u^ may send o^r^ łres, & advise them whether yt be fitt to stay there or come to Suratt to be employed in the Companies seruice or retourne in one of the first Shipps[2] & bringe wth them in some good Comodities soe much as is remaineinge in their handę for thaccompt of the fourth voyadge, but yf yo^u^ heare not of them in any of those places,[3] then we pray yo^u^ to enquire for them at Priaman Bantam Banda or[4] the Molloccoes yf yo^u^ goe thither, and findinge them deliu^r^ o^r^ łres whereby they shall ꝑceiue that it is o^r^ pleasure: they shall followe the direccõns wch yo^ur^ selfe & those appointed to Consult wth yo^u^ in this voyadge and the said ffacto^rs^ shall vpon due deliberacõn conclude vpon.[5]

Henry Middleton

Beniamyn Greene — Nicholas Downton

Gyles Thornton

Abraham Lawse

W^m^: Pemberton

postscriptū

If you shall finde in yor trauaile or can convenientlie come by any faire[6] byrdę, or beastę or any other thingę fitt [for] vs to p^r^sent to his Matie: or any of the noble

[1] See page 311.
[2] Not in *Mar. Rec.* copy.
[3] Partes (*Mar. Rec.* copy).
[4] And (*Mar. Rec.* copy).
[5] The *Mar. Rec.* copy concludes:—

Signed by Sr Thomas Smith Gouernor
Robert Bell
Robert Middellton
Thomas Style
Hughe Hamersly
Robert Offley.

[6] Rare thinges as live birdes &c (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

Lordꝭ that are or honorable freindꝭ, we pray and requier you to be carefull to prouide and send the same wth espetiall chardge to some carefull man or men.[1]

Most highe and mighty kinge[2]

AS there is nothing wch increaseth more the glorie and dignity of Sovereigne Princes vpon earth, then to extend their renowne vnto farr dissident nations; Soe havinge vnderstoode of late yeares from some of or loueing Subiectꝭ that haue traded into diurs Countries neere adioyneinge vnto yors, of the reputacõn and greatnes of yor power and Dominion, Wee have incouradged or said Subiectꝭ to vndertake a voyadge into yor Country aswell to sollicite yor freindshipp & amity wth vs, as to enterteyne such Comodities of each others Countryes as may be most of vse the one to the other, beinge nothinge doubtfull but such will be yor Princelie magnanimity & disposicõn to embrace this or desier, & not onelie to receiue or people wth yor accustomed benignity and favor, but for their better encourradgmt to afford yor Ryall proteccõn for the setling of a factorie there, wth such security & liberty of comerce as shall be most Convenient for the aduancmt of the mutuall proffitt and Comoditie of each others Subiectꝭ: wherein for or parte we doe willingly offer or selues & the libertie of or kingdomes & Countryes whensoeur any of yor Subiectꝭ shall vndertake to haue comunication wth vs. And in the meane tyme as a pledge of or Royall inclynacõn & desier towardꝭ you wee haue sent you a small

Twoe of this draught were written wth Blanckes

[1] *Mar. Rec.* copy continues: "that retourn to see them carefully keept and "delivered vs, And wthall yf you shall knowe any of the marryners or other to haue "any such, wch you cannot procure from them for reason then that you send vs "notice thereof to thend wee may take order therin accordingly." The whole of this postscript is, in the *Mar. Rec.* copy, incorporated in the last paragraph of the commission.

[2] These are the royal letters carried out in the *Sixth Voyage* for presentation to various Eastern princes and governors.

present by o^{r} servant Sr Henry Middleton knight wch we pray yo^{u} to accept, as an introduccõn to that freindshipp wch we hope will fructifye and increase to each others Contentm^{t}. Geven at o^{r} Pallace of Westminst^{r} the &c:

Iames by the grace of Almightie God kinge of greate Brittaine ffraunce & Ireland defendo^{r} of the Christian faith &c: To the highe and myghty
K: of Cambaia. Prince the greate kinge of Cambaia, Empero^{r} of *Mogores* &c: greetinge

Most highe & mighty Empero^{r}.

WEE Cannot but expresse vnto yo^{u} the highe Contentm^{t} we haue receiued, at the kinde reception & interteynem^{t} of o^{r} seruant Captaine William Hawkins, and his Company at yor porte of Suratt, where they haue receiued soe many demonstrations by yor principall Officers and Comanders there, of yor desier to embrace o^{r} loue and freindshipp & to interteyne a Correspondencie of peaceable trade, and Comerce wth o^{r} Subiectꝭ, as we cannot but thankfully acknowledge the same, & reciprocally offer the lyke effectꝭ towardꝭ yo^{u} and yor people, whensoeu^{r} they shall vndertake to haue any Comunicacõn of trade wth o^{r} kingdomes and Dominions: But we were sorry to vnderstand of that vnhappy accident, wch befell o^{r} Subiectꝭ in their retourne from yor Coastꝭ towardꝭ their Shipps,[1] by being vnworthilie surprized wthin yor Streames by diu^{r}s ffriggottꝭ of the Portugalls of Goa whoe vniustlie haue taken from them nyneteene of o^{r} Subiectꝭ besidꝭ agreate quantity of their marchandize, and detayne them prisonners at Goa, vnder this sole pretext, as yf both yo^{r}selfe and yor Countreys were assubiected to the Crowne of Spaygne and therefore not lawfull for any other Christian people to trade wth yo^{u}: wch indignity thoughe Almighty God hath geven vs power enoughe to revenge agaynst them, yett because yt hath relacõn to the greatnes of yor estate as beinge done wthin

[1] See page 219.

the Compasse of yor power & aucthority, Wee haue thought good, first to represent yt vnto yo^{u}; and to seeke redresse of yt, by yor meanes, then to enter into any course of hostility in those partꝭ contrary to the peaceable inclynac͠on of trade wch our Subiectꝭ are willinge to entertayne wthall other Nations; Notwthstanding wch hard successe o^{r} Subiectꝭ are noe whit discourradged from vndertakeinge (as now they doe) another voyadge into yor Countreys, wth three good shipps laden wth such Comodities of o^{r} kingdomes as may be most of vse to yor people, being Confident of yor further favo^{r} and protecc͠on, wth such Immunities and priuiledgꝭ for their trade and Comerce wth yor people, as may incourradge them more and more to fixe and Contynue a firme Correspondencie there to the increase of proffitt of each others Subiectꝭ. And for a pledge of o^{r} Royall inclinac͠on towardꝭ yo^{u} Wee haue sent yo^{u} a small present by o^{r} Servaunt Sr Henry Middleton knight, Generall of this o^{r} voyadge wch wee pray yo^{u} to accept in good parte & to vse him wthall courtesie and respect, as is befittinge the quallity of his place. Geven at o^{r} Pallace of Westminst^{r} this &c:

Commander of Cambaia

Iames by the grace of Almightie God kinge of greate Brittaine ffraunce and Ireland defendo^{r} of the Christian faith &c: To the right Honorable the cheefe Commander of the greate Citty of Cambaia greetinge

WHERE[AS] wee haue vnderstoode from some of o^{r} Subiectꝭ, what greate courtesies they haue receiued, and daylie doe receiue at yor haundꝭ, in their arriuall and settlement of their trade in the greate Citty of Cambaia, We could not omytt att this second voyadge thither, but to expresse vnto yo^{u} our thankfull acknowledgment for the same, wth o^{r} Constant hope of yor further endevo^{rs} towardꝭ them aswell for their future saffeguard & protecc͠on in those places, against the Malice and violence of any that should attempt to wronge them, as for their better incourradgment to establish and increase

(as now they haue begun alreadie) a firme Correspondencie of trade in those partꝭ, wherein for oʳ parte, wee will not omytt any thinge that may tend to the furtheringe of soe greate a good for the aduancmᵗ of oʳ Subiectꝭ.

As for the iniury and losse wᶜʰ oʳ Subiectꝭ latelie receaued by the Portingalls of Goa (as is well knowen vnto yoᵘ) thoughe we want noe meanes to revenge oʳ selues against them, yett because we would be loath to interrupt the peaceable course of trade in those partꝭ, and for that the Iniury doth alsoe redound to yoᵘ, as being done wᵗʰin the lymittꝭ of yoʳ Comand, Wee haue thought good first to desier yoʳ peaceable Intercession for the redresse thereof, before oʳ Subiectꝭ should attempt any thinge hostilly agaynst them, wherein yoᵘ shall doe a worke worthy of yoʳ selfe, and by wᶜʰ yoᵘ shall oblige oʳ people more and more vnto yoᵘ. And for oʳ good inclinacõn towardꝭ yoᵘ, wee haue sent yoᵘ atoken of oʳ loue and frendship by oʳ servant Sʳ Henrie Middleton knight, Generall of this oʳ voyadge.

Geven at oʳ Pallace of Westminstʳ this

Iames by the grace of Almighty God kinge of greate Brittane ffraunce & Ireland, defendoʳ of the Christian faith &c:

To the kinge of Succatora.

To the highe & mighty Prince the kinge of Succatora Geeteinge.

Most mighty kinge

HAUEINGE vnderstoode from some of oʳ loueinge Subiectꝭ, that in their course of Navigation & traffique into diuʳs partꝭ of the East Indies, they haue alsoe visited yoʳ Coastꝭ & Territories where they haue not onlie refreshed themselues of such necessaries, as are belonginge to soe greate a Nauigacõn, but haue alsoe receiued the best interteynemᵗ that could be expected; wee hould yt oʳ parte to acknowledge the same wᵗʰ thankꝭ, and to ymbrace yoʳ amity and freindshipp wᵗʰall the respectꝭ of honoʳ, that may tend to the establishinge and encreaseing of the same to oʳ mutuall

contentac͠on & aduancem^{t} of proffitt of each others Subiectꝭ; Wherein for o^{r} parte, as we doe readily offerr o^{r} selues and any thinge that shall be in o^{r} power, soe wee doe expect the lyke effectꝭ from yo^{u}, to redound vpon o^{r} Subiectꝭ, in yor good vsage of them, and affording them yor princelie favo^{r} and protecc͠on against such as should goe aboute to harme them. And for a pledge of this o^{r} good inclinac͠on towardꝭ yo^{u}, wee haue sent yo^{u} this small Present by o^{r} servant Sr Henrie Middleton knight, wch wee pray yo^{u} to accept in good parte Given at o^{r} Pallace of Westm: this &c:

Kinge of Bantham

Iames by the grace of Almighty God kinge of greate Brittaine ffraunce and Ireland defendo^{r} of the Christian faith &c: To the most highe & mightie Prince the kinge of Bantham Greetinge

Right highe and mighty Prince

IT hath beene noe small contentm^{t} vnto us to vnderstand from o^{r} Subiectꝭ retourned from their last voyadge into yor Countries, both howe favorablie they haue beene vsed by yo^{u}, and yor people, & howe willinge yo^{u} haue beene to interteyne o^{r} loue & freindshipp, both w^{ch}, yo^{u} haue beene Contented to confirme vnto vs by a present of fower Balls[1] of silke wch yo^{u} haue sent vnto vs, ffor wch wee can not but retourne vnto yo^{u} o^{r} harty thankꝭ wthall the kinde demonstrations of o^{r} reciprocall desier to increase o^{r} amity & correspondency wth yo^{u}, as far as the same may be honorable vnto vs, & proffitable to each others Subiectꝭ; In confidence whereof o^{r} Subiectꝭ haueinge vndertaken a new voyadge into yor Country for the reestablishinge of their trade & traffique wth yor Subiectꝭ, wee hope yo^{u} will Contynewe vnto them yor accustomed favo^{rs}, and afford them such liberties & ymunities there, as they may be thereby both incourradged in their greate adventures, and secured from oppression or wronge of any that would goe aboute

[1] Bales?

to harme them. And in thankfulnes of theis yor kindnesses to or people, wee haue sent you a token by this bearer or Servant Sr Henry Middleton knyght, Generall of or present voyadge Giuen at or Pallace of Westminstr this &c :

K. of Tedore

Iames by the grace of Almighty God kinge of greate Brittaine ffraunce and Ireland defendor of the Christian faith &c : To the most highe and mightie Prince the kinge of *Tedore,* Greetinge

Most highe & mighty kinge

AS wee haue taken greate contentmt to vnderstand from or Marchauntꝭ att their retourne from their last voyadge out of yor Country, howe kindlie & favorably they haue beene interteyned by you and yor people in their peaceable trade, soe we Cannot but reiteratiuely expresse or thankꝭ for the same, wth all the respectꝭ of honor that can be expected from vs, being readie both to ymbrace yor freindshipp and amity & to establish a constant entercourse of trade & traffique betwixt each others Subiectꝭ for wch purpose, or Subiectꝭ haueing vndertaken a new voyadge into yor Country, wee could not but take occasion to salute you, & to pray you to Contynewe yor favor towardꝭ them, wth such Conditions of saffetie & ymunitie to their ꝑsons, Shipps and goodꝭ, as they may be both encoradged in their iust and honest course, and protected against any wronge and vyolence of any that would goe aboute to harme them, And for a pledge of or Princelie disposicõn towardꝭ you. Wee haue sent you a token by or servant Sr Henrie Middleton knight Generall of or Marchauntꝭ present voyadge Geven at or Pallace of Westminstr this &c :

to the Governor of Aden

Iames by the grace of Almightie God, kinge of greate Brittaine ffraunce & Ireland defendo^{r} of the Christian faith &c: To the right honorable lord, the Governo^{r} of the Citty of *Aden* Greetinge

Right honorable Lord.

THE Entercouse of amyty and freindshipp wch hath beene theis many yeares betweene vs & o^{r} Predecesso^{rs}, and the mighty howse of *Ottonan*, confirmed by soe many demonstrations of free Comerce & libertie of trade throughe each others kingdomes & domynions, hath incourradged o^{r} Marchaunteȩ to frequent alsoe those parteȩ, where yo^{u} haue chardge, and the rather because they haue lately vnderstoode that twoe of their Shipps in their course of Nauigation into diu^{r}s parteȩ of the East Indies, haue alsoe beene in the mouth of the *red* Sea & found opportunity of traffique by enterteyneinge each others Comodities wch hath induced them nowe to vndertake this voyadge, and prayed o^{r} intercession vnto yo^{u} for them, that they might be favorably receaued, and inioye in those parteȩ alsoe such liberty of trade wth saffetie and good vsage for their persons, Shipps and goodeȩ, as they now haue and inioye in the hether parteȩ of the *Grand Signors* domynions, wch wee doe not doubt but yo^{u} will be willinge to afford vnto them, and the rather because they bringe wth them a safe *Conduct* from the Grand *Signier* in that behalfe. And of o^{r} good will & inclination towardeȩ yo^{u}, wee haue sent yo^{u} a small token by o^{r} Servant Sr Henry Middleton knight, wch wee pray yo^{u} to accept in good parte. And soe we Comitt yo^{u} to the protecc̄on of the most highe & almighty God the Creater & Preseruer of all thingeȩ: ffrom o^{r} Pallace at Westminst^{r} this &c:

Sabander of Nero.

Iames by the grace of Almightie God kinge of greate Brittaine ffraunce and Ireland Defendo^{r} of the Christian faith &c: To the right honorable the *Sabander of Nero*,[1] Greeteinge.

Right honorable Lord

ALTHOUGHE wee haue heretofore by o^{r} lres vnto yo^{u} expressed o^{r} acknowledgem^{t} for the favorable vsage & interteynem^{t} yo^{u} haue giuen to o^{r} Subiects in their trade and traffique wthin yor Countries, yett they haueing now vndertaken a lyke voyadge thither againe, wee cannot but reiterate o^{r} former acknowledgm^{t} as a matter honorable to yo^{u}, and acceptable to vs, And the rather because wee doe not doubt but thereby yo^{u} will be more & more induced to afford vnto o^{r} Subiects such further favo^{r} & ptecco̅n wthall Condicons of hono^{r} and saffety to their persons, Ships & goods, as may encoradg them to contynewe their trade & Comerce wth yor people; wherein yo^{u} shall doe a worke worthy of yor selfe, and much advantagious to the proffitt of each others Subiects. And for a demonstraco̅n of o^{r} favorable inclynation towards yo^{u}, and embracinge of yor loue & freindshipp, wee haue sent yo^{u} atoken by o^{r} servant Sr Henrie Middleton knight, Generall of this o^{r} voyadge, wch wee pray yo^{u} to accept in good parte, and to hono^{r} and respect him accordinge to the quallity of his place. Given at o^{r} Pallace of Westminst^{r} this &c:

AFTER[2] my hartie Comendaco̅ns wheras the Companye of m^{r}chants trading to the *East Indyes*, being now buylding a Shippe in *Ireland*, and hauing occasion to vse some readye monye, for prouiding of sundrie things ther, necessarye for the finishing of the said shippe haue made suite for lycense to transport from hence, the some of Thre hundred pounds sterling, Theis are therfore to wyll and require y^{u} to suffer any

A warrant for transportacon of 300^{li} into Irel:

[1] *i.e.* Neira, one of the Banda Islands.

[2] The loss of the 1610-14 Court Book prevents the giving of details as to the circumstances under which this warrant was applied for. It is interesting as an example of the strictness of the currency laws of the period.

psons aucthorized by thē to shippe forth the said some of Thre hundred pound℮. Prouided that y^u take bond for deliu^rye of the said mony in *Ireland,* ther to be employed as aforesaid. And for so doing this (being grounded vppō his ma^t℮ warrant vnto me in that behalf) shalbe yor sufficyent discharge. ffrom *Whitehall* the 4 of Octobr 1610.

Yo^r louing friend

To my louinge friend℮, the — R SALISBURYE

JAMES,[1] by the grace of God, king of *England, Fraunce* and *Ireland,* defend^r of the faith &c. TO our trustye and welbeloued seru^ant *Henry Myddleton* knight, Greting. WHERAS, dyuers of o^r louing subiect℮, by the name of the *Gouerno^r and Companye of Marchants of London trading into the East Indyes,* at ther owne aduentures, cost℮ and charg℮, for the hono^r of this o^r Realme of *England,* and for the encrease and aduauncement of trade, and m^rchandize wth in the same, haue set forth sundrie voyag℮ to the *East Indies,* and alreadye discouered and begunne to settle a trade into those part℮, and intending the contynuinge therof, aswell by frequenting those plac℮ alreadye setled, as by furth^r discouerye of other part℮, wch may be fitt for the enterchaunging of the Com̄oditye of our kingdomes, wth the Com̄odityes of those plac℮, such as may be of spīall vse and benefitte to vs and o^r subiect℮, hauing to this purpose now p^rpared and sett forth thre Shippes to the said *East Indyes,* and the plac℮ adioyning therunto AND WHERAS our said Subiect℮ the Aduenture^rs of those voyag℮, haue chosen y^u, our said seru^ant *Henry Myddleton* knight, to be ye principall Gouerno^r or Generall of all the m^rchant℮, maryners and oth^r our Subiect℮, wch are or shalbe shipped in the said thre Shippes, WE graciouslye fauouring the^r intended voyage, and approuinge and allowinge of

A Commyssion from his Matie to Sr Henry Myddleton knight

[1] The original and duplicate of this commission (with the remains of the Great Seal still attached) are preserved among the *Parchment Records* (Nos. 6 and 7) in the India Office. There are also Minutes of the Grant at the Public Record Office (see *Cal. of State Papers, E. Indies,* 1513-1616, p. 205).

ther choice of y^{u} to the same gouernm^{t}, being wylling to furnishe y^{u} wth all fitt and conuenyent power and aucthoritye, to rule & gouerne all and euerye our Subiectꝭ, employed in this voyage, by a due obedyence to be by them yeilded vnto yo^{u} in the obseruinge and executing of all such good orders, and constitucõns, as y^{u} shall thinke conuenyent to ordeine and make for the furtheraunce of ye said voiage according to such ꝑticłer direccõns and enstruccõns, as y^{u} shall receiue from ye said Gouerno^{r} and Companye of m^{r}chantꝭ, the Aduenturers in this voyage, Straightlye charging and com̄aunding all and euerye ꝑson or ꝑsons employed in this voyage, and shipped in the said thre Shippes, to giue all due obedyence and respect vnto y^{u} during the said voyage, and to beare themselues one towardꝭ anoth^{r} in good ord^{r} and quyetnes for auoyding any occasion that might breede mutinye, quarrells or dissencõn amongst them, to the hinderaunce of the good successe, wch is to be hoped for by Godꝭ prouidence of this said voyage. AND in default of such duitie and obedyence to be ꝑfourmed towardꝭ y^{u}, for the correcting and quenching of all such mutinyes, quarrells or dissencõns that may arise, by the euyll and disorderlye disposicõn of any ꝑson whatsoeuer, WE do herbye aucthorize y^{u} our said seru^{a}nt *Henry Middleton* knight during the said voyage, or during so long tyme as y^{u} shall liue in the said voyage, to chastice correct and punishe all Offendo^{rs} and transgressors in that behalf according to the qualitye of ther offences, wth such punishm^{t}ꝭ as are com̄onlye vsed in all Armyes at Sea, when they are not Capitall. AND for Capitall offencꝭ as wilfull murth^{r}, wch is hatefull in the sight of god, or mutinye wch is an offence wch may tend to the ouerthrowe of the said voyage, the same being dulye and iustlye proued against any of the ꝑson or ꝑsons aforesaid. WE do herby giue vnto y^{u} o^{r} said seru^{a}nt *Henry Myddleton* knight, during all the tyme of the said voyage, or during so long tyme as y^{u} shall liue in the said voyage, full power and aucthoritye to vse and put in execucõn our lawe, called Lawe Marciall in that behalf, And these our łres shalbe vnto y^{u} sufficyent warrant and discharge, for the doing and executing of all and singłer the p^{r}misses. AND forasmuch as at this p^{r}sent tyme, we are in amitye wth all Christian Princes, and are vnwylling that any o^{r} Subiectꝭ should giue occasion of breach or

hinderaunce therof towardẹ any oʳ Confederates friendẹ or Allyes, And because we are not ignoraunt of the emulac̃on and enuye wᶜʰ doth accompanye the discouerye of Countryes and trades, and of the quarrells and contenc̃ons wᶜʰ do many tymes fall out betwene the Subiectẹ of dyuers Princes when they mete the one wᵗʰ the othʳ in forreigne and farre remote Countryes in prosecuting the course of theʳ discoueries, and being desirous that our Subiectẹ should forbeare to moue or beginne any quarrell or contenc̃on vppō the Subiectẹ of oʳ Confederates friendẹ or Allies, eithʳ in ther going forth or retourning from any of ther voyagẹ WE THERFORE do herebye straightlye charge and com̃aund yᵘ oʳ said seruᵃnt *Henrye Myddleton* knight, and all other vnder yoʳ gouernmᵗ, that neithʳ in yoʳ voyage outward or homeward, or in any Countrye, Island, Port or place, wher yᵘ shall abyde or come, during the tyme of yoʳ being abroad, out of oʳ kingdomes or domynions, wher yᵘ meete wᵗʰ any the Subiectẹ of yᵉ king of *Spaine*, or of any othʳ oʳ Confederates, friendẹ, or Allies, or of any other nac̃on or people, ther Shippes, Vessells, goodẹ or mʳchandizes, yᵘ do not attempt or go about to sett vppō, take or surprize their ꝑsons, Shippes, vessells, goodẹ or mʳchandizes, or offer any iniurye or discourtesye vnto them, as yᵘ wyll aunswer the contrarye, at yoʳ vttʳmost ꝑills. Except yᵘ shalbe by them first therunto iustlye ꝑuoked or driuē, eithʳ in the iust defence of yoʳ owne ꝑsons, Shippes, vessells, goodẹ or mʳchandizes, by any ther disturbaunce or hinderaunce wᵗsoeuʳ in yoʳ quyett course of trade, or for recompence and recouʳye of the ꝑsons, Shippes, goodẹ or mʳchandizes of any oʳ Subiectẹ, that are alreadye in or neare the *East Indyes*, or for any othʳ iust cause of yoʳ defence, In wᶜʰ cases so excepted, if yᵘ attempt, surprize, and take the ꝑsons, Shippes and goodẹ of any Prince or State, by whose Subiectẹ yᵘ shall susteine any wrong, or losse in manner as aforesaid, yᵘ shall not for any such acte or actẹ, grounded vppō the occasions aboue menc̃oned, be in daungʳ or subiect to the ꝑill and penalties of oʳ lawes, Alwayes pʳsupposing and so requiring yᵘ to vse all possible endeuoʳˢ by all meanes whatsoeuʳ, to suffer no spoile to be made of any goodẹ or mʳchandizes, nor imbeaseling of any thing whatsoeuʳ that shalbe recouʳed by yᵘ, but to see thē saufelye brought home wᵗʰ ther Bylles of lading and Chartʳ ꝑties, to the intent that

there may be restitucc̃on made by vs, so soone as y^u^ shall receiue satisfacc̃on from that State or people, by whome y^u^ are dampnifyed of what Natiō soeuer. AND forasmuch as o^r^ said Subiectę the m^r^chantę and oth^r^ the Aduenture^rs^ of this voyadge, out of prouydence and foresight yf any mortalitye eith^r^ by sicknes or otherwise (wch God forbyd) should befall vnto o^r^ seru^a^nt *Henry Myddleton* knight, haue made choise of o^r^ trustie and louing subiecte Cap^ne^ *Nichās Dounton,* to succeede the said *Henry Myddleton* knight, in the charge and coīaund of principall Gouerno^r^ or Gen^r^all of all the ꝑsons employed in this voyage as aforesaid WE do alsoe (in case such an accydent should happen) allowe and approue of ther choyce in that behalf, And do herby giue full power and aucthoritye to the said Cap^ne^ *Nichās Dounton,* to do and execute all and euerye thing, incydent to the charge of principall Gouerno^r^ or Generall of all the ꝑsons employed in this voyage as aforesaid in as ample manner and forme, and to all intentę and purposes, as is before coīytted and imposed vppō our Seru^a^nt *Henrye Mydleton* knight, And these o^r^ ł̃res shalbe also sufficyent warrant and discharge to the said Cap^ne^ *Nichās Dounton,* for the doing and executing of all and singuler the p^r^misses as afores^d^. IN WYTNES wherof we haue caused these o^r^ ł̃res to be made Patentę. WITNES our self at Westm̃ the seauententh day of March in the seauenth yeare of our Raigne of *England, Fraunce* and *Ireland,* and of *Scotland* the thre and forteth

per breue de priuato Sigillo. COPPIN.

JAMES,[1] by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, ffraunce and Ireland, defend^r^ of the faith &c TO OUR trustye and welbeloued *Anthonye Hippon,*[2] greting, WHERAS dyuers of our louing subiectę, by the name of the Gouern^r^ and Companye of m^r^chantę of

[1] Captain Hippon's Commission for the *Seventh Voyage,* 1611 (see also *Cal. of State Papers, E. Indies,* 1513-1616, page 208).

[2] See page 114, note 3.

A Commyssion from his Matie vnto Anth: Hippon Capne.

Londō, trading into the *East Indyes*, at ther owne aduentures coste and charges, for the honor of this or Realme of England, and for the encrease and aduancemt of trade, and mrchandize wthin the same, haue set forth sundrie voyage to the *East Indyes*, and alreadye discouered, and begunne to settle a trade into those parte, and intending the contynuinge therof, aswell by frequenting those pte alreadie setled, as by furthr discouerye of othr pte wch may be fitt, for entrchaunging of the Comōdityes of or kingdomes, wth the comōdityes of those place, such as may be of speciall vse and benefitte to vs and or subiecte, hauing to this purpose now prpared and sett forth the good Shippe called the *Globe*, AND wheras our said subiecte, the Aduenturers of those voyage, haue chosen yu the said *Anthonye Hippō*, to be Gouernor or Captaine of all the mrchante, maryners, and all othrs, as well our Subiecte, as of what Natiō soeur that shall goe in the said Shippe, we graciouslye fauouring the intended voyage, and approuing and allowing of ther choyce of yu to the same gouernmt, being wylling to furnishe yu wth all fytt and conuenyent power & aucthoritye, to rule and gouerne all and euerye our Subiecte and others whatsoeur, employed in this voyage by a due obedyence to be by thē yeilded vnto yu in the obseruing and executing of all such good orders and constitucōns as yu shall thinke conuenyent to ordeine and make for the furtheraunce of the said voyage, according to such pticler direccōns and enstruccōns as yu shall receiue from the said Gouernor and Companye of mrchante the Aduenturers in this voyage, Straightlye charging and comaunding all and eurye pson and psons employed in this voyage, and shipped in the said Shippe to giue all due obedyence and respect vnto yu, during the said voyage, And to beare themselues one towarde anothr in good order and quietnes, for auoyding any occasion that might breede mutinye, quarrells or dissencōns amongst thē to the hinderaunce of the good successe, wch is to be hoped for, by gode puidence of this said voyage AND in default of such duitye and obedyence to be pfourmed towarde yu, for the correcting and quenching of all such mutinyes, quarrells and dissencōns, that may arise by the euyll and disorderlye disposicōn of any pson whatsoeur, we do herbye

aucthorize yu, our said subiect *Anthonye Hippon*, during the said voyage, or during so long tyme as yu shall lyue in the said voyage, to chastize correct and punishe all offendrs and transgressors in that behalf according to the qualitye of ther offencę; wth such punishmtę as are comonlye vsed in all armyes at Sea, when they are not capitall, And for Capitall offencę, or[1] wilfull murthr, (wch is hatefull in the sight of god) or mutynie, (wch is an offence which may tend to the ouerthrowe of the said voyadge) the same being iustlye and dulye proued, against any of the pson or psons aforesaid WEE do hereby giue vnto yu or said subiect *Anthonye Hippon*, during all the tyme of the said voyage, or during so long tyme, as yu shall lyue in the said voyage, full power and aucthoritye to vse and put in execucon our Lawe called Lawe Martiall in that behalf, and these or tres shalbe yor sufficyent warrant, and discharge for the doing and executing all and singler the prmisses. AND forasmuch as at this pnt tyme we are in Amitye wth all xpian princę, and are vnwylling that any or Subiectę, should giue occasiō of breach or hinderaunce therof, towardę any or confederatę, friendę or allyes, And because yu[2] are not ignoraunt of the emulacon and enuye wch doth accompanye the discouerye of Countryes, and Trades, and of the quarrells and contencons wch do many tymes fall out betwene the Subiectę of dyuers Princę when they meete the one wth the othr in forreigne and farre remote Countryes, in psecuting the course of ther discoueryes; and being desirous that or Subiectę should forbeare or[3] beginne to[3] moue any quarrells or contencons, vppō the subiectę of or confederatę, friendę or allyes, eithr in ther going forth or retourning from any the voyagę WEE therfore do straightlye charge and comaund yu, or said subiect *Anthonye Hippon*, and all othr vnder yor gouernmt, That neithr in yor voyage outward or homeward, or in any Countrye, Island, Port or place, wher yu shall abide or come during the tyme of yor being abroad out of or kingdome or domynions, wher yu meete wth any the Subiectę of the king of *Spayne*, or of any othr or Confederates, friendę or Allyes, or of any othr Natiō or people, ther shippes, vessells, goodę or mrchandizes, yow do not attempt or

[1] A mistake for "as."

[2] This should be "we."

[3] These two words appear to have been transposed in copying.

go about to sett vppō, take or surprize, ther ꝑsons, shippes, vessells, goodꝭ or m^{r}chandizes, or offer any Iniurye or discourtesye vnto thē, as y^{u} wyll aunswer the contrarye at yor vttermost ꝑills Except y^{u} shalbe by them first therunto ꝑuoked or drawne, eith^{r} in the iust defence of yor owne ꝑsons, shippes, vessells, goodꝭ or m^{r}chandize, by any their disturbaunce or hinderaunce w^{t}soeu^{r} in yor quiett course of trade, or for recompence, and recouerye of y^{e} ꝑsons, shippes, goodꝭ, or m^{r}chandizes of any o^{r} Subiectꝭ that are alreadie in or neare the *East Indyes*, Or for any oth^{r} iust cause of yor defence, In wch causes so excepted, if y^{u} attempt, surprize and take, the ꝑsons shippes and goodꝭ of any Prince or State, by whose Subiectꝭ y^{u} shall susteyne, any wrong or losse in manner as aforesaid, y^{u} shall not for any such Act or Actꝭ, (grounded vppō the occasions aboue mencc̄oned,) be in daung^{r} or subiect to the ꝑill and penaltyes of o^{r} Lawes, Alwayes p^{r}supposing, and so requiring y^{u} to vse all possible endeuo^{rs} by all meanes whatsoeu^{r}, to suffer no spoyle to be made, of any goodꝭ or m^{r}chandizes nor embezilling of any goodꝭ whatsoeu^{r} that shalbe recou^{r}ed by y^{u}, But to see them saufelye brought home, wth ther bylles of lading, and Chart^{r} ꝑties, to the intent that there may be restitucc̄on made by vs so soone as y^{u} shall receyue satisfacc̄on from that State or people, by whome y^{u} are dampnifyed, of what Natiō soeu^{r} AND forasmuch as o^{r} said Subiectꝭ, the m^{r}chantꝭ and other the Aduenture^{rs} of this voyage, out of prouydence and foresight of any mortalitye, eith^{r} by sicknes or otherwise, wch god forbyd should befall, vnto our Subiect *Anthonye Hyppon*, haue made choyce of o^{r} trustie and welbeloued Subiect *Robert Browne*,[1] to succede the said *Anthonye Hyppon* in ye charge and cōmaund of Gouerno^{r} and Captaine of all the ꝑsons employed in this voyage WEE do also in case such an accydent should happē allowe and approue of ther choyce in that behalf, And do herby giue full power and aucthoritye to the said *Robert Browne*, to do and execute all and euerye thing incydent to the charge of Gouerno^{r} and Cap^{ne} of all the ꝑsons employed in this voyage, as aforesaid, in as ample manner and forme, vnto all intentꝭ and purposes, as is before cōmytted and imposed vppō o^{r} Subiect *Anthonye Hyppon*, And

[1] See page 52, note 1.

these o^{r} łres shalbe also a sufficyent warrant and discharge to the said *Robert Browne*, for ye doing and executing of all and singłer the p^{r}misses as aforesaid IN WYTNES whereof, we haue caused these o^{r} łres to be made Patentꝭ, WYTNES our self at *Westmynster*, the fourth day of Decemƀr, in the Eight yeare of our Raigne of *England Fraunce & Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the fower and fortith.

COPPIN
Per breue de priuato Sigillo

Articles indented & agreed vpon the thirtenth day of Decemƀ in the yeare of o^{r} Lord 1610. Betweene Sr Thomas Smyth knight Gou^{r}no^{r} of the Company of Marchauntꝭ of London, tradeinge to the East Indies, and Certeine Committees of that Company appointed by order of Courte for that purpose, on thone parte. And *Peter Ploris* & *Lucas Athewmes*,[1] Dutch Marchauntꝭ on thother parte. In manner & forme followinge.

INPRIMIS. Itt is agreed that a shipp shall be prouided by the said Gou^{r}no^{r} and Companie of the burthen of fower hundred Tunns or thereaboutꝭ To be readie to sett saile from hence in this instant Decemƀ, or in Ianuarie next, wth fower score men (Marchauntꝭ & all others) & victualled for thirtie monnethes for a voyadge (by godꝭ grace) to be made therewth into the said East Indies.

Item: ffor the ꝑformance thereof, as alsoe for a competent

[1] Peter Floris (here miswritten Ploris) and Lucas Antheumis (or Antheunis) were two Dutch merchants to whom was entrusted the management of the Company's *Seventh Voyage* (1611), which was especially intended to open up trade on the Coromandel Coast and at Patani and Siam. Probably both of them—and certainly Floris—had had experience of trade in the Indies; and, as will be seen from the present document, they had a considerable stake in the enterprise, contributing one-eighth of the total capital. The voyage proved to be a success, but was fatal to Floris, who died within two months of his return to London (1615). Antheumis, who had been left at Siam, remained there until September, 1615, when he proceeded to Patani, and thence to Masulipatam, finally reaching London in September, 1618.

stocke of 12000^{li} or thereaboutes is appointed to be leuied, whereof 1500^{li} is to be putt into the said stocke by the foresaid *Peter Ploris* & *Lucas Antheumes* for their aduenture And 600^{li} of the said 1500^{li}, is by them presentlie to be paid, to such a Casheare as shalbe therevnto by the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Companie chosen And the other 900^{li} to be likewise paid to the said Chasheare in Iune or Iulie next followinge the date of theis presentes (wch the said Companie doe acknowledge to haue receiued). The rest of the said stocke of 12000^{li} is to be supplied by the said Company.

Item. That of the foresaid 12000^{li} intended for the said stocke, the chardge of the Shippe, victuallinge & such other necessaries shalbe supplied, & then the Remainder of the said some shall be imployed as a stocke by them for this voyadge.

Item. That the said *Pieter Ploris, Lucas Atheumes* & *Robert Browne* shall be the principall ffactors for sale & imploym^{t} of the said stocke, duringe the said voyadge, And that whatsoeuer shalbe by them bought or sould in the tyme of this their said voyadge shalbe registred and written by some English Marchauntꝭ to be appointed by the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Companie for that purpose. And alsoe the said *Pieter Ploris*, & *Lucas Atheumes* doe promyse that they will neither buie nor sell any Marchaundize or Comodities whatsoeu^{r}, nor make any priuate, nor any other ƀgaines before hand, but such and att those tymes when the said *Robert Browne;* and other Englishe Marchauntꝭ shall be by att the makeinge of them. Promysinge further to vse their best dilligence & endevo^{rs} to informe teach & enstruct the said Englishe Marchauntꝭ in all the misteries & secreetꝭ belonginge to the said trade and busines.

Item. The said *Pieter Ploris* & *Lucas Athemmes* doe promyse that they will not intermeddle nor haue any dealinges wth any other busines then buyinge & sellinge of Marchaundize & such other Comodities wthout the Consent of the Captaine and *Robert Browne* wth the rest of the said English Marchauntꝭ: Nor wth setlinge any ffactory in any place, or wth any state whatsoeu^{r} wthout the Consent & resolucõn first had of the said Capt & englishe Marchauntꝭ as aforesaid. Prouided & yt is agreed that the said Capt & englishe Marchauntꝭ shall cause the shipp to sayle, &

direct their course to all such hauens and portes as the said *Pieter Ploris & Lucas Atheumes* shall from tyme to tyme direct them vnto.

Item The money and Marchandize appointed for the foresaid stocke shall be m^{r}ked wth the Companies marke, & remaine in the Custodie and chardge of the said Captaine & english Marchauntes vntill there be tyme of ymploym^{t}, and then to be deliu^{r}ed to the said *Pieter Ploris*, Lucas *Antheumes* & *Robert Browne* as occasion shall serue, and by them required. And att what tyme soeu^{r} the said Marchandize, or any parte thereof shall be sould & ymployed in other wares & goodꝭ the same shall presentlie be brought abourd & putt into the hould of the said shipp (marked wth the said Companies marke expressed in the margent). And this to be done as often as any chaunge, sale or ymploym^{t} shall be made of the said wares goodꝭ or marchandize. And due accomptꝭ to be kept by the said englishe Marchauntꝭ from tyme to tyme of the doinge thereof, soe as the Gou^{r}nor & Company (for the tyme beinge) may receiue true informac̄on of eu^{r}y ꝑticuler buyinge and sellinge wth the places where the same was done, & the tymes when.

Item Thatt for the doinge & ꝑformaunce of this busines the said Gou^{r}nor & Company doe promise to allowe to the said *Pieter Ploris* and Lucas *Anthumes*, for their factorie vpon the nette ꝑceede of the said stocke (Marriners wages & all other chardges deducted [)] as followeth.

If there be vnder Centum ꝑ Cento, nette proffitt made, by the said voyadge, then they are to receiue noe factorage.

If there be *Centum* ꝑ *Cento* nette proffitt made as for example 24000^{li} for 12000^{li} then they are to haue 4 ꝑ Centū.

If one hundred and a halfe be made, nett proffitt vpon the hundred as 30000^{li} for 12000^{li} then they are to haue 5 ꝑ Cent.

If Twoe hundred be made nette proffitt vpon the hundred as 36000^{li} for 12000^{li} then they are to haue 6 ꝑ Cent.

If twoe hundred & a halfe be made nette proffitt vpon the hundred as 42000^{li} for 12000^{li} then they are to haue 7 ꝑ Centū.

If three hundred be made nette proffitt vpon the hundred as 48000^{li} for 12000^{li} then they are to haue 8 ꝑ Centū.

If three hundred & a halfe be made nette proffitt vpon the hundred as 54000^{li} for 12000^{li} then they are to have 9 ꝑ Centū.

If ffower hundred be made nette ꝑffitt vpon the hundred as 60000^{li} for 12000^{li} then they are to haue 10 ꝑ Centū. And noe more what increase soeu^{r} they shall retourne of proffitt or gaine, they shall haue noe more then 10 ꝑ Centū.

Item That duringe the said voyadge they shall neither by themselues, nor any other for them or to their vse directlie or indirectlie, vse or exercise any priuate trade or Marchandizeinge whatsoeu^{r} But shall applie themselues & their whole endevo^{rs} for the good & aduancm^{t} of the gen^{r}all stocke, And the said Gou^{r}nor & Companie, doe promise to vse their best care & diligence to p^{r}uent the like priuate trade or Marchandizinge to be made by the said Captaine, englishe Marchauntę or any other Marriners whatsoeu^{r}.

Item that the said *Peter Ploris* & *Lucas Antheumes* shall become bound vnto the said Gou^{r}nor & Comp: in 2000^{li} for their true & faithfull dealeinge wth the said Gou^{r}nor & Comp: in the said voyadge, and for the due ꝑformance of whatt is for them to be ꝑformed abouesaid. As alsoe for the deliu^{r}inge vp in writeinge of a true and iust accompt of all there ꝑceedingę in the said voyadge.

Item yf God shall call the said Peter *Floris* & Lucas *Atheumes* out of this lyfe, before that they shall retourne backe into the porte of London, then the benefitt of their factorage as abouesaid, and nette ꝑceede of their aduenture ꝑporcionablie wth the rest of the Aduenturers shall be trulie paid and satisfied vnto their heires Executors or Administrators.

Item yt is further agreed That yf the said Peter *Floris* or the said Lucas *Antheumes* or either of them doe fortune to die, & the other retourne that then the suruiuo^{r} shall stand for both, & be accomptable in the behalfe of both, for all that hath past in the said voyadge accordinge to the true meaneinge of theis Articles.

Item. Whereas certaine Articles of Agreem^{t} were made and concluded, betwixt the said S^{r}: Thomas Smyth Gou^{r}nor of the

said Companie &c: on the one parte: And Peter *Floris* & *Lucas Antheumes* on thother parte bereinge date the 27th day of March 1610. for c'teine couenant$e$ to haue beene pformed on either parte: Itt is nowe agreed vpon that the said Articles shall be disannulled and cancelled, & whatsoeu' is conteyned in them to be of noe strength nor power.

In Witnes whereof the said *Pieter Floris* and *Lucas Antheumes* haue sett to their hand$e$ and seales to thone parte, and the said Companie haue fixed their Comon seale vnto theis present$e$ to thother parte the day & yeare first aboue written

Whereas mention is made in the precedent Articles of a stocke of 12000li to be ymployed by the foresaid *Pieter Floris* & *Lucas Antheumes*, for wch they are to receiue factorie accordinge to the said Articles of agreemt betwixt the Companie and them; They nowe findinge that by the increase of chardges the Capitall will be raysed vnto 14000li or thereaboutes, doe desier that the Companie would be pleased to graunt them consideracõn in there factorye for the said encrease, wch the Company are willinge to yeald vnto in manner and forme followinge as is sett downe (accordinge to their owne desier) *on thother side of this Roll. Viz.* as followeth.

Pieter Floris: *Lucas Antheumes*:

Consideringe that the settinge forth of the Shipp cometh to more then was att the first supposed yt would haue done, In reguard whereof the Capitall is encreased wth Marchandize and money to 14000li or thereabout$e$: Wee therefore the Gou'nor Deputy & Comittees for the foresaid Companie (att the earnest request of the forenamed Peter *Floris* and Lucas Antheumes) are willinge and contented for their satisfaccõn to graunt that there promtio and factorie shall be reckoned as followeth.

If they bring in retourne the nette some of 24000li then there promtio shall begyn att 4 p Centū, and soe to Continue to 29000li

Butt yf it soe happen that they bringe in nette retourne 30000li or aboue the same some shall be diuided by 12000li, & the promtio to be reckoned as aforesaid.

And in like manner the same some shall be diuided by 14000li

or as much as the nette Capitall shall come vnto & the promtio reckoned *pro rato* of 12000^{li}.

Nowe the difference betweene the twoe pmtions shall be equally diuided thone halfe to *Peter Floris* & *Lucas Antheumes* & thother halfe to the Companie.

Example.

12000^{li} make 33000^{li} is 2½ proffitt the pmtion 5 p Cent is — 1650^{li}
14000^{li} make 33000^{li} is 2 proffitt, the promtio 4 p Centu is — y[1] 1320^{li}

The difference is y 330

thone halfe is y 165

This 165 must be added to the 1320^{li}, or els substracted from 1650 & then our promtion for 33000^{li} wilbe 1485^{li}.

An other Example.

12000^{li} make 58000^{li} is 4½ proffitt the promtio 9 p Cent is — y 5220^{li}.
14000^{li} make 58000^{li} is fower proffitt the promtio 8 p Cent is y 4640^{li}.

The difference is — 580^{li}

Thone halfe is y 290

This 290^{li} must be added to 4640^{li}, or els substracted from 5220^{li} and then o^{r} promtio for 58000^{li} wilbe y 4930^{li}.

Lucas Antheumes
Peter Floris.

[1] In the absence of any definite information as to its nature and meaning, the symbol which in the original occurs here has been printed as a "y", the modern (written) form of that letter giving perhaps the best idea of its shape. What it really is, and what its significance, are questions to which, in spite of much kind help from Mr. Jeayes (of the British Museum), Mr. Noel Sainsbury (of the Public Record Office), Mr. F. G. Hilton Price (of Child's Bank), and others, no answer can yet be given. Some experts consider it an "n" with the tail turned up (meaning "nett" or some similar word); others hold it to be a contraction for *videlicet;* others again regard it as a "z", or some conventional sign for money. Bearing in mind the nationality of the writers, it may be conjectured that it is an old Dutch mercantile symbol, perverted possibly beyond recognition by the ignorance of the copyist.

A Comission[1] graunted by vs the Gou^{r}nor Deputy & Comittees, for the Company of Marchauntϱ of London, tradeinge [into] the East Indies vnto Anthony Hippon Capt *Peter Floris, Lucas Antheumes* & Robt *Browne* o^{r} principall ffactors, together wth Thomas Essington,[2] Symon Evans, *Adam Denton,* & George *Chauncey* the rest of o^{r} ffactors and all other o^{r} Marriners employed in this o^{r} seaventh voyadge in the good shipp called the *Globe.*

A Comission graunted by the Comp: to Capt Hippon in the 7th voyadge &c:

1. INPRIMIS Whereas wee the Marchauntϱ abouesaid wth o^{r} greate chardge & trouble haue prepared a shipp called the *Globe*, for a voyadge by Godϱ grace in her to be made to the bay of *Bengala* & other places in att or aboute the East Indies, & haue furnished the same in sufficient & plentifull manner, wth men, tackle, victualls, & all other needfull puicōns, fitt for such a voyadge. And haueinge beene pswaded by the good reporte of dyvers, & alsoe of an espetiall trust and confidence wee haue of the integritie, wisdome and resolucōns of o^{r} loueinge freindϱ Anthonie Hippon, *Peter Floris, Lucas Antheumes* & Robt *Browne* Doe appointe and authorize the said Anthonie Hippon to be o^{r} cheefe Captaine & master, duringe the said voyadge, & to comaund o^{r} shipp wth the men & Marrin^{r}s att Sea, And *Peter Floris, Lucas Antheumes* & Robt Browne, our principall ffactors & Cape Marchauntϱ for the orderinge & disposeinge of such moneys goodϱ & Marchandize on shore, as shall be carried alonge wth them in the said shipp. And Thomas Essington, Symon Evans, *Adam Denton* & George Chauncey, wee appointe to take their passadge in the said shipp as o^{r} ffactors to keepe bookes & accomptϱ of all goodϱ &

[1] This commission, though apparently completed and communicated to those concerned, seems to have been superseded by a fresh draft, which will be found on page 379. Possibly Floris and Antheumis were dissatisfied with it in its present form.

[2] Of this band of factors, Essington, on the death of Hippon in July, 1612, became captain of the *Globe*, and held that post until his death at Masulipatam in May, 1614; Denton became in turn chief at Patani and at Masulipatam, returning home in 1621; and Chauncey, after being stationed at various factories, died at Patani in the autumn of 1615.

Marchandize sould and delyuered, and bought and receiued from tyme to tyme wth the names of the portes, where any such trade or traffique is made. All wch both Commanders Marchaunt℮ ffactors and Marriners wee trust will soe carrie them selues wth due respect one to another, loue to their equalls & obedyence to their Superio^rs^ as loue & kindnes may be contynued on all sides, and all whollie applie their witt℮ and endevo^rs^ for the due ꝑformaunce of this voyadge in the best manner they may for the good of the Companie.

2 Item for that religious gou^r^nm^t^ doth best binde men to ꝑforme their duties, It is principally to be cared for, that prayers be said eu^r^y Morninge & eueninge in the Shippe, & the whole Company called therevnto wth dilligent Eyes that none be wantinge, soe as all may ioyntlie wth reuerence and humilitie pray vnto Almightie God to blesse & preserue them from all dangers in this longe and tedious voyadge And for that purpose wee haue deliu^r^ed vnto the purser a faire Bible, wth the booke of Comon prayers.

3 Item That noe blasphemeinge of God, sweareinge, theft, drunkennes, or other like misdeameano^rs^ be vsed, butt that the same be seuerelie ponished & that noe diceinge or other vnlawfull games be ꝑmitted for that the same are most comonlie the begynninges of quarrells, and many times murther a iust occasion of God℮ wrath and vengeance from wch the lord deliuer vs all. Wherefore wee doe order that the Captaine shall ꝓuide ponishm^t^℮ to be sett vp & published in the said shipp for such offences, whereby eu^r^y man may take notice what he ought to avoied.

4 Item. Thatt noe liquor be spilt in the ballast of the shipp, or filthines be left w^th^in bourd wch in heate breedeth noysome smells, and infeccōn: Butt that the ou^r^lopps and other places of the shipp be kept cleane & sweete wch is a notable preseruacōn of health

5 Item That contynuall & true Iournalls be kept of eu^r^y dayes course & nauigacōn duringe the whole voyadge, wth the obseruacōn of fallinge wth eu^r^y Coaste & land, or porte where they come, for the depth of water, & in what latitude yt lyeth, wth true relacōn of eu^r^y thinge that passeth And this to be done seu^r^ally by Captaine ffactors, Pylott, M^rs^ mate and purser And

they att conuenient tyme to conferr together aboute the same, To thend that yf any of them haue forgotten what an other obserued the same may be added whereby a discourse may be sett downe, to be presented by the Captaine to the Gou^r^nor and Company, when God shall graunte the said shipp safe retourne.

6. Item Thatt all money & Marchandizes wch shall be shipt here by the Gou^r^nor and Companie shall be kept by the Captaine he giueinge a receipt for the same wch said receipt shall be kept by *Peter Floris Lucas Antheumes* and Robt Browne thereby to demand the said money & goodꝭ when they shall come to those places, where they shall vse the same And then the same shall be deliu^r^ed ouer by the Captaine vnto them from tyme to tyme duringe the said voyadge.

7 Item Wee will that the Captaine shall cause the Boates or Sciffes to be alwaies in a readines to be ymployed to all such places as o^r^ principall Marchauntꝭ shall appointe them, And not to dispose of them any otherwyse soe longe as they shall haue occasion to vse them.

8 Item such Marchandize wares & money as the Capt shall deliu^r^ into the handes of the principall Marchauntꝭ he shall take a receipt from them thereof: And such wares and Marchandize as shall be brought into the shipp by the foresaid principall Marchauntꝭ *Peter Floris, Lucas Antheumes* & Robt Browne (or such as shall succeede in their places) beinge marked wth the Companies marke, they shall take a receipt of the Capt for the same. And this shall be done soe often as any goodꝭ shall be dischardged forth of the shipp, or laden into the shipp, And the Captaine to be carefull that the goodꝭ be well preserued & kept drie. To wch end he shall haue espetiall care to looke often tymes vnto the overloppe, that ytt be well kept.

9 Item the principall Marchauntꝭ shall not doe any thinge (wch is w^th^out the compasse of their tradeinge) w^th^out the Counsaile of the Capt & other ffactors whether yt be in setlinge of any factory, or any contract or agreement to be made wth any kinge or potentate in the Indies Neither shall the Captaine haue any comaund or authoritie on the land to haue any thinge to doe wth the trade of Marchandizeinge Butt therein whollie wee doe authorize & put in trust o^r^ principall Marchauntꝭ *Peter Floris,*

Lucas Antheumes & Robt Browne to be cheefe Comanders on the land, to thend they may ꝑforme the busines accordinge to their owne inuention. And Thomas Essington, Symon Evans, *Adam Denton*, and George *Chauncey* shall be wth them to assist them both in keepinge the bookes of accomptes as alsoe the Cashe.

10 Item yf the principall Marchauntꝭ shall haue occasion to vse 5 or 6 Marriners or more to helpe to watch and keepe the goodꝭ on Land in their howses, then you Capt Anthonie Hippon shall (vpon their demand) lett them haue soe many as they shall need, and those of the best and trustiest men you haue.

11 Item To the end that the voyadge be not hindred through want of victualls, Wee doe ordeyne and requier that the Captaine shall not alter the daylie allowance of victualls, wthout first haueinge taken Counsell & consent of or principall Marchauntꝭ, Whoe shall keepe Counter bookes of all the Victualls that are spent, and that shall remaine in *Esse*, the better to make their reckoninge for their ꝑceedinge in the voyadge. And when you shall come vnto the Land then shall the victualls be lockt vp in the shipp, and the principall Marchauntꝭ shall ꝑuide fresh victualls from the land, the better to enlardge the store, yf any may be ꝑcured.

12 Item. That att any place where you shall water, and refresh yor selues, or putt in for traffique and Marchandizeinge, you Capt *Anthonie Hippon* shall call the whole Companie together giueinge them most strict & straight chardge and warninge not to straggle, but to behaue them selues peaceablie and Ciuillie towardꝭ the people of that place, (yf any be there) the better to ꝑcure their freindshipp, towardꝭ the supplie of yor wantꝭ, and in yor course of trade least the losse of yor liues and ourthrowe of or voyadge pay for yor disorders, besidꝭ an vtter discreditt to or Nation, And that yor men doe vse a discreete meane in eateinge of fruitꝭ, fresh victualls, or drinkinge of water, leaste they surfett and fall into diseases, whereof wee haue had too much experience. But as any fresh prouisions shall be ꝑcured a shore by our principall ffactors, the same shall be first brought vnto the Captaine (whoe wth there advise) shall reparte the same vnto the Company as to you shall seeme good and needfull: And none presume to doe contrary wthout seueare ponishmt And that

espetiall care be had to releiue the sicke, wth such fresh meatꝭ, and other Comfortable thinges, wherewth wee haue furnished yor shipp for that purpose, and not otherwise to be spent in Ryott and banquettinge and soe the sicke ꝑishe for wante of thingꝭ needfull.

13. Item Whereas the stragglinge of yor men, in any place where they shall arryue and come, may not onlie proue the losse of such, as shall soe straggle (notwthstandinge they should be armed) but alsoe thereby much hurte might happen to the residue of o^{r} people. It is ordered that yo^{u} doe not ꝑmitt any man in any place to straggle or goe from the rest of yor Companie vnlesse vpon some spetiall occasions yo^{u} giue Warraunt therevnto, vpon paine of seueare ponishm^{t} to be inflicted vpon such as shall doe the Contrarie, still doubtinge the worst and standinge vpon yor guarde, wthout giueinge any trust vnto the people of the place.

14 Item fforasmuch as wee are well ꝑswaded, of the discrecõn, circumspection & good vnderstandinge of o^{r} principall Marchauntꝭ *Peter Floris, Lucas Antheumes,* and Robt Browne. Wee doe therefore requier yo^{u} Capt *Anthonie Hippon* that yo^{u} be alwaies readie to saile to all such hauens and portes, as o^{r} foresaid principall Marchauntꝭ shall direct yo^{u} to sayle vnto, and there to remayne vntill the said principall Marchauntꝭ, shall haue finished there busines, & then from thence to saile vnto such other places as they shall requier yo^{u}. And this shall be soe often by yo^{u} ꝑformed as they shall thinke fitt: for therein consisteth the welfare of the said voyadge And noe man shall counsaile or resolue to retourne homewardes, vntill such tyme as o^{r} said principall Marchauntꝭ shall haue fully finisht there intended trade, vpon forfecture of all their wages.

15 Item It is expreslie ordered that by a generall Consent of yo^{u} the Capt: Marchauntꝭ, facto^{rs}: and Marriners, some good order be by yo^{u} taken, and sett downe in writinge, soe soone as yo^{u} come to Sea, conc^{r}ninge the disposeinge of dead mens goodꝭ in the voyadge eyther by Comittinge the same by Inventory to the ꝑticular keepinge of some men in the shipps (and that vpon some convenient consideracõns, for keepinge the same) or by sale of soe much thereof att the mayne maste as may not exceede a

third parte of the buyers wages, for either buyinge or borroweinge, to preuent such preiudice to o^{r} Company as wee haue felt by Marriners buyinge soe much, as there whole wages came vnto: whereby they haue not onlie forsaken o^{r} shipps before their dischardge, butt alsoe depriued vs of meanes to redresse such wronges, as they haue many waies done vs in the voyadge. Alsoe that there be noe dealeinge by Exchange betwixt ꝑtie and ꝑtie, neither mony for mony, Comoditie for Comoditie Comoditie for money outwardes nor homewardes (for such exchange giues way for them to take and purloyne of o^{r} good℮). ffor preuencõn whereof, wee order That neither the purser (nor any other) doe register, witnes, or take knowledge of any such contract by exchange. And noe man to be admitted meanes, to bringe good℮ abourd, vpon paine of forfecture to the Company of that wch shall be soe brought in. And yf any ffactor shall happen to die, his book℮, accompt℮, and other thinges are to be ordered by the Cap^{tne}: & safelie reserued and brought home for England (an Inventory first taken thereof and registred in the pursers booke, to be witnessed by twoe or three others of the Companie[)]. And that eu^{r}y Marriner or other in the shipp, doe sett there handes or marke to the said Orders mentioned in this 15th Article.

16 Item To the end that all difficult matters may the better be passed over by good endevo^{rs} wee doe appointt a Counsell of Eight ꝑsonns whereof Capt^{ne}: *Anthony Hippon* to be Presedent (in matters of the shipp or for Iustice) and *Peter Floris*, *Lucas Antheumes* & *Robert Browne*, wth *Thomas Essington*, *Symon Euans Adam Denton*, and *George Chauncey* (beinge in all eight ꝑsonns, whereof one of them to recorde whatt matters shall passe) shall be a sufficient Counsell to determyne, all cryminall & ciuill causes that shall come before them. Yett forasmuch as *Peter Floris* & Lucas Antheumes haue excused themselues thatt they are not acquaintted wth the losse[1] and Iustice of o^{r} land, therefore they shall be exempted & not required to come to the Councell, when any matter of Iustice is to be handled (for such matters shall be determined by the rest of the Counsell) But yf yt be for any matters on land (or for any thinge wch conc^{r}neth trade[)],

[1] Laws.

then one of the principall Marchant℗ shall be president (either *Peter Floris, Lucas Antheumes* or Robt Browne as they shall thinke fitt amongst themselues, to determyn for that purpose[)]. And the foresaid Counsell shall allowe of the said ꝑson for President, and shall hearken to his ꝓpositions, and take Counsell and resolue vppon the same, as occasion shall be offerred. And all of them aforenamed (exceptinge such as shalbe lefte in the Country as ffactors) to be in like manner of the Counsell wth yo^u^ homeward℗.

17. Item the Cap^tne^: shall haue espetiall care that noe man whatsoeu^r^ (of whatt quallity or Condicon soeu^r^ he be) his owne ꝑson beinge alsoe included herein) shall vse any priuate or secreete trade vpon peine of fforfecture of all thatt shall be found by any man soe doinge, and besides shall endure arbitrary ponishm^t^. And wee requier the principall Marchaunt℗ to haue espetiall care hereof on the land, and to preuent yt soe much as they can or is possible. And the Cap^tne^: and other Marchaunt℗ shall alsoe haue a vigillant eye, & good reguard on the principall Marchaunt℗, to the end the Company may be the better serued [(]whoe haue beene at such excessiue chardges) and reape the benefitt of the trade, discou^r^ed by there expences.

18 Item for better preseruacon of health, o^r^ order is, That from tyme to tyme as the water Caske shall be emptied of fresh water, yt be forthw^th^ againe filled wth salt water, for preuencon of leakeinge and mustines.

19 Item No ꝑson whatsoeu^r^ wch shall succeede by appointm^t^ or otherwise, in any place of comand or office, either in o^r^ shipp, or in any ffactory to be setled, shall take or be allowed the wages of his predecessors. But thoughe he be remoued, preferred, and come to any such place and office, he shall content him selfe wth such wages as wee haue form^r^lie agreed wth him for, w^th^out any further demand or incroatchm^t^ vpon the Company for the same (vnlesse the Gou^r^no^r^ & Comittees of the Company for the tyme beinge, shall be pleased to graunt the same att their retourne, or any other allowance of gratitude or rewarde vpon their desertes[)].

20 Item fforasmuch as wee are c^r^teinelie informed that when twoe of o^r^ principall Marchant℗ *Peter Floris, & Lucas Antheumes* shall come into the Indies, they are lyke to be much hated by the

Dutchmen there, whoe will seeke to doe them wronge and all the villanie they may therefore we expreslie chardge yo^{u} the Captaine (and all others that are in o^{r} shipp & voyadge) to defend and preserue them from wronges, wthall the power and strength you may against any that shall offer to doe them wronge or iniury: Or shall goe aboute to hinder them in their busines, wch might much endanger our voyadge. The lyke Comandem^{t} wee doe expreslie giue vnto all others that are in any of o^{r} shipps, & imployed in o^{r} busines in any places whatsoeu^{r}.

21 Item Wee doe expreslie chardge yo^{u} Capt *Anthony Hippon* not to suffer any Cabbins to be new built or altered, nor ꝑticõns pulled downe in o^{r} shipp (except for enlarginge of the hould, or makeinge better ꝓuision for the bringinge home of o^{r} goodꝭ, and that by the aduise of the Councell, or for the better accom̃odatinge of there fightes[1] if need shall be[)], or changed from the state they nowe are in, att the settinge out of the same, wch in former voyadges haue beene done to the greate hurte of o^{r} Companie, and discontent and hazard of all.

22 Item That noe wages to noe ꝑson whatsoeu^{r} be encreased or giuen contrary to whatt we haue alreadie appointed, but the ꝑties to be referd to be rewarded by the Company att their retourne as they shall be found to haue deserued. Nor ffactors, mrs mates, nor other officers of espetiall place in o^{r} shipp to be remoued wthout consent of such of the Councell as wee haue appointed to aduise wth yo^{u} the Capt^{ne}: vpon all occasions. And not to thinke vpon authoritie sett vppon yo^{u} That the same should serue for any yor ꝑticular respectꝭ, knowinge that a wise man is best tryed when he is putt in authoritie. And that he is accompted of more fortitude that ou^{r}cometh himselfe then he that p^{r}uaileth against a multitude.

23. Item Wee forbid all vnnecessarie expence of shooteinge

[1] "Fights are the wast-cloaths, which hang round about the ship, to hinder men "from being seen in fight; or any place wherein men may cover themselves, & yet "use their arms." (Phillips's *World of Words*, quoted in Nares' *Glossary*.)

"Being neere unto it, they spread their fights, which were of thicke mattes, and "began to defend themselues."—(Hakluyt's account of the Dutch voyage of 1595.)

"Clap on more sails; pursue; up with your fights;
Give fire! She is my prize, or ocean whelm them all!"

Merry Wives of Windsor, Act II., Sc. 2.

of Ordinance, att drinkinge of healthes or att the Captaines or Cape Marchaunt͡e goinge a shore, or such like, for that thereby much powder is wastfullie consumed and o^r shipp and good͡e putt in much hazard and danger: And likewise by yt way is giuen to the Gunners (vnder colour thereof) to embecyll the same.

24. Item for avoiedinge confuc͠on, in the gou^rnm^t of o^r people, And for that nothinge is soe vnc^rteine as the state of mans lyfe, Wee ordeyne that yf God shall call you Captaine *Anthonie Hippon* (duringe this voyadge) out of this world, (wch God defend) then wee Comitt the same gou^rnm^t of o^r shipp and Marriners therein, to such as wee haue nomynated in a wryteinge subscribed by the Gou^rno^r and sealed wth the seale of the Company, putt vp into a Boxe N°: 1. sealed wth hard Waxe & deliu^red to Cap^tne: *Anthony Hippon* to be kept close, and not opened soe longe as the said Capt *Anthonie Hippon* shall liue: Butt yf it shall please God to take him out of this world (that shall succeede Captaine *Anthony Hippon*) Then wee ordeine thatt o^r M^r and Marriners in o^r said shipp shall submit themselues to the gou^rnm^t and Comand of such ꝑson or ꝑsons as wee haue nominated therevnto, in a writeinge sealed vp in a Boxe No: 2. And remaineinge in the Custodie of the said Capt Anthonie Hippon & those that shall succeede him, Prouided alwaies that noe ꝑson whatsoeu^r, wch shall succeede in the foresaid place of gou^rnm^t shall demaund be allowed or expect the wages of his predecessor, but shall content himselfe wth his first wages promysed him by the Companie, or referr him selfe to be considered of accordinge to his desert͡e att his retourne by the Gou^rno^r Deputy and Comittees of the Company for the tyme beinge whoe haue ever respected men that shall deserue well of them.

25. Item for that in many voyadges heretofore the Company haue beene much wronged by the takeinge in of diu^rs ꝑsonns into ther shipps [( ]not interteyned by them) wch haue beene carried into the East Indies, for some mens ꝑticular gaine and proffitt to the greate chardge and hindraunce of the Companie Itt is therefore o^r expresse order & direcc͠on to yo^u Captaine Anthony Hippon, and to all other the Marchant͡e ffacto^rs & Marriners & eu^ry other ꝑson or ꝑsonns, enterteyned & hired to serue in this said voyadge, That neither yo^u nor any of yo^u shall admitte, or suffer to passe

or receiue into o^r said shipp (in this o^r nowe intended voyadge) any ꝑson or ꝑsonns, of whatt degree or quallitie soeu^r, other then such ꝑson or ꝑsons as are interteyned and hired by the Gou^rnor and Comittees of o^r said Companie to passe therein.

26. Item If it should happen (as God forbid) that o^r shipp should haue wante of men or other necessary meanes (wch such longe voyadges are subject vnto) then wee will that you desire to be releeued by any shipp yo^u shall meete (wch is apꝑteyneinge vnto vs, or any other Englishe shipp, whatsoeu^r) And wee hereby straightlie chardge and comand all Generalls, Captaines, Masters, or any other Officers (in any of the shipps whatsoeu^r, apꝑteyneinge to the Companie of Marchaunt℮ of London, tradeinge to the East Indies[)], whome yo^u shall chaunce to meete in any such yor distresse, That they supplie yo^u, ayde and releeue yo^u wth such men, or any other necessaries, wch yo^u shall haue neede of, & they may convenientlie spare yo^u w^thout endaungeringe themselues and their shipps. And that yo^u ꝑforme the like good Offices to any of o^r shipps, that yo^u shall meete dureinge the said voyadge, whome yo^u shall finde distressed.

27 Item If yo^u shall finde in yor trauaile or can convenientlie come by any faire bird℮ or Beast℮ or any other thinges fitt for vs to present to his Matie: or any of the Noble Lord℮, that are o^r honorable freind℮, Wee pray and requier yo^u to be carefull to prouide, and send the same wth espetiall chardge to some carefull man or men that retourne to see them carefully kept, and deliu^red to vs. And w^thall that yf yo^u shall knowe any of the Marriners or others to haue any such, wch yo^u cannot ꝑcure from them for reason, then that yo^u send vs notice thereof, to the end wee may take order therein accordinglie.

28 Item And lastlie to preuent disorders and misbehauiours of the Marriners of this o^r shipp, either in their passadge out or retourne whome[1] vpon o^r owne Coastes, wee ordeyne that yo^u suffer not o^r foresaid shipp, either outward℮ or homewardes, to goe into any of the portes of Faulmouth Plymouth or Darthmouthe (vnlesse necessitie compell yo^u therevnto[)].

And soe haueinge remembred what wee thinke needfull for yor direcc̃on in this voyadge, and relyinge vpon yor dilligence and

[1] Home.

care in ꝑsueinge o^{r} busines to o^{r} most aduantage, Wee comitt yo^{u} to the ꝑteccõn of the Almightie God, whome wee beseech to blesse yor endevo^{rs}, and graunte yo^{u} a safe passadge & safe retourne to all o^{r} Comfortꝭ.

Item Wheareas the stores apꝑteyneinge to eu^{r}y ꝑticular Office are nowe sufficientlie furnished for this voyadge, and an Invoice deliu^{r}ed vnto yo^{u} the Cap^{tne}: of eu^{r}y ꝑticular store: wch heretofore in some of o^{r} former voyadges haue (through the remisnes of o^{r} Comanders[)], bene ymbecilled and appropriated to mens ꝑticular vses. ffor the better preuentinge therefore of the lyke inconueniences hereafter, wee ordeyne and giue yt in chardge vnto yo^{u} Cap^{tne}: *Anthony Hippon*, that yo^{u} cause trewe notice to be taken, and a iust accompt kept of the expence of the Gunners, Carpenters, Boateswaines Stewardes and eu^{r}y such store, both by the purser and some others that yo^{u} shall appointe therevnto. That att yor retourne wee may receiue from yo^{u} a iust accompt of eu^{r}y ꝑticuler to be awnswered accordinge to the Invoice nowe deliu^{r}ed vnto yo^{u}, And howe the same haue beene spent and disposed of.

Anthonie Hippon
Pieter Floris
Lucas Antheumes
Rob̃t Browne
Tho: Essington

locus sigillo.[1]

A Comission[2] graunted by vs the Gou^{r}no^{r} Deputy & Committees for the Company of Marchauntꝭ of London tradeinge to the East Indies to be obserued and kept by *Anthonie Hippon* Cap^{tne}: and *Pieter Floris, Lucas Antheumes* and *Robert Browne* Marchauntꝭ, o^{r} principall

[1] A mistake for "sigilli."

[2] This appears to be a revised commission, substituted for the preceding document, and is probably the authoritative version of the Company's instructions for the voyage. Here again one finds cause to mourn the loss of the Court Minutes for this period.

ffactors together wth Thomas Essington, Symon Euans, *Adam Denton* and *George Chauncey* the rest of o^{r} ffacto^{rs} nowe ymployed in this o^{r} *Seauenth* Voyadge.

1. INPRIMIS Whereas we the Marchaunt℮ abouesaid wth o^{r} greate chardge and trouble haue p^{r}pared a shipp called the *Globe* for a voyadge by God℮ grace in her to be made to the *Bay of Bengalla* & other places in at or aboute the East Indies and haue furnished the same in sufficient and plentifull manner, wth men tackle victualls and all other needfull prouisions fitt for such a voyadge, And haueinge beene ꝑswaded by the good reporte of diuers, and alsoe of an espetiall trust and Confidence wee haue of the integritie, wisdome and resolucõns of o^{r} loueinge freind℮ *Anthonie Hippon, Peter Floris, Lucas Antheumes* and *Robert Browne* doe appointe and authorize the said *Anthony Hippon*, to be o^{r} cheef Capt and Maister duringe the said voyadge and ordeine him to haue the full gou^{r}nm^{t} over the shipp and Marriners, And *Peter Floris, Lucas Antheumes* and *Robert Browne* to be o^{r} principall Marchaunt℮ and ffactors. And haue appointed *Tho: Essington, Symon Euans, Adam Denton, George Chauncey* o^{r} ffactors to be assistaunt to them, Ouer all wch said Marchaunt℮ and ffactors the Captaine shall haue noe Comand nor authoritie, neither by water nor land in any matters conc^{r}ninge trade.

2 Item Thatt all money and Marchandize wch shall be shippt here, by the Gou^{r}nor and Comp: shall be kept by the Captaine he geiueinge a receipt for the same, wch foresaid receipt shall be kept by *Peter Floris, Lucas Antheumes* and *Robert Browne* thereby to demand the said money and good℮ when they shall come to those places where they shall vse the same, and then the same shall be deliu^{r}ed by the Capt vnto them from tyme to tyme duringe the said voyadge.

3 Item To the end that *Peter Floris, Lucas Antheumes* and *Robert Browne* may the better ꝑforme their busines in their trade (the wch wee doe referr vnto their discrecõns [)] Wee doe therefore expreslie chardge yo^{u} *Thomas Essington, Symon Euans, Adam Denton,* and George *Chauncey* to be readie att all tymes to goe either by water or land wheresoeu^{r} o^{r} said principall Mar-

chaunt℮ shall direct you[u] and requier the same for the Companies occasions.

4 Item We will that the Captaine shall cause the boat℮ or Sciffes to be alwaies in a readines, to be ymployed to all such places as o[r] principall Marchaunt℮ shall appointe them, and not to dispose of them any otherwise soe longe as they shall haue occasion to vse them.

5 Item such Marchandize wares and money as the Captaine shall deliu[r] vnto the hand℮ of the principall Marchaunt℮, he shall take a receipt from them there, And such wares and Marchandize as shall be brought into the shipp by the foresaid principall Marchaunt℮ *Peter Floris, Lucas Antheumes* & *Robert Browne* or such as shall succeede in their places beinge Marked w[th] the Companies m[r]ke, they shall take a receipt of the Capt[ne]: for the same, and this shall be done soe often as any good℮ shall be dischardged forth of the shipp or laden into the shipp. And the Captaine to be carefull that the good℮ be well p[r]serued and kept drie, To w[ch] end he shall haue a spetiall care, to looke often tymes vnto the overlopps thatt yt be well kept.

6. Item The principall Marchaunt℮ shall neither doe nor pretend to begynne to doe any thinge (w[ch] is w[th]out the Compasse of their tradeinge) w[th]out the Counsell of the Captaine and other ffactors, whether ytt be in setling any ffactorie, or any contract or agreem[t] to be made w[th] any kinge or Potentate in the Indies, neither shall the Captaine haue any authoritie on the land, to haue any thinge to doe w[th] the trade of Marchandize. But therein whollie wee doe authorize and putt in trust o[r] principall Marchaunt℮ Peter ffloris, Lucas Antheumes and *Robert Browne* to be cheefe Comanders on the Land to the end they may ꝑforme their busines accordinge to their owne invention. And Thomas Essington, Symon Evans, Adam Denton, & George Chauncey shall be w[th] them to assiste them both in keepinge bookes of accompt℮, as alsoe the Cashe. Butt not meete to disburse any money (eyther in the chardges or otherwyse) w[th]out the knowledge and expresse Comandement of the principall Marchaunt℮.

7 Item Itt is expreslie ordered, that by agenerall Consent of you the Captaine Marchaunt℮ ffactors & Marriners some good order be by you[u] taken, and sett downe in writeing, soe soone as

you[u] come to Sea, conc[r]ninge the disposeinge of dead mens goodℓ in the voyadge, either by Comittinge the same by Inuentorie to the ꝑticular keepinge of some men in the shipps & this vpon Conuenient consideracõns for keepinge the same, or by sale of soe much thereof att the mayne maste, as may not exceede a third parte of the buyers wages, for either buyinge or borrowinge to preuent such preiudice to o[r] Company as wee haue felt, by Marriners buyinge soe much as their whole wages came vnto whereby they haue not onlie forsaken o[r] shipps before their dischardge butt alsoe depriued vs of meanes to redresse such wronges as they haue many wayes done vs in the voyadge. Alsoe that there be noe Dealinge by exchaunge betweene ꝑtie and ꝑtie neither money for money, coīmoditie for money, or coīmoditie for coīmoditie outwardℓ nor homewardes, for such exchaunge giues way for them to take and purloine of o[r] goodℓ. ffor preuencõn whereof wee order that neither the Purser, nor any other doe register, witnes, or take knowledge of any such contract by Exchaunge. And noe man to be admitted meanes to bringe goodℓ abourd vpon paine of forfecture to the Company of that wch shall be soe brought in, And yf any ffactor shall happen to die, his bookes accomptℓ and other thinges are to be ordered by the Captaine, and safelie reserued and brought home for England (an Inuentorie first taken thereof and registred in the pursers booke, to bee witnessed by twoe or three others of the Companie[)]. And that eu[r]y Marriner or other in the shipp, doe sett their handℓ or marke to the said orders mentioned in this 7[th] article.

8 Item If the principall Marchauntℓ shall haue occasion to vse 5 or 6 Marriners or more to helpe to watch & keepe the goodℓ on land in their howses, then yo[u] Captaine *Anthonie Hippon* shall vpon there demand lett them haue soe many as they shall need and those to be of the best and trustiest men alsoe.

9 Item To the end that the Company may be the better in all thingℓ iustlie dealt w[th]all, and the true and vpright carriadge of the busines may be made manifest and appeare plainlie The foresaid principall Marchauntℓ *Peter Floris*, *Lucas Antheumes* and Robt Browne shall keepe a iust and true accompt of all that shall be done by way of Marchandizinge And shall doe nothinge

att any tyme w^th^out haueinge the English bookeꝑ[1] or the Cashere by them, And shall informe instruct and showe, them all such knowledge, misterie, or arte apꝑteineinge to their tradeinge as shall be in their power to ꝑforme, And the said ꝑties shall all of them eu^r^y eight dayes (or soe often as possiblie they may) compare the bookes and the Cashe together, to the end that yf any error should be comitted by the one or thother the same might be amended, and the bookes kept in good ballance: Soe that by lïfe or death of any of them the state of the bookes might be found ꝑfect.

10. Item to the end the voyadge be not hindred through want of victualls wee doe ordeine and requier that the Captaine shall not alter the dailie allowance of victualls, w^th^out first haueinge taken Counsell & consent of o^r^ principall Marchaunte whoe shall keepe Counter bookes of all the victualls that are spent, and that shall remaine in *Esse* the better to make their reck[on]inge for their ꝑceedinge in the voyadge. And when yo^u^ shall come vnto the Land then shall the victualls be lockt vp in the shipp and the principall Marchaunte shall prouide fresh victualls from the land the better to lengthen out their store soe much the longer. But yf they cannot prouide any, then yo^u^ may vse the shipps victualls as tyme and occasion shall inforce you.

11 Item forasmuch as we are ꝑswaded of the discretion circumspection and good vnderstandinge of o^r^ principall Marchaunte *Peter Floris, Lucas Antheumes,* and Robt Browne wee doe ordeyne that their opinions & direccons in the busines of trade in Marchandizeinge, be followed w^th^out any controlm^t^, As likewise wee will and requier yo^u^ Captaine *Anthony Hippon* that yo^u^ be alwaies readie to saile to all such landes and portes as the foresaid *Peter Floris* and *Lucas Antheumes* shall direct yo^u^ to saile vnto and there to remayne vntill the said principall Marchaunte *Peter Floris* and *Lucas Antheumes* and Robt Browne shall haue finished there busines, And then from thence to saile to such other places as the said *Peter Floris* and *Lucas Antheumes* shall requier yo^u^ And this shall be soe often by yo^u^ ꝑformed as they shall desire (for therein consisteth the welfare of the whole voyadge[)]. And noe man shall counsaile or resolue to retourne

[1] Book-keeper.

homewardes vntill such tyme as o^r^ said principall m^r^chaunt*e* shall haue fullie finisht there intended trade vpon forfecture of all their wages, and seveare ponishment for the same.

12 Item The ĩres from his Matie: wch wee haue procured vnto the Kinges Princes and Potentates of the Indies,[1] and haue made in the names of o^r^ principall Marchauntes *Peter Floris*, *Lucas Antheumes* and *Robert Browne* together w^th^ *Thomas Essington Symon Euans*, & *Adam Denton* o^r^ factors and deliu^r^ed vnto o^r^ said principall Marchauntes shall be presented by them, in the presence of the rest of o^r^ ffactors, [(]or soe many of o^r^ Englishe Marchant*e* as shall be therevnto appointed) in the name of the kinges Matie: of England, and for the honor of the English Nation, by them to procure such freedome both of Customes and all other thinges as they shall finde to be proffitable for the Companie, and that the Companie may thereby be trewlie informed of whatsoeu^r^ shall be done therein.

13 Item To the end all difficult matters may the better be passed over by good endeuors wee doe appointe a Counsell of eight ꝑsonns whereof Capteine *Anthonie Hippon* to be president (in matters of the shipp or for iustice [)], and *Peter Floris Lucas Antheumes* and Robt Browne wth Thomas Essington *Symon Euans* and *Adam Denton* and George Chauncey being in all eight ꝑsonns, whereof one of them to recorde whatt matters shall passe, shall be a sufficient Counsell to determyn all Cryminall and Cyuell matters that shall come before them yett forasmuch as *Peter Floris* and Lucas Antheumes haue excused them selues that they are not acquainted wth the lawes and iustice of o^r^ land therefore they shall be exempted and not required to come to the Counsell when any matter of Iustice is to be handled (for such matters shall be determyned by the rest of the Counsell) But yf yt be for any matters on land (or for any thinge wch conserneth trade) then one of the principall Marchaunt*e* shall be President either *Peter Floris*, *Lucas Antheumes* or Robt Browne as they shall thinke fitt amongst themselues to determyne for that purpose, And the foresaid Counsell shall allowe of the said ꝑson for president and shall hearken to his propotic̃ons, and take Counsaile, and resolue vpon the same as occasion shall be offerred.

[1] See page 421.

14 Item yf yt should happen that o[r] principall Marchaunte *Peter Floris, Lucas Antheumes* and Robt Browne, should not carrie them selues well in this voyadge, there faultes and misdoeinges shall be written vpp & deliu[r]ed over vnto the Company in England for to be censured by them, butt they shall not be displaced duringe the voyadge.

15. Item the Captaine shall haue aspetiall care that noe man whatsoeu[r], of whatt quallitie or Condicon soeuer he bee (his owne pson beinge alsoe included herein) shall vse any priuate or secreete trade, vpon peine and[1] forfecture of all that shall be found by any man soe doinge, and beside shall endure arbitrary ponishment, And wee requier the principall Marchaunte to haue a spetiall care hereof on the land, and to preuent yt soe much as is possible, And the Captaine and other Marchaunte shall alsoe haue a vigelent Eye & good reguard on the principall Marchaunte to the end the Companie may be the better serued (whoe haue beene att such excessiue chardge) & reape the benefitt of the trade discou[r]ed by their expences.

16 Item fforasmuch as wee are c[r]teinelie enformed, that when twoe of o[r] principall Marchaunte *Peter Floris* & Lucas Antheumes shall come into the Indies they are like to be much hated by the *Dutchmen* there whoe will seeke to doe them wronge and all the villanie they may, therefore wee expreslie chardge yo[u] the Captaine (and all others that are in o[r] shipp and voyadge[)] to defend and preserue them from wronges w[th]all the power and strength yo[u] may against any that shall offer to doe them wronge or iniurie: Or shall goe aboute to hinder them in their busines, w[ch] might much indanger o[r] voyadge, The like Comandem[t] wee doe expreslie giue vnto all others that are in any of o[r] shipps & imployed in o[r] busines in any places whatsoeuer.

17. Item for avoiedinge Confusion in the gou[r]nm[t] of o[r] people, and for that nothinge is soe vncerteine as the state of mans life: Wee ordeine that yf God shall call yo[u] Captaine *Anthonie Hippon* duringe this voyadge, out of the world, (w[ch] God defend) then wee Comitt the gou[r]nment of o[r] shipp & Marriners therin to such as wee haue nominated in a writtinge subscribed by the Gou[r]no[r] & sealed w[th] the seale of the Company putt vp

[1] A mistake for "of."

into a Boxe N^{o}: 1 sealed wth hard waxe & deliu^{r}ed to Captaine Anthonie Hippon to be kept close and not opened, soe longe as the said Captaine Anthony Hippon shall lyue Butt yf yt shall please god to take him out of this world that shall succeede Captaine Anthonie Hippon then wee ordeyne that o^{r} Master and Marriners in o^{r} said shipp shall submitt them selues to the gou^{r}nm^{t} and Comand of such ꝑson or ꝑsons as wee haue nomynated therevnto in a writeinge sealed vp in a Boxe N^{o}: 2 & remayneinge in the Custodie of the said Captaine Anthonie Hippon & those that shall succeede him. Prouided alwayes that noe ꝑson whatsoeu^{r} wch shall succeede in the aforesaid place of gou^{r}nm^{t}, shall demand, be allowed, or expect the wages of his predecessor, butt shall content himselfe wth his first wages promised him by the Companie. Or referr himselfe to be Considered of accordinge to his deserte (att his retourne) by the Gou^{r}no^{r} and Comittees of the Companie for the tyme beinge.

18 Item If yt should happen (as God forbid) that o^{r} shipp should haue waunte of men or other necessarie meanes (wch such longe voyadges are subiect vnto) Then we will that yo^{u} desire to be releeued by any shipp yo^{u} shall meete wch is apꝑteineinge vnto vs, [(]or any other Englishe shipp whatsoeu^{r}) And wee doe hereby straightlie chardge all Generalls Captaines Masters or any other Officers (in any of the shippes whatsoeu^{r} apꝑteineinge to the Company of Marchauntꝭ of London tradeinge to the East Indies[)] whome yo^{u} shall chaunce to meete in any such yor distresse thatt they supplie ayde and releyue yo^{u} wth such men or any other necessaries wch yo^{u} shall haue neede of, and they may conuenientlie spare yo^{u} wthout endaungeringe them selues and their shipps. And that yo^{u} ꝑforme like good office to any of our shipps that yo^{u} shall meete duringe the said voyadge whome yo^{u} shall finde distressed.

19 Item Whereas we haue sent alonge wth yo^{u} one chest of money conteyneinge fower thowsand Ryalls of 8. wch wee intend for a stocke to be lefte at *Bantam* against the tyme that yt shall please God to send o^{r} shippinge thether Wee doe therefore ordeine that o^{r} principall Marchauntꝭ *Peter Floris* Lucas *Antheumes* and Robt Browne shall leaue one or twoe of o^{r} ffactors att *Bantam* [(] whome they by their experience shall finde most

fitt to vndertake the same seruice) together wth the said Cheste of money intended for the foresaid stocke (or the valewe thereof) as alsoe halfe of the proceede wch shall be raysed by the ymploym^t thereof in their said voyadge thither, where o^r said ffactors shall remaine, and make ymploym^t of the said stocke and proceede thereof in such Comodities as by your discretion shall be thought most necessarie to be transported wth our shipping for o^r best aduantage to such places as shall be found conuenient, And the other halfe of the gaine to be for the accompt of the *Globe.*

20. Item yf yo^u shall finde in yor trauaile, or can conuenientlie come by any faire birdes or beastes, or any other thinge fitt for vs to present to his Matie, or any of the noble Lordℯ that are o^r hono^ble freindℯ, Wee pray and requier yo^u to be carefull to prouide, & send the same wth espetiall chardge to some carefull man or men that retourne, to see them carefullie kept and deliu^red to vs. And w^thall yf you shall knowe any of the Marriners or others to haue any such wch yo^u cannot ꝑcure from them for reason then that yo^u send vs notice thereof, to the end we may take order theirein accordinglie.

And soe haueing remembred what wee thinke needfull for yor direccõn in this voyadge, and relyinge vpon yor dilligence and care in pursuing o^r busines to o^r most aduantage Wee comitt yo^u to the ꝑteccõn of the Almightie God, whome wee beseech to blesse yor endevo^rs and graunte yo^u a safe passadge and safe retourne to all o^r comfortes.

Item Whereas wee haue giuen direccõns that one or twoe of o^r ffactors should be lefte at Bantam, whome o^r principall Marchauntℯ *Peter Floris* Lucas Antheumes and Rob̃t Browne by their experience shall finde most fitt for o^r seruice there, vpon further aduise and Consideracõn Wee doe now ordeyne that Thomas *Essington* shall passe from porte to porte wth yo^u dureing the said voyadge, and retourne backe againe wth yo^u in the same shipp into England : And that yo^u take the oportunitie (from the most conuenient place yo^u shall arriue att) to send one or twoe of o^r ffactors in such conuenient shippinge as [yo^u] may procure) to carrie his Ma^tℯ ł̃res vnto the kinge of Iapan, together wth such stocke of Marchandize & Comodities as wee haue appointed o^r said principall Marchauntℯ to prouide for that purpose And yf

you should be driuē to any want of ffactors during this o[r] said voyadge then yo[u] may ymploye the purser or his mate, or both yf occasion require, soe that yo[u] be espetiallie carefull to supply the place of the purser wth some sufficient ꝑson to vndertake that voyadge.

Memorandū It is ordeyned by vs that yf God should take out of this world o[r] loueinge freind Robt Browne, Then wee doe referr y[u] vnto a Boxe N°. 3. to vnderstand o[r] will and pleasure, Whome wee haue appointed to succeede him in place, of o[r] principall ffactor, to be ioyned w[th] Peter ffloris and Lucas Antheumes, o[r] other principall ffactors.

Anthonie Hippon
Peter ffloris.
Lucas Antheumes
Robt Browne
Thomas Essington

Most highe and mightie kinge:[1]

AS there is nothinge w[ch] increaseth more the glory & dignitie of Sou[r]eigne Princes vpon earth then to extend their renowne vnto farr discident Nations, Soe haueing vnderstoode of late yeares from some of o[r] loueinge Subiect℮, that haue traded into diu[r]s Countries neere adioyneinge vnto yo[rs], of the reputation and greatnes of yo[r] power and dominion. Wee haue incourradged o[r] said Subiect℮ to vndertake a voyadge into yo[r] Country, aswell to sollicitt yo[r] freindshipp and Amity w[th] vs, as to enteyne[2] such Comodities of each others Countries as may be most of vse the one to the other, being nothinge doubtfull but such will be yo[r] princelie magnanimity and disposic̃on to imbrace this o[r] desire, and not onlie to receiue o[r] people wth yo[r] accustomed benignitie and favo[r], but

Twoe of this draught are to be written wth Blanckes and ingrossed

[1] These appear to be copies of Royal letters carried out in the *Eighth Voyage* (see page 396, note).

[2] "Enterteyne" seems to be meant.

for their better incourradgmt to afford yor Ryall proteccōn for the setlinge of a ffactorie there, wth such securitie and lib̄tie of Comerce, as shall be most conuenient for the aduancemt of the mutuall proffitt and Comoditie of each others subiectꝭ; Wherein for or parte wee doe willinglie offer or selues & the lib̄tie of or kingdomes and Countries when soeuer any of yor subiectꝭ shall vndertake to haue any communicacōn wth vs. And in the meane tyme, as a pledge of or Royall inclinacōn and desier towardꝭ you, wee haue sent you a small present by our seruant **A. B.** wch we pray you to accept, as an introduccōn to that freindshipp wch we hope will fructifie and encrease to each others Contentmt.

Giuen att or Pallace of Westm̄ the &c.

To the kinge of *Cambaia*

Iames by the grace of Almightie God kinge of greate Brittaine ffraunce and Ireland, defendor of the Christian faith &c: To the highe and mightie Prince the greate kinge of *Cambaia, Emperour* of Mogores &c greetinge

Most highe & mightie Emperour.

WEE can not but expresse vnto you the highe Contentmt wee haue receiued att the kinde reception and interteynemt of or seruant Captaine William Hawkins, and his Company att yor porte of Suratt, where they haue receiued soe many demonstracōns by yor principall Officers and Comanders there, of yor desire to imbrace or loue and freindshipp, and to interteyne a Correspondencie of peaceable trade and Comerce wth or subiectꝭ, as wee can not but thankfullie acknowledge the same, and reciprocallie offer the lyke effectꝭ towardꝭ you and yor people, whensoeur they shall vndertake to haue any Comunicacōn of trade wthin or kingdomes and dominions: Butt wee were sorrie to vnderstand of that vnhappy

accident,[1] wch befell o^{r} Subiectꝭ, in their retourne from yor Coastes towardꝭ their Shipps, by being vnworthilie surprized wthin yor streames by diu^{r}s ffriggettꝭ of the Portingalls of *Goa*, Whoe vniustlie haue taken from them Nyneteene of o^{r} Subiectꝭ besides agreat quantitie of their Marchandize, and detaine them prisonners att *Goa*, vnder this sole pretext, as yf both yor selfe, and yor Countries were assubiected to the Crowne of Spaine, and therefore not lawfull for any other Christian people to trade wth yo^{u}, wch indignitie, thoughe Almightie God hath geuen vs power enoughe to reuenge against them, yett because ytt hath relacōn to yor greate estate, as beinge done wthin the Compasse of yor power and authoritie, wee haue thought good first to represent yt vnto yo^{u}, and to seeke redresse of ytt by yor meanes, then enter into any course of hostilitie in those partes contrary to the peaceable inclination of trade wch o^{r} Subiectꝭ are willinge to interteyne wth all other nations. Notwthstand[ing] such hard successe o^{r} subiectꝭ are noe whitt discourradged from vndertakeinge (as nowe they doe) an other voyadge into yor Countreys, wth three good shipps laden wth such Commodities of o^{r} kingdomes as may be most of vse to yor people, beinge Confident of yor further favo^{r} and ꝑteccōn, wth such ym̄unities and priuiledges for their trade and Com̄erce wth yor people, as may encourradge them more and more to fixe and contynue a firme Correspondencie there, to the encrease of proffitt of each others Subiectꝭ. And for a pledge of o^{r} Royall inclinacōn towardꝭ yo^{u}, wee haue sent yo^{u} a small present by o^{r} seruant 𝔄 𝔅. Generall of this o^{r} voyadge wch I pray yo^{u} to accept in good parte, and to vse him wth all courtesie and respect, as is befittinge the quallitie of his place Giuen att o^{r} Pallace of Westminster the &c.

[1] See page 219, note.

Com̄ander of *Cambaia*

Iames by the grace of Almighty God kinge of greate Brittane ffraunce and Ireland defendor of the Christian faith &c: To the right hono^{ble}: the Cheefe Com̄ander of the greatt Cittie of *Cambaia* greetinge.

WHERE[AS] wee haue vnderstoode from some of o^{r} Subiectꝭ whatt greate Courteseys they haue receiued, and daily doe receaue att yor handꝭ, in their arriuall and settlement of their trade in the greate Cittie of *Cambaia* wee could not omitt att this second voyadge thither, butt to expresse vnto yo^{u} o^{r} thankfull acknowledgm^{t} for the same wth o^{r} constant hope of yor further endevors towardꝭ them, aswell for their future safeguard and protecc̄on in those places, against the violence and malice of any that should attempt to wronge them, as for their better incourradgm^{t} to establishe and increase (as nowe they haue begun alreadie) a firme Correspondencie of trade in those partes; wherein for o^{r} parte, wee will nott omitt any thinge that may tend to the furtheringe of soe greate a good for the aduancm^{t} of o^{r} Subiectꝭ. And as for the iniurie and losse wch o^{r} Subiectꝭ latelie receiued by the Portingalls of Goa (as is well knowne vnto yo^{u}) thoughe wee want noe meanes to reuenge our selues against them, yett because wee would be loth to interrupt the peaceable course of trade in those partes, and for thatt the Iniurie doth alsoe redowne to yo^{u}, as beinge done wthin the limittꝭ of yor Comand: Wee haue thought good first to requier yor peacable intercession for the redresse thereof, before o^{r} Subiectꝭ should attempt any thinge hostilly against them, wherein yo^{u} shall doe a worke worthy of yor selfe, and by wch yo^{u} shall oblige o^{r} people more and more vnto yo^{u}. And for o^{r} good inclinac̄on towardꝭ yo^{u}: wee haue sent yo^{u} a token of o^{r} loue and freindshipp by o^{r} seruaunt 𝔄 𝔅. Generall of this our voyadge. Giuen att o^{r} Pallace of Westminst^{r} the &c:.

To the K: of *Succatora.*

Iames by the grace of Almightie God kinge of greate Brittaine ffraunce and Ireland Defendor of the Christian faith &c: To the highe and Mightie Prince the kinge of *Succatora.*

Most mightie Kinge

HAUEINGE vnderstoode from some of o^{r} loueinge Subiectę that in their course of Nauigac͞on, and traffique into diu^{rs} partes of the East Indies they haue alsoe visitted yor Coastes and Territories where they haue not onelie refreshed them selues of such necessaries as are belongeinge to soe greate a Nauigation, butt haue alsoe receiued the best interteynem^{t} thatt could be expected: Wee hould ytt o^{r} parte to acknowledge the same wth thankes, and to ymbrace yor Amity and freindshipp wthall the respectę of hono^{r} thatt may tend to the establishinge and encreaseinge of the same to o^{r} mutuall contentation and aduancm^{t} of proffitt of each others subiectes: Wherein for o^{r} parte, as wee doe readilie offer o^{r} selues, and any thinge thatt shall be in o^{r} power, soe wee doe expect the lyke effectę from yo^{u} to redound vpon o^{r} Subiectę, in yor good vsage of them, and affourdinge them yor Princelie ffavors and ꝑtecc͞on against such as should goe aboute to harme them. And for a pledge of this o^{r} good inclination towardę yo^{u}, wee haue sent yo^{u} this small Present by o^{r} seruaunt A B. wch wee pray yo^{u} to accept in good parte. Gyuen att our Pallace of Westminster the &c:

To the k: of *Bantam.*

Iames by the grace of God kinge of greate Brittaine ffraunce and Ireland Defendor of the Christian faith &c: To the most Highe and mightie Prince the Kinge of Bantam Greeteinge.

Right highe and mightie Prince.

ITT hath beene noe small contentm^{t} vnto vs, to vnderstand from o^{r} Subiectꝭ retourned from their last voyadge into yor Countreys, both howe favorablie they haue beene vsed by yo^{u}, and yor people, and howe willinge yo^{u} haue beene to interteyne o^{r} loue and freindshipp, both w^{ch}, yo^{u} haue beene Contented to confirme vnto vs, by a Present of fower balls[1] of silke, wch yo^{u} haue sent vnto vs, ffor wch wee cannott but retourne vnto yo^{u}, o^{r} harty thankes wthall the kinde demonstrac͞ons of o^{r} reciprocall desier to encrease o^{r} Amytie and Correspondency wth yo^{u}, as farr as the same may be honorable vnto vs, and ꝑffitable to each others Subiectꝭ; In Confidence whereof, o^{r} Subiectꝭ haueinge vndertaken a newe voyadge into yor Countrie for the reestablishinge of their trade and traffique wth yor Subiectꝭ, wee hope yo^{u} will Contynue vnto them yor accustomed favour, and afford them such liberties and immunities there, as they may be thereby both incourradged in their greate adventures, and secured from oppression or wronge of any that would goe aboute to harme them, And in thankfullnes of theis yor kindnesses to our people, wee haue sent yo^{u} a token by this bearer o^{r} seruant A B Generall of o^{r} present voyadge. Gyven att o^{r} Pallace of Westminster, the .

K. of Tedore.

Iames by the grace of Almightie God kinge of great Brittane, ffraunce and Ireland Defendor of the Christian faith &c: To the most highe and mighty Prince, the kinge of Tedore Greetinge

Most highe and mightie kinge

AS wee haue taken greate contentm^{t} to vnderstand from o^{r} Marchauntꝭ att their retourne from their last voyadge out of yor Country, howe kindlie and favorablie they haue beene interteyned by yo^{u}, and yor people in their peacable trade, Soe wee cannot but reiteratiuely

[1] Bales?

expresse or thankes for the same, wthall the respectꝭ of honor, that can be expected from vs, being ready both to ymbrace your freindshipp and Amity, and to establish a constaunt entercourse of trade and traffique betwixt each others Subiectꝭ, ffor wch purpose our Subiectꝭ haueinge vndertaken a new voyadge into yor Countrey, wee could not butt take occasion to salute you & to pray you to contynue yor favor towardꝭ them, wth such Condicõns of safetie and Imunitie to their ꝑsonns, shipps, and goodꝭ, as they may be both encouraged in their iust and honest course, and protected against any wronge and vyolence of any thatt would goe aboute to harme them. And for a pledge of or princelie disposition towardꝭ you Wee haue sent you a token by our servaunt A B Generall of or Marchauntꝭ present voyadge Gyven att or Pallace of Westm̃ the .

Gouernor of Aden.

Iames by the grace of Almightie God kinge of great Brittane ffraunce and Ireland defendor of the Christian ffaith &c: To the right honorable Lord the Gourno r of the Cittie of Aden Greetinge

Right honorable Lord.

THE entercourse of Amity and freindshipp, wch hath beene theis ma[n]y yeares betweene vs and or Predecessors, and the mightie howse of *Ottoman*, confirmed by soe many demonstracõns of free comerce and liberty of trade through each others kingdomes and domynions, hath incourradged or Marchauntꝭ to frequent alsoe those partes, where you haue chardge, and the rather because they haue latelie vnderstoode thatt twoe of their shipps in their course of Nauigacõn into diurs partes of the East Indies, haue alsoe beene in the mouth of the red Sea, and founde oportunitie of traffique by enterteyneinge each others Comodities, wch hath enduced them nowe to vndertake this voyadge, and prayed our intercession vnto you for them, that they might be favorablie receiued, and enioye

in those partes alsoe such lib̃tie of trade wth safety and good vsage for their ꝑsonns shipps and goodꝭ as they nowe haue and inioye in the hither partꝭ of the Grand Signio^{rs} dominions, wch wee doe not doubt but yo^{u} will be willinge to afford vnto them, and the rather, because they bringe wth them a safe Conduct[1] from the Grand Signior in that behalfe. And of o^{r} good will and inclinacõn towardes yo^{u}, wee haue sent yo^{u} a small token by o^{r} Servaunt 𝔄 𝔅 wch wee pray yo^{u} to accept in good parte. And soe wee Comitt yo^{u} to the proteccõn of the most highe and mightie God, the Creator and preseruer of all thinges. ffrom o^{r} Pallace att Westminster the .

Sabander of Nero.

Iames by the grace of Almightie God kinge of greate Brittaine ffraunce and Ireland defendor of the Christian faith &c: To the right ho^{ble}: the Sabander of *Nero* Greeteinge

Right hono^{ble} Lord.

ALTHOUGHE wee haue heretofore by o^{r} letters vnto yo^{u} expressed our acknowledgm^{t} for the favorable vsadge and interteynem^{t} yo^{u} haue giuen to o^{r} Subiectꝭ in their trade and traffique wthin yor Countreys, yett they haueinge nowe vndertaken alyke voyadge thither againe Wee can not but reiterate o^{r} former acknowledgm^{t} as a matter honorable vnto you, and acceptable to vs: And the rather because wee doe not doubt, but thereby yo^{u} will be more and more induced to afford vnto o^{r} Subiectꝭ such further favour and proteccõn wthall Condicõns of honor and safetie to their ꝑsons, Shipps and goodꝭ, as may incourradge them to contynue their trade and Comerce wth yor people, wherein yo^{u} shall doe a worke worthy of yor selfe, and much aduantagious to the proffitt of each others Subiectꝭ. And for a demonstracõn of o^{r} fauorable inclynation towardꝭ you, and embraceinge of yor loue and freindshipp wee haue sent yo^{u} a token by o^{r} servaunt 𝔄 𝔅 Generall of this o^{r} voyadge: wch wee

[1] See page 434.

pray yo^u^ to accept in good ꝑte, and to honor and respect him accordinge to the quallitie of his place Giuen att o^r^ Pallace of Westminst^r^ this &c :

April 4°: 1611.

A Comission[1] sett downe by vs the Gou^r^no^r^ Deputy and Comittees for the Marchauntℓ of London tradeinge to the East Indies for better direcc͠on of o^r^ loueinge freindℓ Iohn Sairis[2] Captaine and cheefe Comander and Gabriell Towerson[3] Captaine of the Hector o^r^ principall and cheefe Marchauntℓ & others the Marchauntℓ M^rs^ : & Marriners in this o^r^ intended eight Voyadge to the East Indies wch wee humblie beseech Almightie God to prosp̱ wth a happie Conclusion.

1 INPRIMIS Wheares wee the Marchauntℓ abouesaid wth o^r^ greate chardge and trouble haue p^r^pared three shipps (to saye)

The Cloue *Iames ffoster: M^r^ :*
The Hector *Thom: ffuller M^r^ :*
The Thomas *Rich: Dawes M^r^ :*

for avoyadge by godℓ grace in them to be made to the East Indies, haue furnished the same sufficientlie and in plentifull manner wth men tackle and all other needfull ꝓuisions for such a voyadge. Of an espetiall trust & Confidence wee haue of the integritie, wisdome, and resoluc͠on of o^r^ loueinge freind Iohn Sairis gen̄ doe appointe and authorize him cheefe Capt & Comander to goe in the Cloue, & to Comand all o^r^ said shipps & in the men in them, haueinge ꝓcured him sufficient authoritie from o^r^ sou^r^eigne Lord the kinges Matie : for that purpose[4]: Not

[1] For the *Eighth Voyage* under Saris, especially memorable for the opening up of trade with Japan, and the establishment of a factory in that country.

[2] See page 92, note. [3] See page 33, note.

[4] There is a minute of this royal commission in the Public Record Office, under date 30th March, 1611 (see *Cal. of State Papers, E. Indies*, 1513-1616, p. 215). No copy of it is known; but it doubtless followed on the lines of previous commissions, of which there are several examples in the present volume.

doubtinge butt thatt he will soe behaue himselfe in his chardge as he may be both feared and loued: And that he will wthall his dilligence and endevors prosecute our designes & labour to bringe this costlie voyadge to a happie end.

2 Item wee doe appointe and ordeyne or loueinge freind Gabriell Towerson geñ to be Captaine of the Hector and men, & to take his passadge in the said shipp And Tempest Peacocke to be cheefe Marchaunte in the Thomas: All wch Comanders Marchaunte ffactors Masters & Marriners we trust will soe carrie them selues wth due respect one to an other, & obedience to eury one of their Superiors as loue and kindnes may be continued on all sides, and all whollie applie their witte and endeuors for the due pformance of this voyadge in the best manner they may for the good of the Companie

3 Item and for that religeous gournmt doth best binde men to pforme their duties it is principally to be cared for: That prayers be said eury morninge and eueninge in eury shipp & the whole company called therevnto wth dilligent Eyes that none be wantinge soe as all may ioyntlie wth reuerence and humilitie pray vnto Almightie God to blesse and preserue them from all dangers in this longe and tedious voyadge: ffor the better pformance whereof wee haue deliured to each of the pursers a Bible wherein is conteyned the booke of comon prayer.

4 Item That noe blasphemeinge of God, swereinge, thefte, drunkennes, or otherlike disorders be vsed but that the same be seurlie ponished And thatt noe diceinge or other vnlawfull games be admitted for that most coñonly the same is the beginninge of quarrellinge, and many tymes occasion of murther, a iust puocation of Gode wrath & vengeaunce, from wch the Lord deliur vs all. Therefore ytt shall be needfull that such orders be sett vpp & published in eury shipp, and such ponishmt appointed for such offences as may giue notice to eury man whatt he ought to avoied.

5 Item that spetiall order be giuen that noe liquor be spilt in the ballast of the shipps, or filthines be left wthin bourde wch in heate breedeth noysome smells & infeccõn, but thereby a dilligent care be had to keepe the ourlopps & other places of the shipps cleane and sweete wch is a notable preseruation of health: Wherein the Officers of or shipps in former voyadges haue beene

much to be blamed, to the greate spoile of o^{r} shipps & breedinge of sicknes, wch wee trust in this will be carefullie reguarded.

6 Item Thatt the cheefe Captaine & Comander & Capt of the Hector, and Cape Marchaunt of the Thomas & M^{rs} of the shipps doe take due notice by Inventorie from eu^{r}y Officer of the shipps before they deꝑte out of the riuer of Theames of the seu^{r}all ꝑuisions deliu^{r}ed into each shipp. And soe soone as they shall come to Sea & not before to settle the same in the chardge of the Officers appointed for thatt purpose in each shipp, vntill wch tyme all stores are to remaine vnder locke & key, & that the same be entred in the pursers bookes, vnderwritten by the said Officers, to thend that such thinges as are ꝑuided for their needfull supplies may not be ymbecilled & that nothinge thereof of any valewe be ymployed for any vse whatsoeu^{r} wthout a warrant vnder the hand of the cheefe Captaine and Comander Captaine of the Hector, Cape Marchaunt of the Thomas or cheefe Marchaunt of each shipp respectiuelie directed to the Officer that hath such chardge, wch warrant shall serue for their dischardge in their accomptes, ells otherwise to be awnsweared for the same wth their wages. And eu^{r}y, such warrant to be registred in the pursers booke, the day of the monneth and the occasion And this vpon forfecture of soe much out of the pursers wages yf it be throughe his neglecte, this order to be obserued in each shipp as aforesaid, that att the retourne of the said shipps a true accompt may be yealded, howe and what manner the same may be vsed and ymployed.

7 Item to thend that all difficult matters may be the better passed over wth good aduise and discrec̃on : wee doe appointe a Counsell to be called together vpon any spetiall occasions of trade & Marchandizeinge (viz) Iohn Sayris cheefe Captaine and Comander, Gabriell Towerson Captaine of the Hector, Tempest Peacocke[1] Comander of the Thomas, Richard Cockes,[2] Ambrose

[1] Tempest Peacock was left at the newly-established factory at Firando, in Japan, as next in command to Cocks and Adams. In March, 1614, he set out on a trading expedition to Cochin China, and was there murdered by the natives not long after his arrival.

[2] Richard Cocks held charge of the English factory at Firando from its establishment in 1613 till its withdrawal ten years later, and died on his way home, 24th March, 1624. His *Diary* whilst in Japan has been published by the Hakluyt Society, under the editorship of Mr. E. Maunde Thompson, of the British Museum.

Armeway, Richard Wickham,[1] Edward Cambden,[2] and George Ball,[3] whereof one of them to record whatt matters shall passe, all wch are to aduise and giue their best Counsell and direccõn in ꝑsecuteinge such courses for trade as may be conceiued most convenient for the good of the voyadge. And for all Sea-fareing causes whatsoeur wee doe likewise appointe a Councell to be called together (viz) Iohn Sairis cheefe Capt & Comander Gabriell Towerson Capt of the Hector. Thomas ffuller, Iames ffoster, Richard Dawes, Mathew Porter, Thomas Barwicke, Iohn Elmer, and Thomas Iones.

8. Item that the cheefe Captaine & Comander together wth the rest of the Counsell appointed for that purpose doe sett downe and deliur such instruccõns as may serue for the Comanders of thother shipps to keepe Company together for the better releefe and Comforte one of an other, And yf separacõn of them should happen by constrainte of weather or tempest that they shall agree of a course before hand & of a place whether to applie them selues to finde the rest.

9 Item that contynueall & true Iournalls be kept of eury daies Nauigacõn dureinge the whole voyadge, wth a true relacõn of eury materiall thinge that passeth & this not onlie to be done by the cheefe Capt & Comander, Captaine of the Hector but alsoe by the Marchaunte pursers, Mrs & Mrs mates & that some of the

[1] Richard Wickham went out first to the Indies as a factor in the *Union* in the *Fourth Voyage*. At Zanzibar he was captured by the natives and handed over to the Portuguese. By them he was carried to Goa, where he met the traveller François Pyrard. In 1610 Wickham was sent, with other European captives, to Portugal, whence he made his way back to England in time to offer his services for this *Eighth Voyage*. Saris left him with Cocks at the factory at Firando; and his letter-book during a portion of his service there (1614-16) is still preserved among the India Office Records. Wickham left Japan in 1618 for Bantam, whence he proceeded to Jacatra, where he died not long after, worth, it was said, a large sum of money, accumulated in the course of his trading.

[2] Edward Camden was left by Capt. Saris at Bantam as chief factor for the goods of the *Eighth Voyage*, and died there, probably some time in 1613.

[3] George Ball was left by Saris at Bantam, where in March, 1617, he succeeded Barkeley as President. Loud complaints were soon made as to his excessive private trading, and in 1621 he was brought home a prisoner, and an action entered against him in the Star Chamber for 70,000*l*. The proceedings, however, dragged on very slowly, and the case had not been finally settled when he died (about the beginning of 1625).

principalls in each shipp may conferr their obseruac̃ons together att conuenient tymes, once or twise eu^{r}y weeke att the least to the end yf any haue forgotten whatt an other hath obserued the same may be added, soe as a ꝑfect discourse may be sett downe to be presented to the Gou^{r}nor & Company when God shall graunte them a safe retourne to be kept for better direcc̃on of posteritie.

10 Item Wee Comend vnto yo^{u} the cheefe Capt: & Comander principallie, & to the rest of the Comanders & Masters as a spetiall care, that att eu^{r}y place where yo^{u} shall water & refresh yor men yo^{u} call the Companies together, giueinge them expresse warninge to behaue them selues peaceablie and Ciuillie towardꝭ the people of those places the better to ꝑcure their freindshipp towardꝭ the supplie of yor wantes, & the like in eu^{r}y place where yo^{u} shall come leaste the losse of yor liues & ou^{r}throwe of o^{r} voyadge pay for their disorders besidꝭ an vtter discreditt to o^{r} Nation. And that yor men doe vse a discreete meane in eateinge of fruites and fresh victualls least they surfett and fall into diseases whereof wee haue had too much experience. And the better to restraine vnrulie appetites, wee hould ytt conuenient that the cheefe Captaine & Comander appointe some of the discreetest in the Companies to ꝑcure & ꝑuide in such places whatt yo^{u} want, & the same beinge bought & brought to the cheefe Captaine and Comander by him to be reꝑted to each Companie whatt may be needfull & that none presume to doe the contrarie vpon paine of seveare ponishm^{t}. And that espetiall care be had to releeue the sicke wth such fresh meates & other comfortable thinges wherewth wee haue furnished each shipp for that purpose, & not otherwise to be spent in Ryatt & banquettinge & soe the sicke ꝑishe for want of thinges needfull. Where espetiall care must be had that when those that are the most weake ꝑsonns come to fresh Victualls after longe abstinence att Sea they be not sufferred in any wise to eate of those fresh meatꝭ wch shall be gotten on shore but that yo^{u} cause such fresh victualls as yo^{u} can prouide to be boyled in pottage, till yt be sodden in peeces & the cheefe substance lefte in the broth & giue them of that broth onelie to feede vpon moderatelie for twoe or three daies till their stomackꝭ be somewhatt setled & their bodies Comforted.

11 Item and whereas the straglinge of yor men in any place where they shall arriue or come, may not onlie proue the losse of such as shall soe straggle notwthstandinge they should be armed, but alsoe thereby much hurte might happen to the residue of o^{r} people. It is ordered that yo^{u} doe not ꝑmitt any man in any place to straggle or goe from the rest of yor Companies vnlesse vpon spetiall occasion yo^{u} giue warrant therevnto vpon paine of seueare ponishm^{t} to be inflicted vpon such as shall doe to the Contrarie, still doubtinge the worste and standinge vpon your guard wthout giueinge any trust to the people of the place, haueing in remembrance the ou^{r}sight of the Comanders of the Vnion to their owne destruction & ou^{r}throwe of the voyadge.[1]

12 Item yt is expreslie ordered by a gen^{r}all Consent of yo^{u} the cheefe Captaine and Comander, Capt of the Hector, Cape Marchaunt of the Thomas Marchauntꝭ ffactors M^{rs} & Marriners some good order be by yo^{u} taken and sett downe in writeinge soe soone as yo^{u} come to Sea conc^{r}ninge the disposeinge of dead mens goodꝭ in the voyadge, either by comittinge the same by Inventorie to the ꝑticular keepinge of some men in the shipps, and this vpon some convenient Consideracõn for keepinge the same or by saile of soe much thereof att the maine maste as may not exceede a third ꝑte of the buyers wages, for either buyinge or borrowinge to prevent such preiudice to o^{r} Companie as wee haue felt by Mariners buyinge soe much as their whole wages come vnto, whereby they haue not onlie forsaken o^{r} shipps before their dischardge, butt alsoe depriued vs of meanes to redresse such wrongꝭ as they haue many waies done vs in the voyadge. And to order what sallary shall be giuen the purser for keepinge accompt thereof to avoied question and Controu^{r}sie hereafter, Alsoe that there be noe dealeinge by exchange betwixt ꝑtie and ꝑtie neither money for money, Comoditie for money Comoditie for Comoditie neither outwardꝭ or homewardꝭ, for such exchange giues way for them to bringe more then they should, or take or purloyne of o^{r} goodꝭ they ought nott: ffor preuencõn whereof Wee order that neither the purser, or any other doe register witnes, or take knowledge of any such contract by exchaunge.

[1] The reference is to the murder of Rowles and his companions in Madagascar (see page 228, note).

And noe man to be admitted meanes to bringe goodẹ abourd in any the shipps more then their Chest appointed them will conteyne, and the same goodẹ to be ꝑticularlie entred in the pursers booke vpon paine of forfecture to the Company, that wch shall not be entred, euʳy Marriner & other of the said shipps to sett their handẹ or marke to the said orders mentioned in this 12 article. And yf any ffactor shall happen to die, his goodẹ, bookes accomptẹ and other thinges are to be ordered of the cheefe Capt & Comander & Capt of the Hector & Cape Marchaunte of the *Thomas* to be safelie reserued and brought home for England, an Inventorie first taken thereof & registred in the pursers booke, to be witnessed by twoe or three other of the Companie.

13 Item for better pʳseruacõn of health oʳ order is that from tyme to tyme as the water Caske shall be emptied of fresh water, ytt be forthwth againe filled wth salt water for preuencon of leakidge & mustines.

14. Item in yoʳ passadge betweene the Island of St Lawrence & the Coaste of *Sophola* beware of the flattẹ of Iudea[1] vpon wch flattẹ it is said thatt the Current doth stronglie run, whereby many shipps haue ꝑished, therefore wth greate care to be avoieded.

15 Item for the fittest place for refreshinge whether att *Saldania* or att the Bay of St Augustine in St Lawrence Island, wee referr the same to yoʳ discretions to doe therein as occasion may vrdge, still fixinge yoʳ thoughtẹ and resolucõns to arriue att the Barr of Suratt by thend of Septemƀ next accordinge to oʳ designes, wch is the maine and principall scope of this oʳ voyadge, wth this further aduise that wheresoeuʳ yoᵘ shall water yoᵘ make noe longer staye then necessitie shall enforce, to thend yoᵘ may haue some oportunitie for refreshmᵗ att *Succatora* there to buy some *Alloes Sacatrina* to the quantitie of fower Tonns, where we pray yoᵘ take notice that in the third voyadge *William Kealeinge* bought there twentie fower hundredweight att xx Ryalls of eight the hundred pound wch is 104li of oʳˢ.

16 Item wee desire that rather yoᵘ touch att Succatora for that wee hope yoᵘ shall meete wth Guzarattẹ att that place, from whome yoᵘ may receiue some intelligence whether *William*

[1] See page 118, note.

Hawkins & the rest of o^{r} ffactors lefte att Suratt out of the Hector, are liueinge or not, as alsoe of the state of Sr Henrie Middleton, & of those shipps thatt went wth him, & in whatt state o^{r} busines there standeth, whereby yo^{u} may the better there gou^{r}ne yor selues for ꝑformance of o^{r} desires : Butt yf the time of the Monsone be soe farr spent that yo^{u} cannot arriue att the Barr of Suratt by thend of Septemƀ or Middle of Octoƀ next att the farthest, then wee will yo^{u} to take the first oportunitie either to saile to Aden or Mocha alls Mochowe wthin the mouth of the red Sea, aboute some tenn leagues distant from Aden as wee vnderstand. Att wch porte of Mocha wee haue herd that one of the shipps in the fourth voyadge hath traded and where wee doubt not you may sell Cloth, leade, Iron, Tynn quicksiluer for money or gould for that wee thinke Comodities will be too deare in that place consideringe o^{r} purpose that yo^{u} goe to Suratt, except yo^{u} may buy Cloues Maces or Nutmeggꝭ att a reasonable rate wch are said to be good Comodities att Suratt as well as here in England. In this place yo^{u} must spend the time till oportunitie doe serue to goe to Suratt wch will not be till towardꝭ the end of August followinge, soe as you may arriue there by the end of Septemƀ wch we pray yo^{u} to endevor by all possible meanes Butt stayinge att Aden or Mocha haue espetiall care that yor men giue noe offence to the people there, still keepinge good watch & standinge vpon yor guard, and that out of any danger of any Castle, forte, or Gallies to preuent mischeefe

17 Item being arriued att Suratt We desier yo^{u} vse the best meanes yo^{u} can presentlie to vnderstand the estate of William Hawkins and the rest of o^{r} people there, as alsoe whatt hath beene done by Sr Hen : Middleton for the setlinge of a c^{r}teine and safe trade there. And heareinge thatt all is well then either to send vp yor longe boate in & wth Tobias Cockes & some others whome yo^{u} shall thinke fitt, or finde some meanes to cause some of the ffactors there to come abourd yo^{u}, either William ffinche or some others of whome take due obseruacõn of the estate of the Countrie, howe they haue beene accepted of by the kinge, howe intreated by the people, whatt priuiledges they haue gott, what Comodities of ours are there requested, what they haue of their Countrie Comodities vpon their handꝭ to be laden, acquainte

them alsoe whatt Comodities you[u] haue brought & the quantities, & takeinge knowledge of their worth there, As alsoe whatt Comodities are there presentlie to be had and att what prices aswell fittinge for England as Priaman Bantam, Banda & the Molloccoes & whether the same may be had wth speede as you may take hould of the Monsone to goe into those ꝑtes, What forces the Enemies are of, howe readie the Guzaratt℮ are to helpe o[r] Nation, & of all other needfull intelligences, by whome (yf yo[u] be incourradged) wee wishe yo[u] to send in the Thomas & in her Tempest Peacocke o[r] ffactor w[th] such Comodities as may be most vendible w[th]all speede, giueinge them warninge to be readie to w[th]stand any Enemies & keepe good watch to preuent any mischeefe of fire or otherwise, w[ch] lett them be assured will be practised against them.

18. Item for that we haue ꝓuided as yo[u] knowe and laden in theis shipps sundrie Comodities of good value principallie for that place, as leade, Tynn, sword blad℮, peeces, Cloth, kersies and some other thinges accordinge to an Invoice herew[th] deliu[r]ed yo[u]. Wee hould yt convenient that as many of the same as yo[u] shall thinke fitt may be laden in such fryggott℮ as can be ꝓuided for that purpose & the same sent vp to Suratt. Wee pray yo[u] to Consult and take good aduise for the deliu[r]y of his Ma[ties]: ĺres nowe sent, whatt present℮ are to be deliu[r]ed, to whome, by whome, & in what manner, the same to be done w[th] what speede and dilligence that shall be requisite, consideringe the shortnes of the tyme in keepinge the Monson for attaineinge yo[r] other portes for w[ch] present℮ wee haue sent in the Cloue as apꝑeth in the Invoice: Out of w[ch] yo[u] are to take for quantitie & Coullor whatt shall be thought needfull for that purpose, the rest to be sould for o[r] Companies benefitt As alsoe wee haue sent in the same shipp 160[oz] ¾ ounzes of guilt plate together wth peeces out of w[ch] yf yo[u] thinke requisitt some alsoe may be giuen for present℮ accordinge to aduise of m[r] Hawkins m[r] ffinche & the rest. If any thinge be presented to the kinge Prince or greate Potentate it is to be done as yo[u] knowe wth state and comlines. ffor present℮ for meaner ꝑsonns wee wishe yo[u] to chuse out amonge o[r] Clothes such Colors as may be acceptable vnto them for vestes. And for the better ꝑformance of this busines & accompanyinge o[r] cheefe

ffactors wee leaue yt to yor discretion wth the aduise of the rest of the Counsell to appointe such as you shall thinke fitt, and to leaue there soe many & such for ffactors as thoccasions in yor discretions shall necessarilie requier.

19 Item the busines aforesaid beinge done Consideracōn is to be had for the deliuringe & dispatche of or shipps & yf you shall finde sufficient meanes either by the helpe of stocke formrlie lefte in the Countrie or by the sale of such Marchaundize as you shall now carrie wth you, to lade all the three shipps wth such Comodities as may there be had fittinge to be retourned for England, wee will you to take that oportunitie to fraight them all and lett them be retourned as aforesaid: Or yf meanes may be had for the dispatch of twoe then that the Hector and Thomas be sent for England vnder the Comand of Gabriell Towerson Capt of the Hector in the ladeinge of wch, or but one of them you are to obserue this a genrall order that the goodꝭ of eury voyadge may be mrked and nombred seurally and soe expressed in yor Cargasons, and accomptꝭ that the goodꝭ of each voyadge may be knowne by them selues, for that they doe not concrne the selfe same Adventurers And hereof therefore you are to be very carefull to preuent wronges in ladeinge of goodꝭ. Wee note theis as spetiall Comodities wch wee desier (viz) Indico of the very beste aswell flatt as round soe much as you may wth or moneys well compasse, other Comodities alsoe beinge to be had, but lett yor care be extraordinary to buy the very best that may be had for money, aswell Indico as of all other Comodities, Callicoes white tasselled bookꝭ good quantitie & some of the courser sortes, Callicoes light colored alsoe as Carnatian,[1] light Watchettꝭ, strawe Colors & other light Colors, butt none of them

[1] All along the well-wooded narrow Konkan Coast, and through all the wide extended fertile plains of Southern Gujerat, the Hindu women of Western India, of the higher castes, have, or had in my time, 22 to 37 years ago, a marked partiality for robes (*saris*) of a single coloured text, contrasted with a pretext (*παρυφή*, *clavus*) of the complementary, or, indeed, any other harmonising colour; the Hindu weavers being able to bring any two colours, even pea-green and purple, and scarlet and purple, into perfect unison. In the Southern Konkan particularly, I found that, besides robes of Cardinal white bordered with gold (*χρυσοπάρυφος*, *chrysoclavus*), the most commonly worn were of marigold or saffron yellow (*κροκωτός*) edged with Mazarine blue and buff, or primrose yellow edged with pale blue, both universally favourite combinations, and of pea green with purple (*παραλουργής*), and blazing

course or sad colors in any manner, in theis you may ymploye to the valewe of both soe much as yor stocke will affoorde, reguardinge to haue some whatt of other Comodities Cotten yearne of the finest well requested Tonns, greene ginger of the best and lardgest suchas that of Battecala Twoe Tonns, red Saunders wood aboute fyue Tonns Turbith . . . . Tonns Opium ffiue hundred weight. Beniamyn tenn Tonns, Salt Armoniacke not much, Olibanū (yf good) not much, Lignum Alloes asmuch as you can gett soe yt exceede not fiue Tonns, Wormeseede cleansed asmuchas possiblie may be from the chaffe & dust, by sifteinge & wynnowinge for that the dust & chaffe is here worth nothinge, to the quantitie of ffortie kintolls, Gumlacke as much as you can gett of the best and second sorte but none of the worst att any

scarlet (κοκκοβαφής) with pistachio green, and lastly of carnation, with a pretext of either apple green, interthreaded with gold, or deep blue separated from the text of carnation by a strip of gold, a chromatic concordance of exquisite refinement. And beyond doubt it was the great charm of these Indian stuffs that first made carnation a fashionable colour in England. It takes its English name from "the Carnation" [in German *das Incarnat*], or Double Clove Pink, otherwise known as "the Whitsuntide [in German *Pfingsten*] Gilliflower," the *Dianthus* [Διὸς ἄνθος, flos Jovis] *Caryophyllus* of botanists ; and this name was not given to it on account of its colour, but is corrupted from its earlier English name of "Coronation," given to it on account of the use of its flowers for festive chaplets. Thus Spenser in *The Shepheardes Calender*, April, 134-145 :—

"Bring hither the Pincke [*Dianthus hortensis*] and purple Cullambine
With Gelliflowres [single 'Clove Pink'];
Bring CORONATIONS and Sops in wine [scented 'Clove Pink']
Worne of Paramoures;
Strowe me the ground with Daffadowndillies,
And Cowslips, and Kingcups, and loved Lillies:
The pretie Pawnce [' Pansy'];
And the Chevisaunce [*Cheiranthus Cheiri*, the 'Wallflower'],
Shall match with the fayre floure Delice [Fleur de Lys (*i.e.* Louis VII.), the 'Iris']."

But already the proper English name of the double *Dianthus Caryophyllus* was being contracted to "Carnation." Lyte, in his *Niewe Herbal*, 1578, of the tautologically named "Clove Gillofers," writes, B. ii., ch. 7 :—"The greatest and bravest sort of them are called *Coronations* or *Cornations*"; and, again, Shakespeare in *Love's Labour Lost* (1592), III., 1 :—"Pray you sir, how much *Carnation* ribbon may a man buy for a remuneration": that is, as I take it, "ribbon (*red* strips or fillets of silk) for chaplets," or other "head gear"; although even at this early stage of the decay of the name it may have acquired the meaning of red, from its erroneous association with, and, indeed, express derivation from, the Italian *incarnadino* and *incarnatino* (Florio, 1598), literally, "raw-meat-coloured," or "incarnadined"; a word which, until it obtained a poetical significance through its erroneous association with "the Coronation,"

hand, Sugers of the best some fewe Chestes for a triall, silke of persia (yf to be had) a good quantitie Theis Comodities being bought and packed wth m^{r}chauntlike care to preuent damage nombred & marked accordinge to former direccõn both of the inside and outside for better satisfaccõn of the Company in the difference of the sorte and contente, the rather for that the outmost marke may be by longe lieinge at Sea worne out, the same to be laden & the shipps to be dispatched away wthall expedicõn for England. And nowe as a first busines in dispatch to be remembred wee wishe yo^{u} to prouide such Callicoes and other Comodities as may be fittinge for Priaman Bantam Banda & the Molloccoes, & the same being orderlie packed to be shipped wthall speede att yor discrecõns for those places wch wth Rialls of 8

could never with any propriety be applied to the carnation *saris* formerly, and I hope still, woven by the weavers, and worn by the women, of Ahmedabad, and Surat, and Ratnagheri. Equally erroneous is the accepted lexicographical derivation of the name, "Garden Pink," of *Dianthus hortensis*, from its pinked or jagged edges. Until the Garden Pink became a familiar flower in this country, pinked work was known as pounced, *i.e.* punched, work. Thus in *The Persones Tale* Chaucer writes of "pounsed and dagged clothing"; and evidently "the Garden Pink" gave its name not only to its characteristic colour, and to the cant words "pink" a stab, and "pink" in the sense of acme (*i.e.* "flower, bloom"), as in the phrase used by Shakespeare in *Romeo and Juliet*, IV., 2:—"The very *pink* of courtesy," but also to the method of ornamenting any textile fabric by notching its edges, and piercing it over with eyelet-holes; a word corrupted from *œillet*, the French name of the Pink-worts generally, and which reappears in the English name, "Sweet *Willi*-am," of *Dianthus barbatus;* a flower much esteemed, writes Gerarde, in 1597, "to deck up the bosoms of the beautiful, and garlands and crowns for pleasure." In short, the English word pink, in its primary, and all its secondary meanings, is but a corruption from the Greek word Πεντηκοστή, the Harvest Festival held by the Jews on the "Fiftieth" day after their Passover, and identified by us with Whitsunday [Dominica in Albis], the first annual festival adopted by the Christian Church; and "the Garden Pink" is therefore nothing but "the Whitsuntide flower" [cp. German *Pfingstrose*, "the Peony"]. Chaucer is the first, so far as I know, to use the term in his description of the wife of the carpenter of Oxford, in *The Miller's Tale*, l. 82:—

"Sche was a primerole, and a *piggesneyghe*."

Some commentators explain the word as meaning that she was pig's-eyed; while others, more sympathetically, but also quite wrongly, as a corruption of "Pansy"; but the word is really Pfingsten-eye [cp. Daisy, in Old English Daieseyghe, *i.e.* Eye of Day], the Eye of Whitsuntide; which, from the usual time of their flowering, is a most appropriate name for almost any European species of *Dianthus*. What Chaucer means is that the carpenter's young wife was sweet as a Primrose, and fair and rosy as a Garden Pink, in all the beauty of its full Whitsuntide bloom.

that wee wishe you to receiue for[1] ymploymt att Suratt, as alsoe the Iron wee now send, wth lead, & bales wth Cloth prouided for Bantam the said shipp to take her first oportunitie to saile for Priaman together wth thatt shipp of the other twoe not dispatched for England.

20 Item being arriued att Priaman to make there sale of soe much of yor Iron Callicoes & Pintadoes as you shall finde fittinge, soe much for gould as you may & the rest for large pepp, wherein haue espetiall care to buie none greene for breach in weight, but such as shall be drie and cleane from dust to the quantitie as you shall thinke fittinge and some Tenn Tonns of Beniamyn, theis Comodities to be weyghed by yor owne waightes into yor shipp, & the purser to keepe due notice of the same wth such of the ffactors as shall be appointed for that purpose, that they may be able to giue vs a good accompt thereof. In execution of this busines take this for aduise that you make showe to be gone from thence wth a purpose to buy noe pepp, for that when they pceaue you purpose to depte they will offer you pepp att much lower rate then otherwise. Therefore yt is fitt to seeme vnwillinge to buie, & sometymes to make refusall will not be amisse, besides make shewe that you haue but fewe Callicoes or other Comodities to sell the better to giue them edge to buie. In pformance of this busines remember still yor purpose to goe for Bantam & Banda that you slipp not the oportunitie of the Monson. And soe wth whatt you haue there taken in, & restinge in the shipp for Bantam, there dischardge both Iron, leade, Callicoes, & Cloth &c: prepared for that place, for a stocke to puide Lamkin[2] silke of the finest and whitest, but noe Canton silke att any hand wth what other thinges you shall hould needfull against you retourne from Banda, whether wee wishe you to make all possible hast takeing wth you such ffactors to leaue there as in yor Iudgmt shall be thought meete. And for stocke of the Rialls before mentioned

[1] This should evidently be "reserve from," as on page 338. The whole passage seems to have been copied with a few alterations from the corresponding paragraph in the Commission for the *Sixth Voyage;* hence, probably, the further blunder at the end of the paragraph, where it is implied that only one ship would be sent home from Surat, whereas just before it is stated that, if possible, all three, or two out of the three, were to be laden there, and despatched for England.

[2] See page 286.

what yoᵘ thinke requisite, and such China stuffℓ and dishes as you may learne att Bantam to be fittinge for the place.

21. Item being arriued at Banda present such guiftes to the Gouʳnoʳ or Savander there as in yoʳ discretion shall seeme fittinge & there prouide accordinge to your discretions of Nutmeggℓ of the best and soundest that may be gotten freed from dust and Rumps all that may be, remembringe that the same will not be worth the freight and chardges. Alsoe Maces the largest and brightest thatt may be gotten, but none that is darke colored, red maces wᶜʰ are called feminine Maces & heare little worth. ffor accomplishinge hereof as alsoe for to leaue stocke convenient there for ꝓuision for a future voyadge, keepe in yoʳ shipp soe much money & Callicoes as you may deeme sufficient. And yf being arriued att Banda yoᵘ hould yt possible & finde yt convenient to send to the Molloccoes whilest the Nutmeggℓ and Maces are ꝓuideinge to seeke for Cloues, and haueinge gotteñ to yoʳ Content therein, to retourne to Banda there to take in the Mace and Nutmeggℓ & wᵗʰ speede to retourne to Bantam leaueinge a convenient numƀ of ffactors and stocke as shall be needfull at Banda as aforesaid. And beinge retourned to Bantam & haueinge brought a true ꝑticuler of whatt is lefte at Banda vnder the handℓ of the ffactors there, then to take in such silkes & other thingℓ as shall in yoʳ absence be ꝓuided there for London. Where (haueinge setled the busines and ffactors in good order & taken a ꝑticular relacõn of oʳ accomptℓ and Comodities there lefte, the Coppies whereof to be signed by oʳ ffactors and to be brought alonge wᵗʰ yoᵘ, and order giuen by yoᵘ to keepe accompt of euʳy voyadge by yt selfe, and soe of the retournes[1] of euʳy voyadge may haue their right as they consiste of diuʳsitie of Aduenturers, [)] Then in Godℓ name wᵗʰall due speede to retourne for England. And haueinge thus farr ꝓceeded in a direct course wee hould yt fitt againe to looke backe to the barr att Suratt and there soe[2] Consider yf thinges fall out contrary to expectacõn that neither oʳ people should be there in safetie, nor the place fitt for oʳ trade, nor yett incourradgmᵗ

[1] Some words have been omitted here; the gap may be supplied from the corresponding passage in the commission for the *Sixth Voyage* (see page 340), which is followed almost word for word.

[2] To?

to pursue the same any farther. In reguard of the Comodities ꝑuided fitt for the seruice of thatt place and *Aden*, & not els where wthin or knowledge, or expresse order is that vpon notice of the premisses you forthwth wth the Monson retourne for Aden or Moccha in the red Sea, yf in yor passadge to Suratt you haue not visitted the same & done what might be done for the vent of or Comodities, and there to trie for dispatch and vent of or said Marchandize, wch beinge effected accordinge to our Desires yf possiblie you may be fitted by the Junckꝭ arriueinge there from diurs portes out of the Indies wth Marchandize fittinge for England to lade either one or twoe or all of or shipps wth the same goodꝭ brought thither as namelie smooth pepꝑ, druggꝭ of all sortꝭ fittinge for this place, Indico of the best sorte, Nutmeggꝭ, maces, Synamon, Callicoes, Beniamyn, Olibanū, Mirr, Opium, red Saunders, Lignum Alloes, & such like, & the shipp or shipps soe laden wth speede to direct their course for England. And yf any of the shipps remaine vnladen then wth such Callicoes as you can buie of the Iunckes fittinge for *Priaman* Bantam Banda or the Molloccoes to saile directlie for Pryaman & there to pursue trade & from thence further as aforesaid as in yor discretion shall seeme best.

22 Item wee thinke yt not amisse further to aduise you that findinge faile of trade at Suratt you endevor whilest you are there, to inuite the Guzarattꝭ wth such Comodities as you looke for, to repaire to the portꝭ of *Delisha* or Tamarie att the Island of Succotara where you may agree to deale wth them for the same, wch yf you doe, you and they alsoe shall saue much Customes you shall pay in other portes to the Gournor thereof, Itt is to be vnderstoode thatt yf noe trade be to be had att Suratt there shall be noe cause to settle any ffactors there, In such case wee appointe all or ffactors now sent to ꝓceede wth you to Aden or Mocha, or to such other place as you shall thinke fitt to direct yor course for benefitt of trade And finding any such place as may be beneficiall to or Company aswell for vent of Cloth and other our English Marchandizes as for Comodities of those Countries fittinge for this wee referr to yor discrecõn the setlinge of or ffactorie there, and the appointemt of any of or ffactors to recide there wth such stocke as in yor Iudgmt may seeme

Competent to defray their chardge & make ꝓuision of Comodities wch that Countrie may yeald against the arriuall of a second supplie: Butt findinge noe such place, & ꝓceedinge to Bantam or order is thatt the ymploymt of or shipps for ꝑformance of their ladeinge bee att yor direccõn to procure sufficient ladeinge for the Hector & Thomas of such Comodities as shall be most fitt for sale in England & to speede them away thither vnder the conduct & Comand of Capt Towerson as was said before for Suratt. In the search of wch trade you are to vnderstand that att Makassa an island neare *Celebres* there is greete store of Rice wch beinge carryed to Banda will yeald three for one, att wch Island there may be had 100 Tonns of Nutmeggꝭ & Mace as is informed.

23. Item the Hector and Thomas beinge fraighted & sent for England then wee wishe you Capt Iohn Sairis to ꝓceede wth the Cloue, & wthall possible speede thatt you may endevor yor course for Iapan, haueinge before att Bantam or ells where dilligently aduised inquired & conferred wth or ffactors, or any other the best meanes you may attaine vnto the knowledge whereby to informe yor selfe for or concrninge or intended voyadge to Iapan, and to ꝓcure in any of those ꝑtꝭ (yf you may[)] some skilfull pilate experienced in those Coastes, and take him alonge wth you, directinge yor course from thence to Iapan, neglectinge noe tyme butt takeinge the benefitt and aduantage of those Wyndꝭ and Monsons as you shall most crteinlie & trulie informe yor selues, & learne that they blowe in their seasons. And in all theis yor passadges & traffiques or desire is that you should informe yor selfe of safe harbors and places of repaire for vent of or English Comodities either aboute the porte of Dabull neare Suratt, or the riuer Syndus & Laree, or the Cape of Rosalgate or any Coaste of the ꝑtꝭ of Arabia where you may haue kinde interteynemt of[1] freedome from Enimies, to wch places you may assay to inuite Mores, Guzarattꝭ or any other people tradeinge in those ꝑtꝭ wth such Marchandize as may be fitt for this Countrey, and be rendred for such as wee shall send att such times as you may suppose or shippinge may wth Conveniencie arriue there. Amongst wch portꝭ wee hould the postꝭ aforesaid in the Island of Succatora

[1] Or?

&c: to be most fittest aswell for the nearnes of the place as saueing of Customes & the highe way for the Guzaratte & other tradeinge into the red Sea att their ordinarie seasons.

24. Item and being arriued att Iapan wee desier you to vse the best meanes to search out the most convenient and safest harbour to trade in, where you may sell Cloth leade, Iron & such other of or Natiue Comodities as by yor obseruacon you shall finde most vendible there, wherein you are to be very spetially carefull both whatt Colors and sortes of Cloth, and for whatt quantitie will there be vented, as alsoe to giue greate chardge that yor men offer noe offence to the people there, still keepinge good watch and standinge vpon yor guard & that out of the danger of any Castle fforte or other Gallies or friggotte to prevent any mischeefe that may happen, & to consult and take good aduise wth the rest of the ffactors & espetiallie wth William Adams[1] an English man nowe resident there, and in greate favor wth the kinge as wee heare to desire his opinion whatt course should be held both for the deliury of his Mate tres nowe sent, whatt presente are to geuen, to whome, by whome & in whatt manner the same is to be done wthall dilligence that shall be requisitt, obserueing carefully the tymes in keepinge the Monsons in all places wheare you shall trade for attayneinge to other portes as occasion shall be offered And for presennte wee haue sent wth you as appeareth in the Invoice.

25 Item and as you shall receiue incourradgmt in the progresse of yor affaires by the pswasion of the foresaid William Adams grounded vpon his longe experience in those partes & shall finde that ytt may be wth saffetie, as beinge ptected vnder the authoritie of the kinge of the Country, & may proue Comodious and beneficiall for the good of the Company. Then

[1] The story of William Adams, who lived in Japan for twenty years, and was "in "such favor with two emperors of Japan as never was any Christian," has often been told, and may be found admirably summarized in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He sailed in 1598 as pilot to a Dutch fleet bound for the Indies, but his vessel got separated from her consorts, and with difficulty reached the coast of Japan in April, 1600. Adams was sent up to the court, where he speedily succeeded in gaining much influence over the emperor. In October 1611, he placed himself in communication with the Company's factors at Bantam; but his story was already known through the Dutch, and, as we see, the Company at home had some months

wth the Counsell of Richard Cockes and such principall men as are in yor shipp, yo^{u} may aduise resolue and leaue such ffactors as yo^{u} in yor discrecõn shall thinke fitt wth such a quantitie of goodꝭ as shall be by yo^{u} thought convenient for the setlinge of a factorie & mainteyneing of a trade att Iapan together wth soe many and such sufficient Marriners to attend them and guard o^{r} said goodꝭ as yo^{u} shall finde to be needfull & necessarie & to ꝑuide them a good and stronge howse for the better saffetie of such goodꝭ as shall be lefte there in chardge wth them. Butt yf yo^{u} shall finde att Iapan [no] convenient meanes of ventinge o^{r} Comodities or the retourne of proffitt not to awnsweare the length and difficultie of the voyadge, or the dangers in ꝑsecuteinge this trade to exceede wth out ꝑporcõn the advantage to be hoped, then yo^{u} shall frame yor course & seeke vent for such Comodities as yo^{u} haue either att the Molloccoes, *Philippinas* or any other places thereaboutꝭ, whether you may be incourradged by any ꝑbable hopes of peaceable and ꝑfittable tradeinge. And yf att yor deꝑture from Iapan the said William Adams shall ymportune yo^{u} to transporte him into his natiue Countrie to visitt his wife and Children, Wee pray yo^{u} then to accomodate him wth as convenient a Cabben as yo^{u} may and all other necessaries wch yor shipp may afford him.

26 Item wee ordeine that such of the ffactors as shall remaine in the shipps at the buyinge of any goodꝭ shall be ymployed to weighe the same, pay the money & keepe due accompte thereof, & nothinge be done either in buyinge or sellinge any goodꝭ wthout their priuitie that they may write the same into their bookꝭ, and be able to giue vs reason for what is bought or sould, and to acquainte the Capt eu^{r}y night wth what they haue done that day. That the purser be continuallie abourd the shipp

before made arrangements to open up trade with Japan. On Saris's arrival, in June, 1613, Adams accompanied him to court, and assisted in procuring the necessary privileges. He did not, however, avail himself of the opportunity of returning home in the *Clove*, but took service with the Company as second in command of the factory established by Saris at Firando. He made several voyages to Siam and other places in the Company's interests, and even after he had quitted their service in 1616, he made himself useful in many ways to his countrymen. He died on the 16th May, 1620, and was buried on one of the hills overlooking Yedo harbour, where his grave may still be seen.

& take true notice of all thinges whatsoeur are brought into the shipps or carried out, & to enter the same in his booke as hee will awnsweare ytt wth the losse of his wages And you the Capt to giue the purser stricte chardge in this behalfe, & that the pursers booke and the ffactors shall then be compared together, soe thatt yt may appeare whether all that hath beene bought, hath beene receiued into the shipp, & there weyed aswell as on the shore, notice to be taken what is wantinge, & inquirie what is become thereof, and the same accomptę for whatt hath beene then done att Iapan, the Molloccoes or ellswhere be registred in or bookę att Bantam.

27 Item for that voyadges of this Condicõn & charge cannot admitt any priuate trade, but whatsoeur is atchiued by this generall and greate charge should be applied to the benefitt of the whole Companie. Therefore wee sett ytt downe as an absolute order that noe man neither Captaines, Marchauntę, Masters or Marriners or any other ꝑson or ꝑsons whatsoeur in theis or shipps doe trade or deale for any Marchandize whatsoeur wch wee shall prouide for or retourne, or any other sorte of Marchandize more then will be conteyned wthin his ꝑporcioned Chest of allowaunce for this voyadge and the same to be registred in the pursers booke to thend that yf any ꝑson die vpon the voyadge, their freindę and Executors may knowe whatt they had, & take notice what is become of the same, houldinge ytt most vnreasonable that those that liue by or ymploymt should deale wth the Comodities wch wee labor to gett to produce meanes for paymt of their wages, and defrayinge of the chardges of this or greate and costlie voyadge.

28 Item wee order that noe ꝑson whatsoeur wch shall succeede by appointment other otherwise in any place of Comand or office either in or shipps or in any of or ffactories shall take or be allowed the wages of his predecessor, butt thoughe he be remoued, preferred, or come to any such place or office he shall content himselfe wth such wages as wee haue formrlie agreed wth him for, wthout any further demand or incroatchmt vpon the Company for the same, butt the ꝑties to be referred to be rewarded by the Company att their retourne as they shall be found to haue deserued, Nor ffactors Masters, Mates nor other Officers of espetiall place in or shipps to be remoued wthout

consent of such of the Counsell as wee haue appointed to aduise wth yo^u^ the Captaine vpon all such occasions, and not to thinke vpon authoritie sett vpon yo^u^ that the same should serue for any yor ꝑticuler respectƐ, knowinge that a wise man is best tried when he is putt in authoritie, and that he is accompted of more fortitude that ou^r^com̄eth himselfe then he that preuaileth against a multitude.

29 Item wee doe expreslie chardge yo^u^ the Captaines & Comanders not to suffer any Cabbins to be new built or altered, nor ꝑticions pulled downe, in o^r^ shipps, nor chandged from the state they nowe are in, att the settinge out of the same, except for inlardgeinge of the houldƐ or makeinge better prouision for the bringinge home of o^r^ goodƐ, and that by the aduice of the Counsell, or for the better accomodateinge of their fightƐ[1] yf neede shall be.

30 Item forasmuch as the tymes are very dangerous throughe piraces wch doe dailie increase and abound in all partes vpon the Seas both att Saldania & ells where, wee doe chardge yo^u^ therefore to take espetiall care that dilligent & contynuall watch be kept abourd to preuent all suddaine inuasion & not to giue light Creditt to the faire speeches & pretences of any straungers either English or others.

31 Item wee forbid all vnnecessary expences of shooteinge of Ordinance att drinkinge of healthes or att the Captaines or cape MarchauntƐ goeinge a shore or such like for that thereby much powder is wastfully consumed and o^r^ goodƐ and shipps putt in much hazard and danger, and likewise by yt way is giuen to the Gunners vnder color thereof to ymbecill the same.

32 Item for auoidinge confuc̄on in the Gou^r^nm^t^ of o^r^ people & for that nothinge is soe vnc^r^teine as the estate of mans life Wee ordeine that yf God shall call yo^u^ Captaine Iohn Sairis (wch God defend) & that before the sendinge away of the Hector then that o^r^ loueinge freind Gabriell Towerson shall succeede you and exercise yor chardge and after his decease m^r^: Rich: CockƐ whoe wee trust will soe behaue them selues therein as shall awnswere the good opinion wee haue conceiued of them. Butt yf the said Capt Gabriell Towerson and Richard CockƐ be deꝑted out of this

[1] See page 376, note.

world or be sent away vpon any other occasion, then we comitt the gou^{r}nm^{t} of o^{r} shipps and Marriners therein, to such as wee haue nomynated in a wryting subscribed by the gou^{r}nor and sealed wth the seale of the Comp: putt vp in a boxe N^{o}: 1. sealed wth hard waxe & deliu^{r}ed to Captaine Iohn Sairis to be kept close and not openned soe longe as the said Capt Iohn Sairis & Capt Gabriell Towerson, or either of them shall liue, or their shipps continue together. Prouided alwaies that noe ꝑson whatsoeu^{r} wch shall succeede in the foresaid place of gou^{r}nm^{t}, or any other place or office, shall demand be allowed or expect the wages of his predecessor but shall content himselfe wth his first wages promysed him by the Company or referr him selfe to be considered of accordinge to his desertꝭ att his retourne by the Gou^{r}nor Deputy & Comittees of the Company for the tyme beinge, whoe haue ever respected men that shall deserue well of them.

33. Item and for that in sundrie voyadges heretofore the Company haue beene much wronged by the Generalls Captaines and Masters of their shipps in takeinge diu^{r}s ꝑsons into the same shipps & carrying them alonge wth them in the said voyadge to the East Indies for their ꝑticuler gaine and proffitt & haue lefte the same ꝑties amonge o^{r} Companies ffacto^{rs} in the Indies where they haue driuen and handled for them selues and their freindꝭ a ꝑticular trade to the greate chardge and hindrance of o^{r} Company & haue practised wth o^{r} ffactors there to deceiue vs, & to convey sundry of the richest comodities of those ꝑtes to their priuate vses. Itt is therefore o^{r} expresse order and direccōn to yo^{u} Captaine Iohn Sairis, Captaine Gabriell Towerson & Tempest Peacocke, and to all other the Marchauntꝭ ffactors Masters pursers & Marriners & eu^{r}y other ꝑson or ꝑsonns interteyned and hired to serue in this said voyadge, that neither yo^{u}, or any of yo^{u} shall admitt or suffer to passe in, or receiue into any of o^{r} said shipps in this o^{r} nowe intended voyadge any ꝑson or ꝑsons of whatt degree or qualitie soeu^{r} other then such ꝑson or ꝑsons as are interteyned and hired by the Gou^{r}nor & Comittees of o^{r} said Company to passe therein & mentioned in the pursers booke.

34 Item yf yo^{u} shall finde in yor trauells (or can convenientlie come by[)] any faire birdꝭ or beastꝭ or any other rare thinge fitt

for vs to present to his Matie: or any of the noble Lordꝭ that are o^{r} honorable freindꝭ, Wee pray and requier yo^{u} all to be carefull to prouide & send the same wth espetiall charge to some carefull man or men that retourne to see them carefullie kept & deliu^{r}ed to vs: And wthall yf yo^{u} shall knowe any Marriners or others to haue any such, that yo^{u} cannot ꝑcure from them for reason then that yo^{u} send vs notice thereof to thend wee may take order therein accordinglie.

35 Item in respect of the dangers o^{r} men haue form^{r}lie run into by vndertakinge their voyadges out of the Indies att vnseasonable times, therefore wee chardge yo^{u} all expreslie that att what places soeu^{r} the shipps shall be laden yo^{u} be carefull presentlie to take the right Monsones in eu^{r}y place & not to beate vp & downe, but rather to attend the true seasonns: & haue yt spetially in remembrance that the portingalles make choise of the fine of Ianuarie & prime of ffebruarie to beginne their voyadge from those partꝭ, wch tyme will bringe yo^{u} vpon o^{r} Coastes either in Maye or Iune: And att wch tyme the weather is seasonable here in theis partes whereas by former wofull experience wee haue found the could att their retourne to be the ou^{r}throwe of o^{r} people.

36 Item whereas wee haue giuen o^{r} direccõns in former articles for the ꝑcuringe of trade att Suratt Bantam, the Molloccoes Iapan or els where: yett notwthstandinge wee leaue yt to the discrecõn & best iudgm^{t} of our cheefe Captaine and Comander for the tyme beinge wth the rest of the Counsell appointed for that purpose, to take the oportunitie either of theis or any other places where by informacõn yo^{u} may receiue the best hopes of trade in any partꝭ of the Indies.

37. Item yf yo^{u} shall learne by true informacõn that yo^{u} may haue safe passadge vp to Goga wee suppose yt will proue as beneficiall to shape yor course directlie thither, as to putt ou^{r} the barr to Suratt for that the Comodities of Cambaia are brought downe as plentifully to Goga as to Suratt: Butt herein as before wee referr yo^{u} to further aduice & to the due Consideracõn thereof as yo^{u} shall be incourradged att yor comeinge into those partes.

38. Item whereas the stores apꝑteyneinge to eu^{r}y ꝑticuler office, are nowe sufficientlie furnished for this voyadge & Invoices

deliu^{r}ed vnto the Captaines and Comanders in eu^{r}y shipp of eu^{r}y ꝑticular store, wch heretofore in some of o^{r} former voyadges haue throughe the remisnes of some of o^{r} Comanders bene ymbecilled & appropriated to mens ꝑticular vses : ffor the better preuentinge therefore of the like inconveniences hereafter : wee ordeine and giue ytt in chardge vnto yo^{u} all the Captaines & Comanders of o^{r} shipps thatt yo^{u} cause true notice to be taken & a iust accompt kept of the expence of the Gunners Carpenters Boatsonns Stewardꝭ and eu^{r}y such store both by the purser & some others that yo^{u} shall appointe therevnto That att yor retourne wee may receiue from you a iust accompt of eu^{r}y ꝑticuler to be awnsweared accordinge to the Invoice nowe deliu^{r}ed vnto yo^{u} : And howe the same haue beene spent & disposed of.

39 Item forasmuch as o^{r} ffactors att Bantam & elswhere haue heretofore receiued and paid them selues such wages as haue beene due vnto them for their sallarie, & ymployed there in priuate tradeinge for their owne ꝑticuler gaine wth the greate neglect of o^{rs}, appropriateinge all the riche and pretious thingꝭ to their owne vse and nothinge for the Company butt pepꝑ and grosse Comodities wee doe therefore resolue and sett yt downe for an expresse order hereafter to be obserued That no ffactor or other ymployed in o^{r} said seruice shall be ꝑmitted to receiue, or take in those partes such wages as shall growe due vnto them, [( ]but onlie soe much as shall be necessarie for their apꝑell) & such vses accomptinge & alloweinge after the rate of v^{s} for eu^{r}y Ryall of eight. And the rest of their wages to be paid in England to such as they shall consigne them vnto, accordinge to the agreem^{t} made wth eu^{r}y one in ꝑticuler att the tyme of their interteynem^{t}.

40 Item to prevent disorders & misbehauio^{rs} of the Marriners of theis o^{r} shipps, either in their passadge out, or retourne home, vpon o^{r} Coastes : wee ordeyne that yo^{u} suffer none of o^{r} foresaid shipps either outwardꝭ or homewardꝭ to goe into any of the portꝭ of *ffalmouth*, *Plimouth*, or *Darthmouth* vnlesse greate necessitie compell yo^{u} therevnto.

And lastlie, haueinge remembred whatt wee thinke needfull for yor direccōn in this voyadge and relyinge vpon yor dilligence & care in pursueinge our busines to o^{r} most advantage, Wee

comitt yo^{u} to the proteccõn of the Almightie God whome wee beseech to blesse yor endevo^{rs} & graunte yo^{u} a safe passadge & safe retourne to all o^{r} Comfortes.

41 Item for the better comforte and recreation of such of o^{r} ffactors as are recideinge in the Indies: wee haue sent the workę of that worthie seruant of Christe M^{r}: W^{m}: Perkins to enstruct their myndę & feede their soules wth thatt heauenlie foode of the knowledge of the trueth of Godę word, & the booke of Martirs in twoe voleumes, as alsoe Mr Hackluitę Voyadgę to recreate their spirittę wth varietie of historie: wch bookes wee desier to haue lefte wth m^{r} Lawrence ffemell o^{r} cheefe Agent or some other o^{r} cheefe ffactor in those partes where most of o^{r} people shall be resident to remaine there for the Comforte and vses before mentioned, where wee requier that they should haue espetiall care to sanctifie the Sabboth daye, & to reade vpon those devyne bookę for the instruccõn and comforte of all those that shall be there remayninge.[1]

42 Item whereas by wofull experience wee found a mayne error comitted by the Commanders, & all others that were in the Assention, for that seinge her in the extremitie of dangers vpon her casteinge, they did not vse such present and speedie meanes for the safeguard of such moneys as was remayneinge in her, ffor

[1] The works of the Rev. William Perkins (1558-1602), Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, whose name is now almost forgotten, enjoyed at this time considerable popularity both in England and abroad, and he was regarded as one of the ablest exponents of the Calvinism then so much in vogue. His collected works were four times reprinted during the ten years succeeding his death. The "Book of Martyrs" is of course John Foxe's "Actes and Monuments," of which a sixth edition had just appeared.

Had Femell survived, and succeeded in establishing a permanent factory at Surat, as the Company hoped, these books would doubtless have formed the nucleus of a library there, such as was actually established at a later date. That the Company's agents were not indifferent to literature, and especially to theological literature, is shewn by the following extract from a letter addressed to the Court by the President (Sir George Oxinden) and Council of Surat, under date 25th September, 1666:—

"Your Library here is carefully looked after and preserved, and wee could wish it "were better furnished with Bookes. It consists for the maine of English Treatises "and is almost totally disfurnisht of the workes of the Ancient Writers; wee finde "not of all the ffathers workes, any more then the Epistles of Clemens Romanus "published by Mr Patrick Young. here are the Epistles of Ignatius. The workes "of Epiphanius & St Augustine, with some few imperfect peeces of other ffathers,

prevencõn therefore of the like error & maine oversight hereafter, wee aduise & expreslie giue ytt in chardge, that yf ytt should please God to send the like Crosse vpon any of theis o^{r} shipps wch he for his mercies sake, wthhould, that then in the like extremitie The Comanders Officers & all others doe vse their best care skill and power, to convaye away to land all such Chestes of money wch shall then be restinge or remayneinge in the said shipps by there boatę or for want of such Conveyance, to boye ytt into the seas, that afterwardę some better meanes may be ꝑcured for recou^{r}y and safeguard thereof.

43 Item wee requier yo^{u} that you send vs a ꝑticular Invoice of eu^{r}y shipps Cargason by the rest of the shipps, And [of] that yo^{u} leaue on gen^{r}all Cargason att Bantam to be sent by the next shipps thatt shall come from thence, that thereby the Company may be satisfied, whatt goodę you haue sent yf ought should happen to the other shipps, (then well) wch God forbid. And therefore faile yo^{u} not in any wise, as you respect vs & o^{r} loue.

Iohn Sayris ⊕
Gabriell Towerson ⊕

"but belonging to a private Library. Our desire is, y^{t} you would be pleased to "furnish ye Library with a supply of some of the Ancient Writers, and if you shall "thinke it good with these, or some part of them y^{t} follow.

"Bibliotheca veterum Patrum, Hieronymi opera
"Justini Martyris opera Gregorij magni opera
"Tertulliani opera Clementij Alexandrini
"Ambrosij opera opera, ex editione heasij

"And because wee have not any thing in ye Library of the Ancient Councells, wee "could wish for the Collection of them by Binnius; unto w^{ch}, if you please to add a "booke entitled Pugio fidei, Authore Raymundo Martini, ordinis Cecistrensis, with "the Corpus Juris Canonici, wee shall thankfully receive them; as being Bookes "here very usefull. There are in your Library 6 volumes fairely bound in blew "Turkey Leather and gilded on the Leaves, the gift of Thomas Rich, Esqr, containing "the holy Bible with its severall ancient versions, into the orientall Languages. Wee "are now given to understand y^{t} there is a Lexicon printed in two volumes designed "as a helpe for the easier attainment of the said Languages, Our request is y^{t} you "will be pleased to send us y^{t} Lexicon, whereby the booke will be perfected, & that "Bible rendered aboundantly more usefull then at present it is." (*O. C.* 3185.)

The lres caryed by ye Dutchmē[1]

IAMES by the grace of Almightie God, kinge of greate Brittaine ffraunce and Ireland defendor of the Christian faith: To the To the highe and mightie kinge the kinge of Tedore &c: greetinge.

To the kinge of Tedore.

The good treatm^{t} wch o^{r} Subiectꝭ haue from tyme to tyme receiued in their trade wthin yor Countreys (of wch they haue not ceast to make the best relacōn wthall due acknowledgm^{t} of yor benigne & favorable dispotition towardꝭ them) hath incourradged them againe, to make an other voyadge thither, by occasion whereof wee hould ytt not ymꝑtenent but to expresse o^{r} gratious acceptaunce of yor loue & Amity shewed to o^{r} said Subiectꝭ, & to intreate the Contynuance thereof, towardꝭ all others of o^{rs} as shall from tyme to tyme resorte vnto yo^{u}; and more ꝑticularlie to recomend vnto yo^{u} the bearers hereof *Peter Flores Lucas* Antheumes *Robert Browne* and others, whoe nowe wth o^{r} good likeinge and ꝑmission doe repaire vnto yo^{u} in the good shipp called the Globe, Not doubting but as the effectꝭ of their Comerce cannot but redound to the good and aduancem^{t} of yor Countrey and people soe yo^{u} will afford them yor Royall ꝑteccōn wthall the respectꝭ of Courtesie and freindshipp wch wee will be readie to affoord towardꝭ any of yo^{rs} yf they shall arriue into any of o^{r} Territories. And soe wee pray Almightie God to prosꝑ yo^{u} and to make yo^{u} victorious against yor Enemies. ffrom o^{r} Royall Pallace att Westminster this.

IAMES by the grace of Almightie God kinge of greate Brittaine ffraunce and Ireland defender of the Christian faith &c: As there is nothinge wch Increaseth more the glorie and dignitie of Sou^{r}eigne

[1] *i.e.* Floris and Antheumis in the *Seventh Voyage* (see page 363, note). The ships of the *Seventh* and *Eighth Voyages* started within a few months of one another. Hence, probably, the confusion in the present volume between the papers of the two expeditions.

Princes vpon earth then to extend their renowne vnto farr dissident Nations, Soe haueing vnderstoode of late yeares from some of o^{r} loueinge subiecte, that haue traded into diu^{r}s Countries neare adioyneinge vnto yo^{rs} of the reputacōn & greatnes of yor power and dominion, wee haue incourradged o^{r} said Subiecte to vndertake a voyadge into yor Countrey, aswell to solicitt yor freindshipp and amity wth vs, as to enterchaundge such Comodities of each others Countreys, as may be most of vse the one to the other, beinge nothinge doubtfull, but such will be yor Princelie magnanimitie and disposition as to be ready to embrace this o^{r} desier, & not onlie to receaue o^{r} people wth yor accustomed benignitie and favo^{r}, butt for their better incourradgem^{t}, to afford them yor Ryall proteccōn for the setlinge of a ffactory there, wth such securitie & libtie of Comerce as shall be most convenient for the aduancm^{t} of the mutuall proffitt and Comodities of each others Subiecte; Wherein for o^{r} parte wee doe willingly offer o^{r} selfe & the libtie of o^{r} kingdomes and Countries, whensoeu^{r} any of yor subiecte shall vndertake to haue cōmunication wth vs. And soe wee pray vnto Almightie God to blesse and prosp yo^{u}, and make yo^{u} victorious against yor Enemies. ffrom o^{r} Pallace at Westminster this of Ianuary in the eight yeare of o^{r} Reigne of greate Brittaine ffraunce & Ireland.[1]

A letter to all princes, gou^{r}no^{rs}, &c in the East Indies for the secure trade of the Marchauntes

IAMES[2] by the grace of Almightie God kinge of greate Brittaine ffraunce and Ireland, defendor of the Christian faithe &c: to the highe and mightie Prince the Emperour of Iapan &c: greetinge. Most highe and mightie Prince As there is nothinge wch increaseth more the glorie and dignitie of Sou^{r}eigne Princes vpon earth, then to extend their renowne vnto farr discident Nations; Soe haueing vnderstoode of late yeares from

To the Empero^{r} of Iapan.

[1] 1610/11.

[2] This letter seems to be wrongly placed, and is probably the one carried out by Captain Saris in the *Eighth Voyage*. The Royal letter to the "kinge" of Japan, commending the *Seventh Voyage* to his favour, is given later on (page 426).

some of or loueinge Subiect℮ that haue traded into diurs Countries neere adioyneinge vnto yors, of the reputacõn and greatnes of yor power & dominion: Wee haue incourradged or said subiect℮ to vndertake a Voyadge into yor Countrey, aswell to solicitt yor freindshipp and Amity wth vs, as to enterchange such Comodities of each others Countreys as may be most of vse the one to the other, beinge nothinge doubtfull, but such will be your princelie magnanimitie and disposition as to be readie to ymbrace this or desier, & not onlie to receiue or people wth yor accustomed benignitie and favor, butt for their better encouradgmt, to affourd them yor Royall ꝑteccõn for the setlinge of a ffactorie there, wth such securitie and lib̃tie of Comerce, as shall be most convenient for the aduancemt of the mutuall proffitt and Comoditie of each others Subiect℮; Wherein for or parte, wee doe willinglie offer or selues and the lib̃tie of or kingdomes and Countres whensoeur any of yor Subiect℮ shall vndertake to haue comunicacõn wth vs. And soe wee pray Almightie God to blesse and prosꝑ you, and to make you victorious against your Enemies: ffrom or Pallace at Westminster, this of Ianuary in the Eight yeare of or Reigne of Greate Brittaine ffraunce and Ireland.

IAMES by the grace of Almightie God kinge of greate Brittaine ffraunce and Ireland defendor of the Christian faith &c: To the highe and mightie Prynce the kinge of Bantam &c: Greetinge. The good treatmt wch our Subiect℮ haue receiued in your Countreis, as yt incourradgeth them to continue their trade and entercourse wth yor people, soe yt giueth vs occasion more and more to ymbrace yor freindshipp, and to offer the like reciprocasion from vs toward℮ any of yors, that will happelie vndertake soe longe a voyadge hetherward℮. In the meane time, theis or subiect℮ resortinge vnto you in their good shipp called the Cloue,[1] We haue thought good to recomend them vnto yor

To the kinge of Bantam

[1] The *Clove*, which was Saris's ship in the *Eighth Voyage*, seems to have been mentioned here in error for the *Globe*. The letter to the King of Bantam carried out by Captain Saris has already been given on page 393.

fauorable saueguard and ꝓteccōn, to the end they may enioye the same libtie and safetie in yo[r] dominions, & receiue such incour-radgm[t] for the aduancem[t] of their trade and traffique, as some others of o[rs] haue heretofore enioyed, to the good contentm[t] and furtheraunce of the Comon vtilitie of each others Countries, wherein because wee hope yo[u] will not be backward, wee will forbeare to trouble yo[u] any further, Prayinge Almightie God to blesse and prosꝑ yo[u], & to make yo[u] victorious against yo[r] Enemies. ffrom o[r] pallace att Westminster this of Ianuary in the eight yeare of o[r] Raigne of greate Bryttaine ffraunce and Ireland.

IAMES by the grace of Almightie God kinge of greate Brittaine ffraunce and Ireland, defendor of the Christian faith, To the highe and mightie kinge of Gresicke[1] &c: Greetinge. The reporte we haue heard from o[r] loueing subiectℯ, that haue traded in the East Indies, both of yo[r] power and greatnes, and of yo[r] Princelie and favorable disposition to cherish and interteyne all sortes of Strangers, that doe resorte into yo[r] Countries, hath incouradged the bearers hereof *Peeter Flores* Lucas Antheumes Robt Browne and others wth o[r] good appro-bacōn and likeinge, to vndertake a voyadge thither, aswell to sollicitt yo[r] freindshipp and Amitie wth vs, as to enterchaunge such Comodities as may be most of vse to each others Countreys, being Confident that yo[u] will be readie to ymbrace this o[r] desire, and not onelie receaue o[r] people wth yo[r] accustomed favor to others, butt for their better encourradgm[t] to affourd them yo[r] Royal ꝓteccon, for the setlinge of their trade & Comerce in those partes, wth such Condicōns of securitie and safetie as shall be most convenient for the aduancem[t] of the mutuall proffitt & utilitie of each others Countries: We haue geuen in chardge to o[r] people to demeane them selues wth all respectℯ of Courtesie

To the kinge of Gresecke.

[1] Gresik or Grissee, a town in the district of the same name, near Soerabaja, on the north-east coast of Java. The Dutch for some time had a factory there.

and freindshipp towarde or[1] people, not doubtinge but that there pceedinge will proue as acceptable to you as heretofore they haue beene to yor neighbour kinges and Countries, wth whome the haue traded to their good contentmt & that in Conformitie thereof you will expreslie chardge and Comand yor Gournors and Vassalls to ayde and assiste them in their neede & necessities, as wee will be ready to doe the like to yors, yf happilie they shall arriue into any our Dominions. And soe wee pray Almightie God to preserue and prosp you, and to make you victorious against yor Enemies. ffrom our Royall Pallace at Westminster this .

JAMES by the grace of Almightie God kinge of greate Brittaine ffraunce and Ireland, defender of the Christian faith, To the highe & excellent Lorde the Gournors of *Bandris*[2] Greetinge. The reporte wee haue heard from or loueinge Subiecte, that haue traded into the East Indies both of yor power and greatnes, and of yor Princelie and favorable disposition to cherish and interteyne all sortes of Strangers that doe resorte into yor Countries, hath encourradged the bearers hereof *Peter Flores,* Lucas Antheumes Robt Browne and others, wth or good approbacon and likeinge to vndertake a Voyadge thither, aswell to sollicitt yor freindshipp and Amity wth vs, as to interchange such Comodities as may be most of vse to each others Countries, being Confident that you will be ready to ymbrace this or desier, and not onlie to receaue our people wth yor accustomed favor to others, butt for their better encourradgmt, to afford them yor Royall ptecćon for the setlinge of their trade and comerce in those partes wth such Conditions of securitie and safetie as shall be most convenient for the aduancemt of the mutuall proffitt & vtility of each others Countries. Wee haue giuen in chardge to or people to demeane themselues wthall respecte of Courtesie

To the Gournor of Bandris.

[1] A mistake for "yor."

[2] The position of this town or district is matter of conjecture only. It may possibly be Bandon, on the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula, or, as Dr. Anderson suggests, Patris, in Queddah, on the western coast.

and freindshipp towardꝭ yor people, not doubtinge butt that there ꝑceedinge will proue as acceptable to you, as they haue beene to yor neighbor kinges and Countries wth whome they haue traded to their good Contentmt, and that in conformyty thereof you will expreslie Comand yor Gourn͏ors & Vassells to ayde & assist them in their needꝭ and necessities as wee will be readie to doe the like to yors, yf happilie they shall arriue into any or dominions. And soe wee pray Almightie God to preserue and ꝑsꝑ you, and to make you victorious against yor Enemies. ffrom or Royall Pallace att Westminster this .

IAMES[1] by the grace of Almightie God kinge of greete Brittaine ffraunce & Ireland defendor of the Christian faith: To the highe & mightie Prince the greate kinge of Iapan &c: Greetinge.

To the kinge of Iapan

The reporte wee heard from or loueinge subiectꝭ, that haue traded into the East Indies, both of yor power and greatnes, and of yor princelie and favorable dispotition to cherish and enterteyne all sortes of straungers, that doe resorte into yor Countreys, hath incourradged the bearers hereof Peter Flores, Lucas Antheumes, Rob̄t Browne & others wth or good approbation and likeinge to vndertake a voyadge thither; aswell to solicitt yor freindshipp and Amity wth vs, as to enterchange such Comodities, as may be of most vse to each others Countreys, beinge Confident, that you wilbe readie to ymbrace this or desier, and not onlie to receaue or people wth yor accustomed favor to others, but for their better incourradgemt, to afford them yor Royall proteccōn for the setlinge of their trade and Comerce in those partes, wth such Conditions of securitie and safetie, as shall be most convenient for the aduancmt of the mutuall proffitt & vtility of each others Countreys. Wee haue giuen in chardge to or people to demeane them selues wthall respectꝭ of courtesie & freindshipp towardꝭ yor people, not

[1] See note, page 422.

doubtinge butt that their ꝓceedinge will proue as acceptable to you^u^, as heeretofore they haue beene to yor neighbour kingꝭ & Countreis wth whome they haue traded to their good contentm^t^, and that in conformitie thereof, yo^u^ will expreslie chardge and comaunde yor Gou^r^nors and vassalls to aide and assist them in their neede and necessities, as wee will be readie to doe the like to yo^rs^, yf happily they shall arriue into any o^r^ domynions. And soe wee pray Almightie God to preserue & prosꝑ yo^u^, and to make yo^u^ victorious against yor Enemies. ffrom o^r^ Royall Pallace att Westm̄ this .

A discourse delyuered to Mr Gouern^r^,
by Peter Floris & Lucas Antheumes of ther p^r^tended voiage.[1]

SETTING sayle from hence in Nouemƀr 1610, we hope to arryue at *Mesolopatane*[2] and *Port Polmone*[3] vppō ye Coast of *Coromandell* in Iuly or August, or at the longest in Septemƀr. 1611. And ther to employe our Capitall in dyu^r^s sortꝭ of Cotten linnen, to wete, one third part for ye Island of *Iaua* and *Bantā*, the oth^r^ two third partꝭ for *Patane*, and *Siam*. The said capitall being employed as aforesaid, we purpose to set saile frō the Coast of *Coromandell* in Ianuarye 1612 towardꝭ *Bantā*, (the monsone seruing o^r^ turne) so as we may be at Bantā in March) and ther employe o^r^ foresaid third ꝑt of o^r^ capitall, eith^r^ in Rialls of 8, Gould, China ware, Sandalū, or otherwise as the time shall affourd, for then wilbe the time for y^e^ *China* Iunckes to be ther. And after that we shall haue ꝑfourmed o^r^ trade ther, we purpose to set sayle the last of May, or beginning of Iune, in the foresaid yeare towardꝭ *Pahan*, *Patane*, and *Siam*, and ther along the Coast, employe o^r^ oth^r^ two third ꝑtꝭ of o^r^ Capitall in *China ware*, *Beniamyn*, *Lignū Aloes*,

A discourse of ye Globes voiage, intended to the Bay of Bengala.

[1] See page 363, note.

[2] See page 73, note 10.

[3] This may possibly be the copyist's corruption of "Pulicat," which was the first port the ship visited on the coast of Coromandel.

Calumback,[1] *Muske*, *Gum Lac*, and othr druggꝭ, wch we may come by. And if we should not sell all or cōmoditwritten, by the moneth of Nouembr, then we purpose to settle a factorye in *Patane* or *Siā*, wth the rest of the goodꝭ, ther to trade wth the *China* Iunckes, in March next following, and the shippe wth the rest of the aduaunced Capitall, shall in the moneth of Nouembr, take her voyage, thorough the Straictꝭ of *Sincapura*, by *Malacca*, and so againe towardꝭ the Coast of *Coromandell*, and ther wyll sell or Comoditwritten, as gould, mony, and othr thinges, for Cottō lynnen whight and paynted, both to trade againe wthall, at *Patane* and *Siam*, as also to bring homewardꝭ for *England;* as also a good ꝑcell of Cottō yarne. And then in the moneth of May A° 1613, we meane to set sayle againe from ye Coastꝭ of *Coromandell*, to the Straictꝭ of *Sincapura*, and so againe to *Patane* and *Syam*, and ther traffique vntill the moneth of Nouembr, and then take or course towardꝭ *Bantā;* and from thence in *December* 1613, or in Ianuarye 1614, take or course towardꝭ *England*, wher we hope to arryue in *August* 1614. hauing laden into or shippe so much China silke, Taffataes, Damaskes, and Pursalyne, as we may attayne vnto, or as or Capitall will ꝑmytte, and we thinke may be here vented in *England*, Also a good ꝑcell of *Beniamyn*, a ꝑcell of *Lignū Aloes*, a lyttle *Calumback*, *Muske* frō *Syam*, *Gum Lack*, Also 150 bales of Cottō lynnen, whight and paynted, the wch will serue to vent in *Europe*, but espiallye for the Coast of *Barbarye*, and some for the Coast of *Ginnye*, *Angola*, and othr placꝭ, and about 200 bales of Cottō yarne; and for a proofe a ꝑcell of *Indico* frō the coast of *Coromandell*, and some other drugges and wares, the wch we may light vppō, and as or capitall shall ꝑmitte vs to deale in; This is or prsent resolucōn for ye prtended voyage, yet forasmuch as all thingꝭ are mutable, so must we rule and gournne ourselues (being in those ꝑtꝭ) as ye time, & occasiō shall ꝑmitte.[2]

[1] Calambac is the finer sort of *Lignum Aloes* or "Eagle-wood" (*Aquilaria Agallocha*).

[2] For an interesting account of this voyage, shewing how far Floris and Antheumis succeeded in carrying out their plans, the reader may be referred to Dr. Anderson's *Early English Intercourse with Siam* (1890).

To the right hon l ye Earle of Salisbuirye
Lord high Thrēr of England
The humble peticōn of ye Mrchants of London, trading
the East Indyes.[1]

SHEWETH,

That yor supptę, hauing long and patientlye endured, sundry notorious wrongę & iniuryous Courses at the handę of the *Hollanders* (in ther trade to the *East Indyes*) are enforced at last to breake sylence, and complayne their greifes; That the *Hollanders* hauing gottē into ther possessiō, dyuers of the cheif placę of traffique in those ꝑtę, and forciblye appropriating some, wch do of right belong vnto the *English*, to trade ther before any othr Natiō whatsoeur, next vnto the *Portugall*, do seeke wholye to debarre yor said supptę, from the said trade, or to drawe sundrye inconueniencę vppō them, no way honble nor ꝑfitable for this Land. ffor Sr ffrancys Drake, (vppō a contract wth the king of *Teronata*, for the trade of the Cloues in yt Island, and the rest of the Islandę vnder his dominiō) assisted him in his warres, against the king of *Tedore*, and confirm'd that agremt, by delyuring him a Ring,[2] wth a faire *Emerald* stone in ye same, (as is well knowne to Yor Lopp.). Mr Cauendishe afterwardę folowing him, had ye like promise at *Balemboa*, in the south ꝑt of the Island of *Iaua*, wher he refreshed, conferd wth the king or cheif in that place, and had promise of all the pepꝑ ther. Vppō wch assurauncę, the mrchantę of Londō, and others, sett out two shippes in trade for that place, vnder the cōmaund of Capne *Rayman* and Capne *Lancaster*; In wch accōn *Rayman* was cast away about the Cape *Bonœ spei*, and *Lancaster* ꝑfourm'd his voyage, beating along the Coast of *India*, vntill he came to *Sumatra*, wher his men falling sicke, and victualls scanting, durst not aduenture for ye *Moluccaes*, but retournd wth his lading of pepꝑ, and was wrackt in the *West Indyes*.[3]

Peticon to my Lo. Threr complayning ye wrongs sustayned in ye E. Indyes by ye Hollanders.

After them folowed the *Hollanders* wth *English* pylottę, who ꝑfourming a succesfull voiage to *Bantā* haue euer since ꝑsecuted a most ample trade. And prsentlye vppō ther retourne, yor

[1] There is a copy of this petition at the Record Office, endorsed with the date "November, 1611" (see *Cal. of State Papers, E. Indies*, 1513-1616, page 231).

[2] Cp. page 68.

[3] See *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster* (Hakluyt Society).

suppᵗꝭ as well to weaken the *Spanyard,* (then the cōmon enemye) as otherwise, ioyned in a Compie, and man'd forth, 4 of the best mrchant shippes of the kingdome, the *Dragon, Hector, Susan* and *Ascention,* wch went to *Sumatra* and *Iaua,* and finding peacable trade, setled a factorye at *Bantā,* wher ther men being weake, the Capnes thought fitt not to attempt the *Moluccaes,* (the Monsoune being then past) but hauing fought wth the Enemye in the *Straictꝭ of Sincapura,* and takē a Carrycke, they laded ther shippes wth spicꝭ, and retournd well home, all full laden, (the *Hollander* then being very glad of yor suppᵗꝭ companye.) At the retourne of wch shippes, yor suppᵗꝭ furnisht them forth againe, (vnder the cōmaund of Sr *Henry Middletō* Generall) who according to his Cōmission, attempted the *Moluccaes,* and cōmyng thethr, saued the king of *Teranataes* life, wth 6 *Hollanders,* wch were in daungr and had bene taken by the king of *Tedore,* wth 80 men more, and cut in peecꝭ, (if he had not bene) as the rest of ther companye were, for which fauor both the king and *Hollanders,* promised to lade ther shippe wth Cloues, and to do them any other kindnes that possiblye they could. But vppō newes of the cōmyng of certaine *Holland* shippes, they neithr ꝑmitted them trade, according to promise, nor to staie ther, but were absolutelye banisht the Island by the *Hollanders* meanes, (as the king himself tould ye *English* the *Hollander* threatning, that if he did not, they would ioyne wth the king of *Tedore* his enemye, to driue him out of his Countrye.) Sr *Henry* thervppō was enforced to ꝓcure his whole lading from the *Portugall,* who vsed him very kindly & respectiuelye, giuing him all the Cloues they had at reasonable prices; And resigned vpp vnto him, a Towne, called *Taffasole,* wth a ffort, to the king of *Englands* vse (by ye consent of the king of *Tedore* right owner therof) wch now the *Hollanders* kepe, (hauing fortifyed the same) besides many othr placꝭ in the Countrye; appropriating to themselues the whole trade of the Islandꝭ; keping Men of warre vppō the Coast, and ꝓhibyting all othr Nations (as farre as in them lyeth) from any trade ther (maintayning now for Lawe, by strong hand, that wch latelye they estemed vnreasonable: for the *Portugall* to challenge a more sp̄iall ꝓpertie in any of those ꝑtꝭ, then themselues or any othr Nation whatsoeur.) And from thence haue ꝓceded to the *Islandꝭ of Banda,* (the placꝭ wher Nutmegꝭ and Mace do growe,) wher at ther cōmyng wth 14 sayle of

shippes, they found yor supp^{t}ꝭ shippe the *Hector* trading ther, (wherin was Cap^{ne} Wm Keeling,) hauing a house and factorye on shore, and many debtꝭ in the *Islandꝭ*) whome they vsed most vnkindlye, searching his boate disgracefullye both going for fresh water and retourning, and not suffering him to haue any furth^{r} trade, nor to gather in his debtꝭ but wth a ꝑemptory com̄aund, to be gone, wherunto (thorough necessitye) he submytting himself, was enforced to deꝑt, wthout his lading, or any furth^{r} trade.

Since that tyme, Cap^{ne} *Dauyd Middletō* in the *Expedicō*, seking trade at *Banda*, and vsing his best endeuo^{rs}, both by guiftꝭ, ꝑsuasions, and Com̄oditys, could not be ꝑmitted by them for any com̄erce, eith^{r} wth themselues, or the Island^{rs}, but wth many reprochfull, insolent speches, was forciblye put from all trading in those ꝑtꝭ, but what he gott wth strong hand against ther wylles, from oth^{r} broken Islandꝭ neare adioyning, wth extreame hazard and daung^{r}, (they deuising and oftentimes attempting, to surprize consume by fire, and cut off by any indirect meanes, both shippe, Men, and goodꝭ.)

To coulo^{r} all wch ther doingꝭ, they do most slaunderouslye report, That yor supp^{t}ꝭ haue furnisht the *Spanyard* (as the com̄on enemye,) wth great store of Ordinance, and a great quantitye of powder, besides oth^{r} implem^{t}ꝭ of warre, And would haue compeld a *Portugall*, (whome they tooke), to haue iustifyed, That *Sr Hen: Middletō* delyu^{r}ed y^{e} *Portugalls* 40 bar of powder, and 4 whole Culueringꝭ, wth the lending of two of his cheif gunners to do them seruice against the *Hollanders;* wch by the *Portugall* was more conscionablye refusd, then[1] by them vrg'd, and submytted himself rath^{r} to haue vndergone death, then father such a vntruth uppō yor supp^{t}ꝭ.

All wch vncyuell and inhumaine wrongꝭ abroad against yor supp^{t}ꝭ, are done by Com̄ission from the m^{r}ch^{t}ꝭ and Owners, at home, (as they cannott denye and oth^{rs} haue acknowledgd, and hath bene latelye confessed by *some of them*[2]) wherby yor supp^{t}ꝭ hauing the *Spanyardꝭ* and

Cap^{ne} Wolfard Harman to M^{r} Ro: Middleton.

[1] Than.

[2] These three words are underlined, no doubt with reference to the note in the margin.

Hollandrs enemyes in the *Indyes*, must of necessitye be enforced to giue our ther trade ther, (wch is the cheif end the *Hollander* aymeth at).

Yor supptꝭ therfore forced by these extremityes, & knowing ther greifes, but hauing no meanes of remedye, do humblye implore yor Lo. honble assistaunce & mediatiō to the *States* for redresse in these iniuryous courses, and that a reciprocall kindnes may be receyued from ther men, that as yor supptꝭ are tyed by a bond of duitye to submytte themselues by com̃aund, not to be offensiue to any whatsoeur; so they might not be iniuriouslye rewarded, but enioye the benefitte and fredome of trade, wher the prrogatiue rather apꝑtaynes to thē then any othr. And yor supptꝭ shall (as they haue bene alwayes bound) praie for yor Lo. encrease in all honor and true happynes.

MOST worthie Srs. Vppō some speeches had at my being at *Amsterdam*, in opening the wrongꝭ, wch I conceyued the *East India* Compie of *London* had sustayned by yor people, in those ꝑtꝭ, I found yor inclynatiō and readynes to ioyne in conference by some Com̃issioners to be nōīated for eithr ꝑt. Wheruppō at my retourne, into *England*, I acquainted or Gouernr, Depuitye and Com̃yttees wth that motiō. But before my com̃yng, they had exhibyted a peticõn to my Lo. Thrẽr,[2] to acquaint the State wth ther wrongꝭ, and to craue redresse for the same. Notwthstanding vppō my relacõn, I found them wylling to staie any furthr ꝑceding, as yet, but to ioyne in any good course, to haue all wrongꝭ righted, and all iust cause of offence remou'd betwixt thē and yu. That as or Nations haue

Mr Ro: Middleton[1] to certaine Burgomrs at Amsterdam, by direccon from ye Comp:

[1] Robert Middleton, who seems to have been related in some way to Sir Henry Middleton, was a prominent and active member of the Company from its formation, and was a "committee" for a long period. He was one of the commissioners sent to Holland in 1615 (*see* note, page 434).

[2] See the preceding document.

long contynued, in firme bondꝭ and league of amytye, so we might peacablye ꝑcede to trade ioynctlye togethʳ (wᵗʰout troubling of eithʳ *States* (to right conceyued iniuryes) or giuing such an aduauntage to others (who would willinglye take the opportuntye of fishing in the troubled streames of oʳ diuision and dissenc̃ons). So that (vppon conference) they are wylling to ioyne Com̃issionʳs, wᵗʰ such as yᵘ shall substitute here, to salue and put a remedie to all greifes past, and considʳ of some indifferent course to be contynued betwixt vs heraftʳ, for the good and benefitte of eithʳ ꝑt. Wherin I could not retourne a more spedie resoluc̃on, because of some extraordinarye occasions of launching certaine shippes, and othʳ buysines of great import, wᶜʰ then hindred them; but haue now wᵗʰ the first opportunitye, acquainted yᵘ therwᵗʰ, that if yᵘ shall determyne of ꝑsecuting the formʳ ꝑposic̃on, and appoint some Com̃issionʳs frō yᵘ, it might be done spedilye (for the good I hope of both the Nations) and that I might receiue yoʳ resoluc̃ons herin, wᵗʰ all expedic̃on. And so recom̃ending the care herof to yoʳ graue considerac̃ons, and the successe to godꝭ ꝑuidence, whome we beseech to direct all oʳ ꝑcedingꝭ to his glorie, (my self being diuoted in all true affecc̃on to do all acceptable officꝭ I may for the good of both) I take my leaue, and rest,

Yoʳˢ to be com̃aunded

Directed To the right Woʳˡˡ, my most respected friendꝭ, Burgomʳ Oatgens, Burgomʳ Pavij, Skepen Hasselare, Skepen Iacop gerson heind, Pentionalis Pavij, Dericke van Os, and Iohn van Harell, at *Amsterdā*, hast yēs.

London, 5° *Octob :* 1611.

ffor aunswer of wᶜʰ ťre, an ordʳ of Court was retournd from thence, wᶜʰ is recorded in the *Court booke.*[1] *pag.* 271.

[1] Now lost, as already mentioned.

Laus deo. 20 Decēb: 1611. In Amsterdam.

LOUING friend Mr Middletō &c. About 2 daies since, I had some speech wth Burgomr Pavij about the *E. India* mattrs; and he wylled me to certifye you, that they were not vnmyndfull of that mattr, yu wrote to thē about, though as yet by reason of othr buysines, nothing effected.

Mr Pasfyld to Mr Ro Middleton about the same buysines.

Yet ther were certaine appointed, (wherof he was one) to moue the States about it, because they could do nothing therin wthout ther aduise and consent: and said moreour that they were to go wthin 8 or 10 daies to the *Hagh* about it: and that they had giuen exprsse charge to the shippes, yt are gone out, yt they should carye themselues, in all friendlye manner yt was possible, towardę the *English* in the *Indies*, wthout offring them the least iniurye that might be; And yt he doubted not, but ere long, ther should so good order be taken, that both Nations should contynue good friendę. Thus much he wylled me to certifye yu. And so not hauing else at instant to enlardge &c.

Yor louing friend *Samuell Pasfyld.*[1]

YEE[2] that are my most laudable, fortunate, welthye and great Vizroies and *Beglerbyes*,[3] yt are on the way frō my most happie and Imperiall Throne, (both by sea and land) vntill the confynes and lymittę of the *East*

[1] This well-meant attempt at conciliation seems to have met with scant success. After some delay, the Dutch Company appointed commissioners to treat of the subjects in dispute, who reached London in the spring of 1613. A month was spent in negotiations, but without result. The delegates returned to Holland, and the matter was left to be decided by a future treaty. In 1615, English Commissioners, including Middleton and Abbot as representatives of the Company, proceeded to the Hague, but their efforts to effect a satisfactory settlement proved equally fruitless.

[2] This "Pass," was carried out by Capt. Saris, and stood him in good stead in his efforts to obtain trade in the Red Sea. Purchas prints a slightly different version (Lib. IIII., ch. 1), giving also a drawing of the "seale." The principal variations are noted below.

[3] "Bey ['lord'] in ye Turkish language signifieth knight with vs. Begliarbei "['lord of lords'] signifieth lord Admirall. Sangiaccho ['banner'] is that person wth "the Turkes, that gouerneth a prouince or countrey."—(Notes to the account of the taking of Famagusta, in *Hakluyt*, Vol. V.)

Indyes; Owners of some part of dignitye, and those vnto whome belongeth to giue ayd, helpe and succo[r] in godç cause and *Musulmanicall* religion, vppō their Empero[rs] beck: the wealth and greatnes of whome, let it contynue for euer. Likewise vnto y[u] my most laudable and valiant *Sangrack-beys,*[1] (that are vnder the abouenam'd *Beglerbeys*) Owners, and hope, of future great[r] dignityes; and those vnto whome belongeth duityfull ayd and helpe in godç cause and religion, vppō their Empero[rs] aduise, the hono[r] and dignitye of whome, be eu[r] contynuing. And vnto yee my most laudable, wise and prudent Iusticç of peace, and Iudgç,[2] (that are in the p[r]scincte of the said *Sangrack-beyes*) whose iudgmentç, iustice, & wordç do flowe, as from a myne[3] of all wisdome and prudence; the worthines and greatnes of whose dignitye and functiō, let it contynue for euer. Also to y[u] my laudable, great and most worthie Cap[nes], and *Reyses*[4] of all o[r] Nauyes, and shippingç, that swym̄e on the face of the sea. Vnto yee my laudable Cap[nes] of the Castles, Cityes and Townes; And vnto y[u] worthie and laudable *Customers,* dwelling vppō the *Sea,*[5] *Ryuers, Bridges,* and all oth[r] ꝑtç of o[r] Domynions ther adiacent, Vppō the sight of this my most high and Imperiall comaundm[t], in conformitye of yor most bounden duityes, yee shall arise and do obeysaunce therunto.

Translacon of ye Grand Sign[rs] Passe graunted to ye East India Merch[ts].

And herby yee shall vnderstand that the *English Embassad[r],* that here resydeth, in o[r] happye and most high *Port,* hath giuē vs to vnderstand, by his supplicatiō, That forasmuch, as some of his *Matie* the *King of England* his subiectç, haue wth great charge and labo[r], found out a Trade in the *East Indyes;* and hearing of the fame, and wealth[6] of some partç of our Countrye, in their passage to the *Indyes,* are desirous to visite those placç, for ye enlarging of the said Trade; and[7] that such men in so good and profitable[8] an enterprize, hauing deserued[9] all fauo[r] ayd and

[1] "Saniacq-beys" in *Purchas.* (See previous note.)

[2] Purchas adds "and Ministers of Iustice."

[3] Fountaine (*Purchas*).

[4] *Rais,* a naval "commandant."

[5] Sea coast (*Purchas*).

[6] Purchas's version runs: "and withall vnderstand of Wealth & likelihood of Trade."

[7] To the end (*Purchas*).

[8] Laudable (*Purchas*).

[9] In so good and laudable enterprizes haue (*Purchas*).

helpe, so farre as may be lawfullye and conuenientlye yeilded, hath requested vs in the name of his *Matie* the *King of England*, to vouchsaufe them o^{r} saufe conduct & cōmendacōns. In conformitye of whose request, as also in regard wee and o^{r} p^{r}decesso^{rs}, are and haue bene for the space of many yeares, in strict league and amitye, wth the mēconed *King of England* and the Subiect℮ of that *Kingdome*, that haue long had, and now haue free traffique and trade in merchandizing in o^{r} dominions and Countryes, thorough the *Mediterranean* seas. Wee do cōmaund and exp^{r}slye charge y^{u} all, and eu^{r}ye one of y^{u} our abouenamed subiect℮ & officers, that y^{u} will not onlye kindlye and louinglye entertayne and receyue the said merchant℮ subiect℮ of *England*, cōmyng or passing through, or by any of o^{r} Dominions, esp̄iallye intending to trade to the Dominions of *Yemen*, *Aden*, and *Mochon*, and the ꝑt℮ adioyning therunto; assisting and releyuing them wth all thing℮ nedefull for themselues, their men and their Shippes, but also freelye to ꝑmitte them, by land or by Sea, to go or sayle, to go forward or retourne, euen as their occasion shall require, to remaine in any of o^{r} Dominions, Countryes or Cityes, graunting them such libertye of Trafficke and priuiledg℮, as shalbe reasonable, wthout giuing, or suff^{r}ing any let or hinderaunce, iniurye or molestacōn to be offered or done vnto thē; yea, y^{u} shall yeild vnto thē, such offic℮ of beneuolence and humanitye, as shalbe meete and conuenyent to be yeilded vnto honest men, and straung^{rs}, vndertaking so long and laboryous a io^{r}nye. And if it be so, that wee shall vnderstand that contrarye to the Capitulacōn the Amitye and the League wch is betwene vs and the *King of England*, y^{u} do offer them the least wrong, and any way molest and trouble the said m^{r}chant℮ in their traffique, or ought els, Knowe yee for certaine that y^{u} shall not onlye incurre our high displeasure, but y^{u} shalbe punished for example vnto oth^{rs}: And therfore in conformitye of this my esp̄iall Imperiall cōmaundm^{t}, y^{u} shall gouerne yor selues, and gyue creditte to this my Imperiall insigne. Wrytten at o^{r} mansion guard *Constantinople*, on the fiuetenth day of the Moone, *Zilkigie* 1019.[1]

[1] *i.e.* 18th February, 1610/11.

IAMES[1] by the grace of God king of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith &c To our trustie and welbeloved Subiectꝭ Thomas Best[2] and Thomas Aldworth[3] greeting, Whereas diuerse of our loving subiectꝭ, by the name of the Gouernor and company of Merchantꝭ of London, trading into the *East Indies*, at theire owne aduentures Costꝭ and chardges for the honor of this our realme of England, and for the increase and advancement of trade and merchandize wthin the same haue sett foorth sundry voyages to the East *Indies*, and allreadie discoured and begun to settle a trade into those partꝭ, and intending the continewing thereof, aswell by frequenting those places allready setled as by further discoury of other ꝑtes, wch may be fitt for the enterchanging, of the Cōmodities of our kingdomes wth the Commodities of those places, such as may bee of speciall vse and benefitt, to vs and our Subiectꝭ, having to this purpose nowe prepared and sett foorth thone called the Dragon and the other the Hosiander to the said East *Indies*, and the places adioyning therevnto, And whereas our said Subiectꝭ the aduenturers of those voyages, haue chosen our trusty and wel-

His Maties Comission to Capne Best.

[1] The Royal Commission for the *Tenth Voyage* (1612-14), consisting of two ships, the *Dragon* and the *Hosiander*, under the command of Thomas Best. There is a docquet of this commission at the Public Record Office, under date 30th December, 1611.

[2] Thomas Best was a seaman of considerable experience, though he had not been previously in the service of the Company. In this *Tenth Voyage* he particularly distinguished himself by defeating a superior force of Portuguese war vessels, which attacked him off Surat, a victory which made a great impression on the natives, and procured a firman which was practically the foundation of English trade in Western India. On his return in 1614, he was well received by the Company; and for several years his name was brought forward from time to time as that of a fit person to command further expeditions. In November, 1617, all arrangements had been made for his taking command of the fleet then preparing for the Indies, but a quarrel occurred, and Best was dismissed the Company's service. He contrived to make his peace with them, but was not again employed. In 1623, he was in command of a vessel in the Royal Navy, and for the rest of his life was an active servant of the Crown (see *Dict. Nat. Biography*). He is supposed to have died about 1638.

[3] Thomas Aldworth appears to have been a man of some standing before his entry into the Company's service, and was at one time sheriff of Bristol. He was left at Surat as head of the factory there, and held that post until his death in the autumn of 1615.

beloved subiect *Thomas Best* to be the Captaine and cheife Com̄aunder of all the Merchantꝭ Marriners, and other Subiectꝭ wch are or shalbe shipped in the said Twoe shippꝭ *Wee* gratiously favouring theire intended voyage and approving and allowing of theire choise of yo^{u} to the same imployment being willing to furnish yo^{u} with all fitt and convenient power, and aucthority to rule and governe all and every our Subiectꝭ imployed in this voyadge, by a due obedience to be by them yeilded vnto yo^{u} in the observing and executing, of all such good orders and constituc̃ons as yo^{u} shall thinke convenyent to ordeine and make, for the furtherance of the said voyage according to such ꝑticuler direcc̃ons and enstrucc̃ons as yo^{u} shall receiue from the Gouernor and companie of merchantꝭ the aduenturers in this voyage, wch direccons & instruccons. Our intencon is, and soe wee doe hereby will and com̄aund. that you doe punctually observe in eu^{r}y ꝑticuler, straightly chardging and com̄aunding, all and euery person or ꝑsons imployed in this voyadge and shipped in the said Twoe Shipps, to giue all due obedience, and respect vnto yo^{u}, during the said voyadge, and to beare themselues one towardꝭ another, in good order and quietnes, for avoyding any occac̃on that might bread Mutiny, quarrell or dissensions amongest them, to the hinderaunce of the good successe wch is to be hoped for by Godꝭ providence of this said voyage. *And* in Default of such duty and obedience to be ꝑformed towardꝭ yo^{u}, for the correcting and quenching of all such Mutinyes quarrellꝭ or Dissenc̃ons that maie arise by the euill disposic̃on of any ꝑson whatsoeuer *Wee* do hereby aucthorize the said *Thomas Best*, During the said voyage, or during soe longe time as yo^{u} shall liue in the said voyage, to chaistice correct and punish all offendo^{rs} and trangresso^{rs} in that behalfe according to the quallitie, of theire offences, wth such punishmentꝭ as are com̄only vsed in all Armyes at Sea, when they are not Cappitall, And for Cappitall offences, as Wilfull murther wch is hatefull in the sight of God, or Mutiny, wch is an offence wch maie tend to the overthrowe of the said voyage, the same being duely iustly approved against any of the ꝑson or ꝑsons aforesaid, wee doe hereby giue vnto you the said Thomas Best, during all the time of the said voyadge, or during soe long time as yo^{u} shall liue in the said voyadge, full power and

aucthority, to vse and put in execucõn, our Lawe, called Lawe Martiall in that behalfe. And theis our Lres, shall be your sufficient warrant & dischardge for the dooinge and executing of all and singuler the premisses, And forasmuch as at this present time, wee are in amytie, wth all Christian princes, and are vnwilling that any of our Subiectꝭ, should giue occacõn of breach or hinderance thereof towardꝭ any our our Confederates, frindꝭ or Allyes. And because wee are not ignorant, of the emulacõn and envie. wch doth accompany the discouery of Countries and trades, And of the quarrellꝭ and contencõns, wch doe many times fall out, betweene the subiectꝭ of diuerse Princes when they meete the one wth the other, in forraigne and farr remote Countryes, in prosecuting the course of their Discoveries, And being desirous that our subiectꝭ should forbeare to move or beginn any quarrellꝭ or contencõn vpon the subiectꝭ of our Confederates frindꝭ or Allies either in theire gooing foorth or retorning from any of theire voyages, Wee therefore doe hereby straightly charge and cōmaund yo^{u} the said *Thomas Best,* and all other vnder your Cōmaund, That neither in your voyadge outwardꝭ or homewardꝭ, or in any Country Island Port or Place, where yo^{u} shall abide or come, during the time of your being abrade, out of our kingdomes or dominions where yo^{u} meete wth any the subiectꝭ, of the king of *Spaine* or of any other our confederates frindes or Allies, or of any other nacõn or people, their Shippꝭ vessellꝭ goodes or merchandizes yo^{u} doe not attempt or goe about, to sett vpon take or surprise, theire ꝑsons Shippes vessellꝭ goodes or merchandizes, or offer any iniury or discourtesie vnto them, as yo^{u} will answere the contrary at your vttermost ꝑillꝭ. Except you shalbe by them first therevnto iustly provoked or driven either in the iust defence of your owne persons, shippes vessellꝭ goodes or merchandizes by any there disturbance or hinderance, whatsoever in your quiet course of Trade or for recompence and recovery of the ꝑsons shippes goodes or merchandizes, of any our Subiectꝭ that are allready in or neere the *East Indies* or for any other iust cause of your defence. In wch cases soe excepted yf yo^{u} attēpte surprize and take the persons Shippꝭ or goodꝭ of any Prince or State by whose Subiectꝭ you shall susteine any wrong or losse in manner as aforesaid you shall not for any such act or

actꝭ grounded vpon the occac̃ons aboue menc̃oned, be in danger or subiect to the ꝑill and penalties of our lawes, allwayes p^r^supposing, and soe requiring yo^u^ to vse, all possible endeavo^rs^, by all meanes whatsoever to suffer noe spoyle to be made of any goodes or merchandizes, nor im̃bezilling any thing whatsoever, that shalbe recou^r^ed by you, but to see them safely brought home, wth the Billꝭ of lading and charter ꝑties to the intent that there maie be restituc̃on made by us, soe soone as yo^u^ shall receiue satisfacc̃on from that State or people by whome yo^u^ are dampnified, of what Nac̃on soever, And forasmuch as our said Subiectꝭ, the merchantꝭ and others the aduenturers of this voyadge out of preiudice[1] and forsight of any Mortallity or otherwise (wch God forbidd) should befall vnto our Subiect *Thomas Best*, haue made choise of our Trustie and loving Subiect Thomas *Aldworth;* to succeede the said Thomas Best, in the chardge and Com̃aund of Captaine and cheife Com̃aunder, of all the ꝑsons imployed in this voyadge as aforesaid, wee doe alsoe in case such an accident should happen, allowe and approve of theire choise in that behalfe, And doe hereby giue full power and aucthoritie to you the said Thomas Aldworth, to doe and execute . all and every thing incident to the chardge of Captaine and cheife Com̃aunder of all the ꝑsons employed, as is before com̃itted and imposed vppon the said *Thomas Best;* And theis our Lr̃es shalbe, shalbe allsoe sufficient warrant and dischardg to the said *Thomas Aldworth* for the dooing and executing of all and singuler the premiss^s^ as aforesaid. *In witnes* whereof wee haue caused theis our Lr̃es to be made Pattentꝭ. Witnes our selfe at Westm^r^ the Sixt day of Ianuary in the Ninthe yeere of our Raigne of England ffraũce and Ireland and of Scotland the ffiue and ffortith.[2]

ꝑ b̃re de privato Sigillo

Coppin.

[1] A mistake for "providence" (see previous commissions).
[2] 6th January, 1611/12.

IAMES[1] by the grace of God king of England, Scotland ffraũce and Ireland Defendor of the faith &c To our trustie and welbeloved Subiect Thomas Best sendeth greeting signifying vnto all people, that whereas Certaine Shippꝭ of our kingdome of England, at the Aduenture of the Gouernor and company of East *India* merchantꝭ, are to take theire voyadge to diuerse partꝭ and portꝭ of the East *Indies* especially to such as are in the kingdome of *Cambaia* or in any other ꝑt of the greate *Kinge* of the *Magolles* Dominion, there to mannage a trade and peaceable com̄erce : wth the subiectꝭ of the king, wee doe by vertue and aucthority, of theis our present Lr̄es giue and graunt vnto our said Loving Subiectꝭ *Thomas Best* full power & Aucthoritie aswell to entertaine and prosecute, the said Trade and Com̄erce, as alsoe in our name and in the behalfe of our ꝑson, to treate of conclude and ratifie, wth the said greate king of the Magollꝭ or any his Deputies, to that purpose sent and lawfully aucthorized a firme and inviolable peace wch (the Condic̄ons by our said Loving subiectꝭ vnto them ꝓposed being duly by them kept and observed) shall alsoe remaine on the part of our loving subiectꝭ wthout breach.

And if any ꝑson or ꝑsons whatsoever, shall in contempt of vs our Royall Crowne and Dignity prsume to attempt the Contrary to theis present Articles concluded, They shalbe assured to incurr our heavie displeasure and wrathfull Indignac̄on, wth all greevous and severe punishment : in bodies, liues, and goodꝭ, Witnes our greate Seale of England to the originall annexed.

[1] A special authorisation to Captain Best to negotiate, on the king's behalf, a treaty with the Great Mogul.

IAMES by the grace of God king of *England Scotland ffrance and Irland* Defend^{r} of the faith &c To our trustie and welbeloued Subiectꝭ *Captaine Christopher Newport*[1] and *Ioseph Saulbanke*[2] Greeting, Whereas Diuerse of our loving subiectꝭ, by the name of Gouern^{r} and Company of Merchantꝭ of London, trading into the East Indies, at theire owne aduentures costꝭ and charges for the honour of this our Realme of England, and for the increase and aduancement of Trade and merchandize wthin the same, have sett forth sundry voyages to the East Indies, and allready discou^{r}ed and begunn to settle a trade into those partꝭ, and intending the contynewing thereof aswell by frequenting those places, allready setled, as by further discou^{r}yes of other ꝑtꝭ wch maie be fitt for the interchangeing of the Com̄odities of those places such as may be of spetiall vse and benefitt to vs and our Subiectꝭ; having to this purpose, nowe prepared and sett forth the good shipp called the *Expedic̄on* of nigh Three hundred tuns. *And* whereas, our said subiectꝭ the aduenturers of those voyages, have chosen, you our said subiect Captaine Christofer Newport, to be the principall Com̄aunder of Merchantꝭ Marriners, and other our subiectꝭ, wch are or shalbe shipped in the said shipp *Wee* gratiously favouring theire intended voyage, and approving and allowing, of theire choise of you to the same Com̄aund, being willing to furnish you wth all fitt and convenyent power and aucthoritie to rule and governe all and eu^{r}y our Subiectꝭ employed in this voyage, aswell such as belong to the said shipp, as all others that are ffollowers of the *Persian Ambassador*,[3] whome wee haue directed to be transported by you

His Maties Comission to Cap^{ne} Newport vppon the Twefth Voiage.

[1] Captain Newport had already made several voyages to Virginia, and was well known as an experienced navigator, when he was chosen by the East India Company to command the *Expedition* in the *Twelfth Voyage* (1612-14). Upon his return, he was nominated general of the fleet for the following year, but Keeling was subsequently preferred to that post, with Newport as his vice-admiral in the *Lion*. This was his last voyage, for he died at Bantam in August, 1618.

[2] See note, page 235.

[3] Sir Robert Sherley, the youngest of the three celebrated brothers of that name, accompanied his brother Anthony to Persia in 1599, and in 1608 was sent by Shah Abbas on a mission to various European Powers, England among the rest. He was presented to King James at Hampton Court in 1611, and received the honour of knighthood. He

vnto the *Port* of *Surat*) by a due obedyence to be by them yeilded vnto yo^u^, in the observing and executing of all such good orders and constitucõns as you shall thinke convenyent to ordeine and make, for the furtherance of the said voyage, according to such ꝑticuler direccõns and enstruccõns as yo^u^ shall receiue from the said Gouern^r^. and Companye of Merchantꝭ the aduenturers in this voyadge, wch direccons our intencõn is, and soe we doe will and require you, that you doe punctually observe in all thingꝭ, Straightly chargeing and comaunding, all and eu^r^y person or ꝑsons, imployed in this voyage, and shipped in the said shippe to giue all due obedyence, and respect vnto yo^u^ during the said voyage, and to beare themselues one towardꝭ another in good order and quietnes, for avoyding any occacõn that might bread Mutiny quarrellꝭ or dissencõn amongest them, to the hinderance of the good successe wch is to be hoped for by godꝭ providence, of this said voyadge, And in defallt of such Duty and obedience to be ꝑformed towardꝭ you for the correcting and quenching of all such mutynies quarrellꝭ or dissentions, that maie arise by the evill and disorderly disposicõn, of any ꝑson whatsoeuer, wee do hereby aucthorise, the said Captaine Christopher Newport during the said voyadge, or during soe long time as you shall liue in the said voyage to chastice correct and punish all offendo^rs^ and transgresso^rs^, in that behalfe, according to the quallity of theire offences, wth such punishmentꝭ as are comonly vsed in all armyes at Sea, when they are not cappitall, And for Cappitall offences, as wilfull murther wch is hatefull in the sight of God, or Mutiny wch is an offence wch may tend to the overthrowe of the said voyage the same being duly and iustly approved, against any of the ꝑson or ꝑsons aforesaid, we doe hereby giue vnto our said subiect Captaine Christofer Newport, during all the time of the said voyadge, or during soe longe time as yo^u^ shall Liue, in the said voyadge, full power and aucthority to vse and put in execucõn our

was now (1612) returning to Persia. He came again to England in a similar capacity in 1623, but suffered some disgrace through the unexpected appearance of a native ambassador, who roundly declared Sir Robert's credentials to be forged. King James sent them both back to Persia, together with Sir Dodmore Cotton, accredited as English ambassador to the Shah. Sir Robert reached in safety the country of his adoption, but was badly received by his master, and died soon after in disgrace.

Lawe called lawe Martiall in that behalfe, And theis our Lr̃es shalbe your sufficient warrant and dischardge for the dooing and executing of all and singuler the premiss[s], And forasmuch as at this present time, wee are in amytie wth all Christian Princes, And are vnwilling that any of our subiectę, should giue occac̃on of breach or hinderance thereof, towardę any our confederates frindę or allyes, And because wee are not ignorant of the Emulacon and envy w[ch] doth accompany the discouery of Countryes, and Trades and of the quarrellę and contencons w[ch] do many tymes fall out, betweene the Subiectę of diuerse Princes, when they meete the one wth the other in forraigne are[1] farr remote Countryes in ꝓsecuting the course of theire discoveryes, and being desirous that our Subiectę should forbeare to move or beginn any quarrell or contenc̃on, betwene[2] the Subiectę of our Confederates frindę or Allies either in theire gooing forth or retorning from any of theire voyages Wee therefore doe hereby straightly charge and com̃aund you the said Captaine Christofer Newport, and all other vnder your Com̃aund, that neither in your voyage outward or homeward, or in any Country Iland Port or place, where you shall abide, or come, during your time of being abroad, out of our kingdomes or Dominions, where you meete, wth any the subiectę of the king of Spaine, or of any other our Confederatę frindę or Allyes, or of any other Nac̃on or people theire shippes vessellę goodę, or merchandizes, you doe not attempt or goe about to sett vpon take or surprize, theire ꝑsons Shippę vessellę goodę or merchandizes or offer any iniury or discourtesie vnto them; as you will answere the contrary, at your vttermost ꝑillę Except yo[u] shalbe by them first therevnto iustly provoked, or driven either in the iust defence of your owne ꝑsons, Shippę vessellę goodę or m[r]chandizes by any their disturbance or hinderance whatsoever in yo[r] quiett course of Trade, or for recompence and recouery of the persons shipę goodę or merchandizes of any our Subiectę, that are allready in or neare the *East Indies*, or for any other iust cause of your defence, In w[ch] cases soe excepted, yf you attempt surprize and take, the ꝑsons shippę or goodę of any *Prince* or *State*, by whose Subiectę yo[u]

[1] An evident mistake for "and."

[2] This should be "upon."

shall susteyne any wronge, or Losse in manner as aforesaid, you shall not for any such act or actę grounded vpon the occacons aboue mencõned, be in danger or subiect to the ꝑill and penaltyes of our Lawes, Alwayes p^r^supposing and soe requiring you to vse all possible endeavo^rs^, by all meanes whatsoever, to suffer noe spoyle to be made of any goodes or merchandizes, nor imbeazaling of any thing whatsoever, that shalbe recouered by yo^u^. but to se them safely brought home, with the billę of lading and charter ꝑties to thintent that there may be restitucõn made by vs, soe soone as you shall receive satisfaccõn from that State or people, by whome you are dampnifyed of what Nacõn soever, And forasmuch as our said Subiectę the merchantę and other the aduenturers of this voyadge out of providence and forsight of any mortallitie either by sicknes or otherwise wch God forbidd should befall vnto our Subiect the said Captaine Christofer Newport, haue made choise of yo^u^ our trustie and loving subiect, Ioseph Saulbanck to succeede the said Captaine Christofer Newport, in the charge of principall Comaunder of all the persons imployed in this voyadge as aforesaid, wee doe alsoe in case such an accident should happen, allowe and approve of theire choise in that behalfe, And doe hereby giue full power and aucthoritie to you the said Ioseph Saulbancke, to doe [and] execute, and[1] and eu^r^y thinge incident to the charge of Principall Comaunder of all the ꝑsons imployed in that voyadge as aforesaid in as ample mann^r^ and forme, and to all intentę and purposes as is before Comitted and imposed vpon our subiect Captaine Christofer Newport And theis our Lres shalbe allsoe sufficient warrant and discharge to the said Ioseph Saulbanck for the dooing and executing of all and singuler of all and singuler the p^r^miss^s^ *In witnes* whereof wee haue caused theis our Lres to be made Pattentę Witnes our selfe at Westm^r^ the Sixt day of Ianuary in the Ninthe yeare of the raigne of England ffraunce and Ireland and of Scotland the ffiue and ffortith[2]

p bre de privato Sigillo

Coppin.

[1] This should be "all."

[2] 6th January, 1611/12.

ARTICLES OF Agreement made and concluded the Sixteenth daie of November 1614 betwixt the Gou^{r}n^{r} and Company of merchantꝭ of London trading into the East Indies on the one ꝑte: And Sr Thomas Rooe knight on thoth[er] parte as followeth.[1]

WHEREAS the Gouerno^{r} and Company haue nomynated the foresaid *Sr Thomas Roe* and procured his ma^{tie}: to employ him as his Embassador to the Grand *Magore*, for the better establishing and setlinge an absolute trade in any partꝭ, wthin the Dominions of the greate *Mogore* aforesaid

THE said Gou^{r}ner and company, finding that they cannot convenyently proporcõn any certenty for the expenc[e] of Diett, both for Sr Thomas Roe and his retinewe, doe leaue the managing thereof, to his Discrecõn care and wisdome, relying vpon his frugallity, wherein he promiseth his vttermost endeavors, And to cause a iust accompt, to be kept of all expences, from the beginning to the End, as alsoe to deliuer vpp a ꝑticuler, of whatsoever shalbe allowed vnto him by the grand *Mogore*, And if it shall soe happen that the Grand Mogore, shall graunt a daylie or yearely allowance, vnto him for his diett and followers, during his abode there to countervaile those expences, That then he shall free the Company from the said chardge

THE said Sr Thomas Roe doth promise to forbeare all private Trade, for himselfe or any other either directly or indirectly and

[1] The negotiations which ended in the drawing up of this agreement will be found on the Court Minutes of the same date. The entry concludes "The Couenantes as "they be exactlie concluded and engrost, and past betwixt the Company and him, "are entred in *the booke wher ye Comissions be*."

The story of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy to the Great Mogul (1615-19) is well known from his *Journal*, which has been several times reprinted. Sir Thomas, a scion of a family of London merchants, had been knighted by James I. in 1604, and in 1609 had made an adventurous voyage to South America under the patronage of Prince Henry. After his return from India, he was in 1621 sent ambassador to Constantinople, where he remained seven years. In 1629 he was despatched on a special mission to Sweden, and afterwards to Copenhagen and various German courts. In 1641 Charles I. sent him as his representative to the Diet of Ratisbon, and on his return made him Chancellor of the order of the Garter, and a member of the Privy Council. He died in 1644. (See an interesting article in the *Calcutta Review*, June, 1857.)

doth assure the Company by a faithfull promise to hinder it in others (All that he can[)], and to giue intelligence vnto them, of any that he shall take notice of to offend in that nature or shall by any meanes come to the knowledge of and wilbe ready to giue his best assistance vnto theire cheife ffactor, (vpon any occacōn) to punish all offenders that shall deserue punishment, according to the quallity of theire offences

AND lastly to free himselfe from all iust cause of doubt, concerning theire stock in the Country. Hee is willing not to intermeddle, wth any of theire moneyes there, as he doth voluntarily offer, And will not desir[e] aboue the value of One hundred poundͤ vpon any spetiall occacōns, to haue it repaid back againe out of his meanes, when they shall growe due. Promising not to haue to doe wth any parte of there m^r^chandize, but to Leaue it wholly to the Managing of theire facto^rs^, whome they shall appoint for theis purposes

IN CONSIDERACON of the premiss^s^ the said Gouern^r^ and Company doe for themselfes and y^r^ Successors promise to allowe vnto the said *Sr Thomas* Roe yerely (for soe long time as he shalbe imployed in this service[)] the some of Six hundred poundͤ, Three hundred thereof to be paid in the *Country* at fower shillingͤ sixpence the Riall, for his maintenance of Apparrell and other expences, And thother Three hundred poundͤ shall yerely be put into the Ioinct stocke, to be ymployed for his benifitt ꝑportionablely wth all other aduentures. ffor his better encouragem^t^, whereby to tye his uttermost endeavo^rs^ to be ymployed for the good of the Company, They were willing to giue him a true Testimony of theire affeccōns. And therefore bestowed on him freely the some of ffive hundred markes ympresed vpon his Salarie to dispose of as he should thinke fitting

THE said Gouerno^r^ and Company desiring to be at a certenty conc^r^ning the wages of all such servantͤ as shall attend him are contented to allowe him a hundred poundes ꝑ Annū for him to giue them satisfaccōn, besides a preacher and Chirurgion whoe shall haue wages at the Companyes charge, the Preacher 50^li^ ꝑ Annū, and the Chirurgion Twenty and ffower poundͤ And did freely bestowe the some of Thirty poundͤ to be disposed by him

for the Liueryes of his said followers, In consideracõn whereof, he promiseth to entertayne none to attend him, but such as the Company shall approve of.

THE said Gouerner and Company are likewise contented to deliuer vnto *Sr Thomas Roe* the some of ffifteene[1] poundes in hand, being the one halfe of the yerely allowaũce, giuen by the Compn̄ towardę the entertainemt of his followers, and alsoe ffiue and Twenty poundes, for the halfe of the yearely allowance given by them vnto the Preacher, and Twelue poundę for the like halfe yeares allowance vnto the Chirurgion, And for the time ensewing, it is agreed to haue them[2] halfe of theire said yearely allowance to be paid vnto *Sr Thomas Roe* in the Country for theire dischardge

AND lastly the said Gouernor and company are contented to lend vnto the said *Sr Thomas Roe*, the some of one hundred poundes to buy plate for his Table, wch some he promiseth to repaie back againe, at his retorne or deliur the value thereof in *Plate* Or to haue it answered out of his Aduenture if he die

MEMORANDUM whereas *Sr Thomas Roe Kt.* hath receyved the some of Three hundred thirtie and three poundes six shillingę and Eight pence[3] ꝑte of the *Salary* wch is to bee allowed him for the ymployment according to former agreement whereby there cannot be soe much put into the Iointe stock, the first yeare as is formerly mencõned, The said Sr Thomas Roe doth therefore Couenant to haue one hundred markes more of his salarie to make vpp the full of ffower hundred poundes to be paid heare to such as he shall consigne it vnto. and onely Twoe hundred poundę put into the ioynt stock, for his vse in this his first yeare, of ymployment, The second yeare Three hundred poundes as was formerly resould[4] of and the like for the Third, wch in theis Three yeares will arise to the some of Eight hundred poundes to be disposed for his benefit in the Ioinct stock accordinge to former Couenant and agreement

IN WITNES of wch agreement and Covennt́ę concluded the

[1] This should apparently be "fifty" (see the preceding paragraph).

[2] A mistake for "the one"?

[3] *i.e.* the five hundred marks already mentioned.

[4] This should be "resolued."

said Gou^{r}nor and Company haue for themselues and there Successo^{rs} caused theire Common Seale to be fixed to one ꝑte thereof, And the said *Sr Thomas Roe,* hath to the other ꝑte put his hand and Seale the day and yeare first aboue written

IAMES[1] by the grace of god king of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland, defendo^{r} of the ffaith &c: TO our trusty and welbeloued Subiect, Cap^{ne} Nicholas Downton, WHERAS divers of o^{r} lovinge Subiectꝭ by the name of the Gou^{r}ner and Companye of M^{r}chantꝭ of London tradinge into the East Indies at their owne adventures costꝭ and chargꝭ for the honor of this o^{r} Relme of England, and for the encrease and advauncement of trade and M^{r}chandize wthin the same, haue sett fourth sundrye voyagꝭ to the said East Indyes and haue already discou^{r}ed, and beginne to settle a trade in those ꝑtꝭ, And intending the continuinge therof, aswell by frequenting those placꝭ alreadi settled, as by further discou^{r}yes of oth^{r} ꝑtꝭ wch may be fit for interchanging of the Comodityes of o^{r} kingdomes wth the Comodities of those placꝭ, such as may be of spetiall vse and benefitt to vs and o^{r} subiectꝭ, Having to this purpose now p^{r}pared and sett fourth ffoure good shippes called the *Newyeares guift. Hector Hope & Solomon*, to the said East Indyes, and the placꝭ adioyninge thervnto. And wheras o^{r} said subiectꝭ the adventurers of those voyagꝭ haue chosen the said Cap^{ne} Nicholas Downtō to be the principall Commander or Gen^{r}all of all the m^{r}chantꝭ Maryn^{r}s and other o^{r} Subiectꝭ wch are or shalbe shipped in the said ffoure shippes We gratiously favouring their intended voyage, and approuing and allowing of

[1] A Royal Commission to Captain Downton (see note, page 318) for a voyage in 1614, on account of the *First Joint Stock*. This document has been copied in a very careless manner, and it appears to be unfinished, nothing being said as to the person on whom the direction of the voyage is to devolve in the event of Downton's death. There is a minute of this grant at the Public Record Office (see *Cal. of State Papers, E. Indies*, 1513-1616, p. 277), under date 16th February, 1613/4, from which we learn that William Edwardes was the person nominated to succeed to the command.

their choise of y^{u} [to] the same place of Commaund, being willing to furnish y^{u} wth all fitt and convenient pow^{r} and authoritye to rule & gou^{r}ne all and euerye of o^{r} Subiectꝭ imployed in this voyage, by a due obedience to be by them yeilded vnto yo^{u} in the observing and executing of all such goodꝭ orders and constitucõns as yo^{u} shall thinke convenient to ordayne or make for the furtheraunce of the said voyage accordinge to such ꝑticuler direccõns and instruccõns as yo^{u} shall receive from the said Gou^{r}ner and Company of M^{r}chauntꝭ the adventurers in this voyage wch direccons and instruccõns o^{r} intention is, And soe we will and require yo^{u} that yo^{u} punctuallye observe in all thingꝭ. WEE do therfore stracklye charge and command all and eu^{r}y ꝑson or ꝑsons ymployed in this voyage and shipped in those said ffoure shippes to give all due obedience and respect vnto yo^{u}, during the said voyage, and to beare themselues one towardꝭ an oth^{r} in good orde^{r} and quietnes, for the avoyding any occacion, that might breede mutynie quarrellꝭ or dessentions amongst them to the hinderaunce or good successe wch is to be hoped for, by Godꝭ prouidence of the said voyage, And in default of such dutye and obedience to be ꝑformed towardꝭ yo^{u} for the correcting and quenching of all such mutynies quarrellꝭ or dessentions that may arrise by the euill and disorderly disposicõns of any ꝑsons whatsoeu^{r}. WEE do hereby authorize yo^{u} the said Cap^{ne} Nicholas Downton during the said voyadge or during so longe tyme as you shall liue in the said voyage. To chastice correct and punish all offendo^{rs} transgresso^{rs} in that behalfe, according to the quallitye of their offencꝭ wth such punishmentꝭ as are commonly vsed in all Armyes at Sea, when they are not capitall, And for capitall offencꝭ as wilfull murthe^{r} wch is hatfull in the sight of god, or Mutynie wch is an offence that may tend to the ou^{r}throw of the said voyage, the same being duly and iustly proued, against any of the ꝑson or ꝑsons aforesaid WEE do hereby giue vnto you the said Cap^{ne} Nicholas Downtō during all the tyme of the said voyage or during so long as you shall liue in the said voyage, full power and authoritye to vse and put in execution our law called Martiall lawe in that behalfe. But that therin you doe expresly vse the advise and counsell of the two principall Masters and of the two principall M^{r}chauntꝭ appoynted for the tyme

being, or of any two of them. And theis o^r letters shalbe vnto you sufficient warrant and discharge for the doeing and executing of all and singuler the p^{r}misses. AND forasmuch as at this p^{r}sent tyme wee are in amitye wth all Christian Princes, And are vnwilling that any o^r Subiectꝭ should giue occacion of breach or hinderance therof towardꝭ any o^r Confederatꝭ freindꝭ or Allyes And because we are not ignorant of the emulation and envye, wch doth accompanye the discou^{r}ye of Countryes and tradꝭ and of the quarrellꝭ and contencõns wch doe many tymes fall out betweene the Subiectꝭ of divers Princes, when they meete the one wth the other in forreyne and farre remote Countryes in prosecuting the course of their discou^{r}ings; And being desirous that our Subiectꝭ should forbeare to moue or beginne any quarrell or contencõns vppon the subiectꝭ of o^r Confederatꝭ friendꝭ or Allyes eythe^r in their going fourth or retouring from any of their voyagꝭ WEE therfore doe hereby straicly charge and commaund yo^u the said Cap^{ne} Nicholas Downton, and all other vnder yor gou^{r}ment, that neyther in yor voyage outwardꝭ or homewardꝭ or in any Countrye Island Port or place wher yo^u shall abide or come during the tyme of yor being abroade out of o^r kingdomes or dominions wher you meete wth any the Subiectꝭ of the king of *Spayne* or of any other o^r confederatꝭ, friendꝭ or Allyes or of any other nation, or people, their shippes vessellꝭ goodꝭ or M^{r}chandize yo^u doe not attempt or goe about to sett vpon take or surprize, their ꝑsons, shippes, vessellꝭ goodꝭ or M^{r}chandizes Or offer any iniurye or discourtesie vnto them (except y^u shalbe by them, first thervnto iustlye prouoked or driuē, eyther in the iust defence of yor owne ꝑsons, shippes vessells goodꝭ or M^{r}chandizes by any their disturbances or hinderance whatsoeu^r in yor quiet course of Trade Or for recompence and recou^{r}ye of the ꝑsons, Shippes goodꝭ or M^{r}chandizes of any o^r Subiectꝭ that are already in or neare the *East India* or for any other iust cause of yor defence In wch causes so excepted, of y^u attempt surprize and take the ꝑsons Shippes and goodꝭ of any Princes or State, by whose Subiectꝭ y^u shall sustayne any wronge or losse in mann^r as aforesaid y^u shall not for any such act or actꝭ grounded vppon the occasions aboue mencõned be in daunger or subiect to the ꝑill and penaltyes of our lawes Alwayes p^{r}sup-

posing and soe requiring yo^{u} to vse all possible indeavo^{rs} by all meanes whatsoeu^{r} to suffer noe spoyle to be made of any goodꝭ or M^{r}chadize nor imbezilling of any thingꝭ whatsoeu^{r} that shalbe recou^{r}ed by you, But to see them sauflye brought home wth their Billes of lading and Chart^{r} ꝑties, to the intent that their may be restitucōn made by vs so soone as y^{u} shall receive satisfaccōn from that State or people by home you are dampnified of what nation soeu^{r}.

JAMES[1] by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, ffrance and Ireland defend^{r} of the faith &c. TO our trustye and welbeloued Subiect Cap^{ne} Dauid Middleton. WHERAS dyuers of o^{r} louing Subiectꝭ, by the name of the Gouern^{r} and Companye of M^{r}chantꝭ of Londō, trading into the East Indyes at ther owne aduentures costꝭ and charges for the hono^{r} of this o^{r} Realme of England and for the encrease and aduauncem^{t} of trade and merchandize wthin the same, haue set forth sundrye voiagꝭ to the said East Indyes, and haue alreadye discouered and begunne to settle a trade into those ꝑtꝭ, And intending the contynuinge therof, aswell by frequenting those placꝭ alreade setled, as by furth^{r} discoueryes of oth^{r} ꝑtꝭ wch may be fit for interchanging of the Comōdityes of o^{r} kingdomes wth the Comōdityes of those placꝭ, such as may be of speciall vse and benefitt to vs and o^{r} subiectꝭ. Hauing to this purpose now p^{r}pared and set forth thre good Shippes, called the Samaritane, the Thomas and the Tomazin, to the said East Indyes, and the placꝭ adioyning therunto, And wheras o^{r} said subiectꝭ the Aduenture^{rs} of those voiagꝭ, haue chosen y^{u} the said Cap^{ne} Dauid Middletō, to be the principall Comaund^{r} or Generall of all the M^{r}ch^{t}ꝭ Maryners and other o^{r} Subiectꝭ wch are or shalbe shipped in the said thre shippes, Wee graciouslye fauouring their intended voiage, and approuing and allowing of their choise of y^{u} to the same place of comaund,

[1] A commission to Captain David Middleton (see note, page 115) for his voyage in 1614.

being wylling to furnishe y^u^ wth all fitt and conuenyent power, and aucthoritye, to rule & gouerne all and eu^r^ye o^r^ Subiect͞e employed in this voiage, by a due obedyence to be by them yeilded vnto y^u^ in the obseruing and executing of all such good orders and constitucc͞ons as y^u^ shall thinke conuenient to ordeyne and make, for the furtherance of the said voiage according to such ꝑticl̄er direcc͞ons and enstrucc͞ons as y^u^ shall receiue from the said Gouern^r^ and Companie of M^r^chant͞e the Aduenturers in this voiage. W^ch^ direcc͞ons and enstrucc͞ons our intentiō is, And so wee wyll and require y^u^ that y^u^ punctuallye obserue in all thing͞e. WEE do therfore straictlye charge and cōmaund all and euerye ꝑson or ꝑsons employed in this voiage, and shipped in those said three shippes, to giue all due obedyence and respect vnto y^u^, during the said voiage, And to beare themselues one toward͞e anoth^r^ in good ord^r^ and quietnes, for the auoyding any occasiō, that might breede mutinye quarrells, or dissentions amongst thē, to the hinderance of the good successe wch is to be hoped for by God͞e prouidence of the said voiage. And in default of such duitye and obedience to be ꝑfourmed toward͞e y^u^ for the correcting & quenching of all such mutinyes quarrells or dissenc͞ons that may arise by the euill and disorderlye disposic͞ons of any ꝑsons whatsoeu^r^, WEE do hereby aucthorize y^u^ the said Cap^ne^ Dauid Middletō, during the said voiage, or during so long time as y^u^ shall liue in the said voiage, To chastice, correct and punishe all offend^rs^ and transgresso^rs^ in that behalf, according to the qualitye of their offenc͞e, wth such punishm^t^͞e as are cōmonlye vsed in all Armyes at Sea, when they are not capitall, And for capitall offenc͞e, as wilfull murthe^r^, wch is hatefull in the sight of God, or Mutinye wch is an offence that may tend to the ou^r^throwe of the said voiage, the same being dulye and iustlye proued against any of the ꝑson or ꝑsonnes aforesaid. WEE do hereby giue vnto y^u^ the said Cap^ne^ Dauid Middletō during all the tyme of the said voiage, or during so long as y^u^ shall liue in the said voiage, full power and aucthoritye, to vse and put in execuc͞on our lawe called Martiall lawe in that behalf: But that therin y^u^ do exp^r^slye vse the aduise and counsell of the two principall Maisters, and of the two principall m^r^chant͞e appointed for the time being, or of any two of them.

And theis our ꝉres shalbe vnto y^{u} sufficient warrant and discharge, for the doing and executing of all and singꝉer the p^{r}misses. AND forasmuch as at this p^{r}sent tyme, wee are in amitye wth all Christian Princꝭ, And are vnwylling that any o^{r} Subiectꝭ should giue occasiō of breach or hinderance therof towardꝭ any o^{r} Confederates friendꝭ or Allyes; And because wee are not ignorant of the emulatiō and enuye, wch doth accompanie the discouerye of Countryes and Trades, and of the quarrells and contencõns, wch do many times fall out, betwene the Subiectꝭ of dyu^{r}s Princꝭ, when they meete the one wth the oth^{r} in forreyne and farre remote Countryes, in prosecuting the course of their discou^{r}yes; And being desirous that our Subiectꝭ should forbeare to moue or beginne any quarrell or contencõn vppō the subiectꝭ of our Confederates, friendꝭ or Allyes, eith^{r} in their going forth, or retourning frō any of their voiag[ꝭ] WEE therfore do herby straictlye charge and cōmaund y^{u} the said Cap^{ne} Dauid Middletō, and all ot[hers] vnd^{r} yor gouernm^{t}, that neith^{r} in yor voiage outwardꝭ or homewardꝭ, or in any Countrye, Island Port or place, wher y^{u} shall abide or come, during the time of yor being abroad out of o^{r} kingdomes or dominions, wher y^{u} meete wth any the Subiectꝭ of the king of *Spaine*, or of any oth^{r} our Confederates friendꝭ or Allyes, or of any oth^{r} Natiō or people, ther shippes vessells goodꝭ, or m^{r}chandizes, y^{u} do not attempt, or go about to set vppō take or surprize, their ꝑsons, shippes, vessells, goodꝭ, or M^{r}chandizes, Or offer any iniurye or discourtesie vnto thē, (except y^{u} shalbe by thē first therunto iustlye prouoked or driuē, eith^{r} in the iust defence of yor owne persons, Shippes, vessells good or M^{r}chandizes by any their disturbance or hinderaunce whatsoeu^{r}, in yor quiet course of Trade, Or for recompence and recou^{r}ye of the persons, Shippes goodꝭ or m^{r}chandizes of any our Subiectꝭ, that are alreadie in or neare the *East Indies*, or for any oth^{r} iust cause of yor defence[)], In wch cases so excepted, if y^{u} attempt surprize and take the ꝑsons Shippes and goodꝭ of any Princes or State, by whose Subiectꝭ y^{u} shall sustayne any wrong or losse in mann^{r} as aforesaid, y^{u} shall not for any such act or actꝭ grounded vppon the occasions aboue mencõned, be in daung^{r} or subiect to the ꝑill and penaltyes of our lawes. Alwayes p^{r}supposing, and so requiring

y^{u} to vse all possible endeuo^{rs}, by all meanes w^{t}soeu^{r}, to suffer no spoile to be made of any goodꝭ or M^{r}chandizes, Nor imbezilling of any thingꝭ whatsoeu^{r}, that shalbe recou^{r}ed by y^{u}, But to see them sauflye brought home wth their Billes of lading & Chart^{r} ꝑties; to the intent that ther may be restitucōn made by vs, so soone as y^{u} shall receiue satisfaccōn from that State or people by whome y^{u} are dampnifyed of what Nacion soeu^{r}. In wytnes wherof wee haue caused theis o^{r} l̄res to be made Pattentꝭ. Witnes o^{r} self at Westm^{r} the one and twentith day of Aprill, in the Twelfth yeare of o^{r} raigne of *England France* and *Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the seuen and fortith.

Coppin.

Per l̄re de priuato Sigillo.

A declaration of the opinions of vs the Gouern^{r} and Company of M^{r}ch^{t}ꝭ of Londond trading into the East Indies, what we thinke fitt to set downe as Enstruccōns for the right Honble Sr Tho: Roe,[1] his Maties Embassador residing wth the great Mogoll. concerning the setling of a Trade in Persia.

Ffirst THAT yor Lo^{pp} receiue due informacōn from *Armenians Moores* and such oth^{r} M^{r}ch^{t}ꝭ, as trade out of *Persia* into the *Mogores* dominions, of the distance of place, wher the Silke is principallye to be had, vnto the Port, that may be most cōmodious for our Shippes to repaire vnto.

2. ALSO to take good knowledge of a suffic^{t} Port, both for fitnes (in regard of repaire, and entrance therunto) as also for the saufetye of o^{r} people and goodꝭ.

3. LIKEWISE of the quantitye of Silke that is yearlye bought by m^{r}ch^{t}ꝭ and exported out of *Persia*. As also of the currant price, that it beareth in those partꝭ ordinarily, And what the charge therof may be, by cariage from that place vnto the Port wher wee ar to lade it To the end that the principall cost and chargꝭ, may plainlye appeare vnto vs.

[1] See page 446, note.

4. WHICH pointꝭ being dulye examined and informacõn taken accordinglye then to consid^{r} of some fitting ꝑson or persons (two or three at the most) whome yo^{u} may send to treate wth the *King of Persia,* on our Kingꝭ behalf, for the establishment of such a Trade wth vs as will aunswer wth o^{r} meanes and ventꝭ of our Com̄odityes . well enstructed by yor Lo^{pp} in the Articles following, and such oth^{r} thingꝭ as to yo^{u} shall seme most convenient, And therin to lymit the chargꝭ, according to yor Lo^{ps} discrecõn, for that wee haue fownd the expencꝭ of Richard Steele,[1] to be verie extraordinarye and much distastfull to the Company

5. AND the better to enhable them to treate wth the *Kinge of Persia* or his officers, wee haue sent yo^{u} a Coppie of the Capitulacõns, agreed vppon betwixt the *Kings Matie* and the *Grand Sig^{r}.* for our free Trade into *Turkey,* wherby (wth yor Lo^{pps} good helpe) such Articles may be framed ther to be sent wth them, as may be fit to be p̄nted to the *King of Persia* for the establishm^{t} of what wee desire: least being referred to their setting downe somwhat may be mistaken to o^{r} disadvantage And for the better enhabling of yor Lo: therin, wee haue set downe such other notes, as wee thinke fit to be incerted.

To say.

1. THAT there may be a certaine rate agreed vppon for Customes or Tolles (yf any be ther payable) and that wth as much fauo^{r} as may be.

2. THAT ther may be assigned vs a saufe and secure Port, wher o^{r} shippes may ride, wthout ꝑill of the Seas, and daunger of the Enemyes, And wher our Mart for the selling of ours, and buying of their com̄odityes may be setled, wthout ou^{r} farre cariage into the Countrye.

3 THAT wee may haue some good assurance, That for their Silke they will accept at the least th'one half of *English* com̄odityes at reasonable rates, especiallye Cloath at 20^{li} str ꝑ Cloath or 80 Ryalls of 8.

Blewe Kersies of 20 yardꝭ ꝑ peece at 25 Rꝭ of 8 ꝑ peece

Northerne Kersyes in coulo^{rs} of 17 yardꝭ the Kersye, at 16 Rꝭ of 8.

[1] See note on next page.

Tynne in barres, at 30 Rę of 8, the 100 wt English
Batterye[1] ałs Brasse kettles, at 40 Rę of 8 the 100 wt
The other half to be paid in ready mony, Spicę and othr *Indian* com̄odityes.

6. AND the better to explaine or selues, what wee desire, That the price of Silke may be contracted for more certaintie, and some good assurance giuen that it may be laden cleare of all chargę, abourd our shipps, at a Riall & a half of 8 the pownd of 16 ouncę, wch is the greatest price that we can resolue to giue, and is more then the whight *China* silke doth cost in the *Indies*, that is sould here for aboue 20ss the pownd of 16 ouncę. And this *Persian* silke sould here (according to ordinarie price) not for aboue 16ss the pownd of 16 ouncę.

At wch pricę, and good condic̄ons as aforesaid wee shalbe able to take from the *Persian* yearlie 8000 Bales of his silke, of 180li English ech Bale or ther aboutę Yor Lo: may ꝑceiue what or desire is by the prmisses, But if you cannot effect it in the same mannr & condic̄ons, Then to trye howe neare you may bring it thervnto. And therof to certifye vs wth all possible expedic̄on, That according as wee find cause wee may procede.

Honorble, and right wortt Sirs[2]

I HAUE since my coming home ouerland proposed the Trade of Rawsilkes from *Persia*, the rathr because the kinge of *Persia* haue giuen way to yt by *Cape Iasqus* found out the tyme I spent in *Persia*, being a *Cape* of the mayne 30 leagues lowe of Ormus toward *Sinday*, *Sr Robert Shirley* heard not of this *Cape*, vntill he had yt from my self, for at his being in Embassadg from his Maister

[1] Metal articles, especially of brass or copper, wrought by hammering; hence apparatus for preparing or serving meals (cp. the French *batterie de cuisine*).

[2] A letter from Richard Steel, undated, but probably written at the latter end of 1616 or the beginning of 1617. Steel, "a young man of Bristol," had crossed Persia in the summer of 1614 in pursuit of a fraudulent debtor, and, making his way to Surat, had given so glowing an account of opportunities for trade in Persia that he was despatched with another factor to Ispahan to obtain the necessary firman. Having effected his object, Steel, in accordance with his instructions, made his way

the *Sophey* he proposed onely oth[r] 4 Portꝭ in the *Persian* Countrye, to say, *Damon, Batan, Barin,* and *Rochell,*[1] w[ch] are Portꝭ that a shippe of aboue one hundred Tonnes can hardly

overland to England, where he arrived in May, 1616. He was well received by the Company, and went out again in Captain Pring's fleet in February, 1617, reaching Surat in October of that year; and for some time after, Steel, and his wife, and his waterworks project (which seems never to have come to anything) were a sore trouble to Sir Thomas Roe. Steel returned with Roe in 1619, and received a very cold welcome at the hands of the Company. His offers of service in October, 1623, were declined; but a few years later, having secured some powerful influence to back him, he was more successful, and in January, 1626, was once more in the Company's employment. He was sent "to the southwards," *i.e.* to Java, though not without opposition on his part, as he desired to return to the scene of his former employment. His private trading soon gave cause for complaint, and in 1627 the Court determined to peremptorily recall him; and here his history closes.

[1] It may be of interest to quote in this connection the account given of these ports in "a noate of the portes in *perseia:* obserued from S[r] Robertt Sherley:", which was enclosed in a letter to the Company from Thomas Keridge, dated from Ajmere, 20th March, 1614/5 (*O. C.* 270):—

"*Damone* is the seconde porte w[th]in Iasques and is the best and strongest in the "kinge of *perseias* Domynyons, itt lyeth 3 lea: of Ormus right oposyte therevnto, "where Rydeth all mann[r] of Shippes, w[th]out feare or Danger exceptt itt be of att Sea:

"*Batan* lyeth 35 lea: w[th]in Ormus a very good Roade, itt hathe a smale Iland "lyinge in the mouthe thereof, by w[ch] itt is defended from the wynde w[ch] Cometh of "the Sea, and is nott muche vnlyke the *Baye of Saldanya* att *Cape esperance*, saue thatt "itt is nott so big, itt is nott fortefyed, butt hathe a smale Cyttye where is greate "trade of the pearle w[ch] is brought from Bareyne.

"*Bareyne* is an Island vpon the Coaste of Arabya 40 lea: of the Coaste of *perseia*, "itt yealdes no profitt for Comodytye, exceptt only the fishnge of pearle w[ch] are "esteemed to be y[e] richest and best in the worlde, this Iland the kinge of *perseia* "tooke from the porting: and keepeth a Garison of 800 horse thereon this place is "Invyroned w[th] shoales in suche sorte, thatt smale *fustoes* very often runne agrownde "and is nott nauygable w[th] vesselles of Burthen.

"*Rashell* lyeth 80 lea: from Ormus w[th]in the Gulfe of *perseia*, itt is well fortefyed "and hathe 5 fad: water on the one syde and 7 fad: on the other syde thereof, the "kinge keepeth there Contynually 100 *fustoes* and Galleys w[th] them to Cutt of all "passengers thatt Offer to goe from Ormus to Balsora, w[ch] is the Turrkes Domynyon, "and no porting: vessell approache in sight butt they Chase them, and some 8 yeares "synce they tooke a porting: shippe of 1400 tto[s]: for breache of the premises. this "Rashell is a fyne towne, and hath a nauigable Ryu[r] for Boates of Burthen in 8 "dayes to goe vp to *Sherase* w[ch] is the second Cyttie in *perseia* and 10 dayes Iourney "wth Cam[lles]: from Espahawne, the kinges Chiefe Seate."

Damone appears from this description to be Gombroon; *Batan* is perhaps Bostanah, near Lingeh; *Bareyne* will at once be recognized as Bahrein; and *Rashell* (otherwise Raxel) is Reshire (near Bushire), now an insignificant village, but once a well-known port.

Anker ther, and yet nearer *Ormus*, then *Cape Iasqus* wch I haue bene credibley enformed of that shipping of 5 or 6 hundred Tonnes may Ancho^{r} wthin Sacar[1] shott of the shore, wch great shipping as I iudge is fitter to deffend the assault of the *Portugalls* then those of smaler burthen.

Secondly, I proposed the trade wch the *Portugalls* had from *Sinday* to *Ormus* in transportations of *Persians, Turkes, Indians* and *Armenians* goodę, wch amounteth yearly to aboue 60 thousand poundę at 14 ꝑ Cent as haue bene paid; and that I haue found the M^{r}chantę willing to embrace being weary of their long trauaile ouer land from *Lahoare* vnto *Spahan* in *Persia*, wch is 5 monthes Iourney besides the toyles and Customes wth losse of many Cam̄ells by reason of their heauy com̄odityes, as *Indicoes, Drugs, Carpets Cheetes*,[2] *Pintadoes*, all sortę of *Lyn̄in, Sugers, Rise*, and the like, for of my knowledg ther passeth yearlye from *Lahoare* to *Persia* 12 or 14000 Cam̄ells loadę of these Com̄odityes for the vse of *Persia*, and *Turkey*, and before the peace broken twixt the *Persian* and *Portugall*, ther passed not ou^{r} land yearly 5 or 6 hundred Cam̄ells, But the *Portugalls* through their pride, doth make the *Persian* M^{r}chantę seeke to them for their sea passage, wch is not aboue 12 daies sayle, and hauing the com̄oditie of the *Riuer Indus*, wch passeth through the famous Cittye of *Lahoare*, for the desent of their com̄odityes to *Sinday*.

Thirdly, I proposed furnishing both the *Mogores*, & the *Persians* Countrye wth spices, and *Cheiny* Com̄odityes, wherof pepper is the chief, in wch I dare spend my iudgment those 2 Countryes ventę more then all *Europe*, and althoughe it groweth nearer to either of those Countryes then ours, as along the Coast of *Malabars* and oth^{r} partę in the *Portugalls* handę, yet I find it not sould much cheaper then in *England*, as ꝑ a briefe Tareg sheweth[3] the reason that neith^{r} the *Persians* nor *Mogores* people dares bring it by sea, in feare of Confiscation of life and goodę to the said *Portugalls*, being as they say the kingę Com̄oditye to pay the souldiers, I iudge that pepper may be brought from *Bantam* to *Suratt* or *Sinday*. for the *Mogores* people

[1] Saker (see note, page 82).
[2] Chintzes (see note, page 59).
[3] See page 462.

and to *Cape Iasqus* for the *Persian* at better rates then they fetch it from the *fflemings* in *Messelpotania*,[1] through the kingdomes of *Dekane* being 5 Thousand & odd myles by Camell.

ffourthly I proposed how needfull it was to giue way vnto certaine shipping in the Countrye, for the contenting of the *Gouzerates*, *Cambayans*, and *Lahoares*, in conuey of their shippes for the Red Sea, or othr partẽ, wch shipping are at *Suratt Baroch*, and *Goga*, to the number of 12 sayle of shipping, ech shippe aboue 600 Tonnes wch dare not stirre for feare of the *Portugalls*, for I haue heard the chief of those Mrchantẽ saye that the Trade of the *English* is not the wipeing away of ye Thousand part of their Comodityes wch vented when they had peace wth the *Portugalls*, wherby I iudge that it was better to find out some trade in those partẽ for the employing of shipping then that 4 or 5 shippes should stay from October vntill March at the Barre of *Suratt* for those 2 Comodityes wch I haue found their Ambassadors and ffryars at *Agra* desire might come to passe when I terrefied them wth the ioyning of our Nation and the *Hollandrs* when they should haue more then their handẽ full.

ffiftly, I proposed for a water worke, wch might giue the Chief Cittye of the *Mogores* content, vent Lead, and bring both our land proffitt to the wor Company wch is to be don vppon the Riuer *Ieminy*[2] wch passeth by *Agra*, from wch Riuer the whole Cittye is supplyed, although they haue great toyle in fetching it on Camells, horses, Chariottẽ, Oxen, mens backẽ, to their houses; for water in those hott partẽ is verry comfortable, and I doubt not but eithr the king will giue a good gratification or the people of that Cittye pay quarterly or yearly for yt, as of that of Broken Wharff,[3] and this contenting the *Mogor*, wilbe meanes to furthr any othr buisines in his Countrye; yf this water worke go forward, it is fitt the Iron and Brasse workẽ and many wheeles be prouided here, for it would be too toilsome, in those hott

[1] The Dutch had established a factory at Masulipatam in 1614.

[2] Jumna.

[3] A name familiar to Londoners of the time as the site of one of the forcing engines that supplied the city with water. "One other new forcier was made near to "Broken Wharf, to convey Thames water into men's houses of West Cheap, about "Paul's, Fleet Street, &c., by an English gentleman named Bevis Bulmer, in the year "1594" (Stow's *Survey*).

Countryes for our people to worke by fier, the tyme is short, and therfore yf this worke proced this yeare, it is tyme to thinke of yt, I haue proposed these thingℯ, wch in my iudgment may one day take effect, although ther ar little hopes this yeare, yet I doubt not but ere next fleet, ther may be such a carefull preparac̄on made in the Countrye, by the honest industrey of yor seruantℯ, that those partℯ shalbe better discouered then at present, and if in case yor wo^{pps} should giue way to the proceding into *Persia* this yeare, for an Introduction or begining, wch may well be perfourmed wth smale chardge (to wit) yt is likely godwilling that this fleet ariue in October at *Suratt,* wher they may set forward that buisines and afterward proced for *Cape Iasqus;* for neith^{r} the daung^{r} nor chardge wilbe more in Coasting that 14 daies sayle, then lyeing expecting the retourne of *Indicoes,* and *Calicoes,* from *Amadebars,* and in case this take effect, that yt would please yo^{u} to appoint *Sr Thomas Roe* as Embassado^{r} from our king to the *Sophey of Persia,* whose creditt and entertainment wilbe well esteemed the rath^{r} for that he hath bene wth the great *Mogor,* and somwhat made fitt for businesses of those partℯ, I shall willingly keepe him Companye in so worthey buisines, and be a help for obteyning many fauou^{rs} from the said *Sophey,* for the agreementℯ and giueing way to some part of his silkes may come for *England* vppon our securitye being resident wth him.

I presented my seruice to yor wo^{pps} at 200^{li} ꝑ An̄ wagℯ to serue 5 yeares, and in case of proceding for *Persia* or any other buisines, I haue proposed to haue the setting on of it, in that I thinke my self not ignorant of the Languagℯ of those partℯ, and peoples Natures, and willing to encount^{r} the daung^{r}ous heates & treacheryes of the Iesuitℯ and *Portugalls,* for the seruice of my Countrey; I desire also to be permitted to put in 300^{li} venture in the water worke of *Agra* or oth^{r} buisines I shall ꝑfourme in the Countrey, wch godwilling I will manadge, wth my best and honest endeuo^{rs}, for the dischardge of my dutye in a good conscience, towardℯ my worthy employers, and vpright dealing before god, who giueth a blessing to mens honest desires. And forasmuch as since May that I came home, I haue not disposed my self for any other gen^{r}all or ꝑticl̄er employmentℯ wch I might haue had, but depended vppon yor wo^{pps} seruice and in mainteyning the *Mogors*

name so giuen me at *Court*, I haue not altogeth^r^ bene so prouident of my estat as I might haue bene, that if it shall please yo^u^ to remember me towardę my prouisōn I shall rest most thankfull, and remaine yor wo^pps^ seruant in all obeidience.

Richard Stell.

A brief tareg[1] *of Persia.*

Ther may vent in *Persia* yearly 500 Broad Cloathes of 13 or 14^li^ Cloathes being light Colo^r^ed as *Vennice Redds*, *Stamells*, *Purples*, *Violets*,[2] *Light Watshats*[3] *Greens* both *Grass* and *Popengeys*[4] at 3do riadę ꝑ Couetto of 37 ynches and 2000 Colou^r^ed kerseyes at 25do riadę ꝑ pece.

Tyn worth ꝑ *Mahan* 80 *Shahies* the *Mahan* being 10^li^ *English* weight wch is 2^ss^ 8^d^ ꝑ pound.

Lead worth ꝑ *Mahan* 20 *Shahies*, being 8^d^ ꝑ pound.

Iron worth ꝑ *Mahan* 25 *Shahies*, being 10^d^ ꝑ pound.

Pepper worth ꝑ *Mahan* 40 *Shahies* being 16^d^ ꝑ pound.

Sinamond at 36 *Shahies* ꝑ *Mahan*, being 14^d^ ꝑ pound.

Cloues worth 55 abasses ꝑ *Mahan* ech abasse 4 *Shahies* or 16^d^ wch is 7^ss^ 4^d^ ꝑ pound.

The retournes or inuestmentę wch may be had from *Persia* is principaly in Raw silkę at 7^ss^ 6^d^ our pound of 16 ouncę, brought downe to *Cape Jasqus* wch lyeth 18 daies Iourney from *Spahan*, the chief Cittye of Persia of this Cōmoditye the *Persian* Countrey yearly yealdeth 7700 Cāmells loadę of 50 *Mahans* ꝑ load ech *Mahan* 10^li^ *English*, This ꝑcell of Rawsilke goeth for vent through *Turkey* by meanes of the Customes wherof the *Turk* keepes 40 thousand men in armes against the *Persian*, wch when the *Persian* shall haue hopes of venting his silkes by *Sinicus Persicus* will out of doubt giue faire Capitulacōns and agreementę.

[1] Tariff, or rate list, literally "explanation." "Riad" is a mistake for "riall." "Couetto" is the Portuguese "covado," which was reckoned to be about an English ell. *Shahis* and *abbasis* are still current, and are now worth about one halfpenny and twopence respectively. "Mahan" is *mann* (cp. the Indian *maund*), of which there are now three principal kinds, viz. the *mann-i-tabrizi* (Tabreez mina), equal to about 7¼ lbs., the *mann-i-shahi* (Royal mina), equal to about 15 lbs., and the *mann-i-hashimi* (Hashimi mina) equal to 116 lbs.

[2] These are all denominations of stuffs of the red-blue series (see page 96).

[3] See page 98, note.

[4] See page 96, note.

Rubarbe, groweth in *Persia*, and is worth 40 *Shahies* ꝑ *Mahan* wch is 16^{d} ꝑ pound.

Wormseedꝭ[1] groweth in *Persia*, and is worth 20[2] *Shahies* ꝑ *Mahan* or 12^{d} ꝑ ℔.

Carpetꝭ of all sortꝭ ar bought by the eye,[3] both of silke, and silke & gould, silke & Cotten, and of all Cotten, wherof the *Persian* Country haue plenty.

IAMES[4] by the grace of God king of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland, $Defend^{r}$ of the faith &c. TO our trustye and welbeloued Subiect and Seruant Beniamyn Ioseph and to our trustye & welbeloued Subiecte, Henry Pepwell of Londō Gent. WHERAS dyuers of o^{r} louing Subiectꝭ, by the name of the $Gouern^{r}$ and Companie of the $M^{r}ch^{t}$ꝭ of Londō trading into the East Indyes, at their owne aduentures, costꝭ and chargꝭ, for the $hono^{r}$ of this o^{r} Realme of England and for the encrease and $aduauncem^{t}$ of Trade, and m^{r}chandize w^{th}in the same, haue set forth sundrye voiagꝭ to the East Indies, and haue alreadie discouered and begunne to settle a Trade, into those partꝭ, And intending the contynuing therof aswell by frequenting of placꝭ alreadie setled, as by $furth^{r}$ discoueries of oth^{r} partꝭ, wch may be fit, for enterchanging of the Cōmodityes of o^{r} kingdomes wth the Cōmodityes of those placꝭ, such as may be of ſpiall vse and benefit to vs and o^{r} Subiectꝭ, hauing to this purpose now p^{r}pared, and set forth fyve good shippes, called the *Charles*, the *Vnycorne*, the *Iames*, the *Globe* and the *Rose*, to the said East Indies, and the placꝭ adioyning therunto. AND wheras our said Subiectꝭ the $Aduenture^{rs}$ of those voiagꝭ, haue chosen Beniamyn Ioseph Captaine and Cheif $Cōmaund^{r}$ of

Beniamyn Iosep.

(& y^{e} Swanne.)

[1] See page 199, note. [2] 30?

[3] *i.e.* for their beauty.

[4] There is a minute of this commission in the Public Record Office, under date 21st December, 1615. Joseph commanded the 1616 fleet, but was slain on the way out in a fight with a Portuguese carrack, 6th August, 1616. Pepwell, who succeeded him, carried the fleet to Surat, and thence to Bantam, but did not live to return to England, dying, it would seem, in the early part of 1618.

all the m^{r}chantꝭ, maryners and oth^{r} our Subiectꝭ, wch shalbe shipped in the said fyve shippes, WEE graciouslye fauouring their intended voiage, and approuing and allowing of their choise of yo^{u} to the same place of Captaine and Cheif Com̃aund^{r}, being wylling to furnishe yo^{u} wth all fitt and conuenyent power and aucthoritye to rule and gouerne all and euerye our Subiectꝭ employed in this voiage, by a due obedyence to be by them yeilded vnto y^{u} in the obseruing and executing of all such good orders and constitucõns as y^{u} shall thinke conuenient to ordeine and make for the furtherance of the said voiage, according to such ꝑticler direccõns and institucõns, as y^{u} shall receiue frõ the said Gouern^{r} and Companie of M^{r}ch^{t}ꝭ the Aduenture^{rs}, in this voiage: wch direccõns and instruccõns, our intencõn is, And so wee wyll and require y^{u}, that y^{u} punctuallye obserue in all thingꝭ, WEE do therfore straictlye charge and com̃aund all and euery person and persons employed in this voiage, and shipped in those said fyve, shippes, to giue all due obedyence and respect vnto y^{u}, during the said voiage, and to beare themselues one towardꝭ anoth^{r} in good ord^{r} and quietnes, for auoyding any occasion that might breede mutinye quarrell or dissencõn amongst them to the hinderance of the good successe (wch is to be hoped for by Godꝭ prouidence[)] of this said voyage, And in default of such duitye and obedience to be ꝑfourmed towardꝭ y^{u}, for the correcting and quenching of all such mutinyes, quarrells or dissencõns, that may arise by the euill and disorderlye disposicõn of any such ꝑsons whatsoeu^{r}, wee do herby aucthorize y^{u} the said Beniamyne Ioseph during the said voiage, or during so long time as y^{u} shall liue in the said voiage, to chastice correct and punishe all offend^{rs} and transgresso[^{rs}] in that behalf according to the qualitye of their offencꝭ, wth such punishm^{t}ꝭ as are com̃onlye vsed, in all Armyes at Sea, when they are not capitall, And for Capitall offencꝭ, as wilfull murth^{r}, (wch is hatefull in the sight of God) or Mutinye, wch is an offence, wch may tend to the ouerthrowe of the said voiage, wee do herby giue vnto y^{u} the said Beniamyne Ioseph, during all the time of the said voiage, or during so long time as y^{u} shall liue, in the said voiage, full power and aucthoritye to vse and put in execucõn our lawe called Marciall lawe in that behalf, but that therin y^{u} doe exp^{r}slye, vse the aduise and

councell of yᵉ two principall maisters, and of the two principall mʳchᵗꝭ, appointed for the time being, or of any two of thē, And theis oʳ ľres shalbe vnto yᵘ sufficᵗ warrant and discharge, for the doing and executing of all and singuler the pʳmisses. AND FORASMUCH as at this pʳsent tyme, wee are in amitye wᵗʰ all Christian Princꝭ, And are vnwylling that any oʳ Subiectꝭ, should giue occasion of breach or hindraunce therof, towardꝭ any our Confederate friendꝭ or Allyes, And because we are not ignorant of the emulacõn and enuye, wᶜʰ doth accompanie the discouerye of Countryes and Trades: and of the quarrells and contencõns wᶜʰ do many times fall out, betwene the Subiectꝭ of dyuers Princꝭ, when they meete the one wᵗʰ the othʳ in forreyne and farre remote Countryes, in prosecuting the course of their discouʳyes, and being desirous that oʳ Subiectꝭ should forbeare to moue or beginne any quarrell or Contencõn, vppō the Subiectꝭ of oʳ Confedatꝭ, friendꝭ, or Allyes, eithʳ in their going forth, or retourning from any of their voiagꝭ, WEE therfore do herby straightlye charge and cōmaund yᵘ the said Beniamyne Ioseph, and all othʳ vndʳ yoʳ gouernmᵗ, That neithʳ in yoʳ voyage, outward or homeward, or in any Countrye Island, Port or place wher yᵘ shall abide or come, during the time of yoʳ being abroade, out of our kingdomes or dominions, wheer yᵘ meete, wᵗʰ any the Subiectꝭ, of the king of Spaine, or of any othʳ our Confederatꝭ ffriendꝭ or Allyes, or of any othʳ Nacion or people, their Shippes, vessells, goodꝭ, or Mʳchandizes, yᵘ do not attempt, or go about to set vppō take or surprise their ꝑsons Shippes vessells goodꝭ or mʳchandizes, or offer any iniurye or discourtesie vnto thē (Except yᵘ shalbe by them first therunto prouoked or driuen, eithʳ in the iust defence of yoʳ owne persons, Shippes vessells, goodꝭ or mʳchandizes, by any their disturbaunce or hinderaunce whatsoeuer in yoʳ quiet course of Trade, or for recompence and recouerye, of the personnes Shippes, goodꝭ or mʳchandizes of any of our Subiectꝭ, that are or haue bene alreadye in or neare the East Indies, or for any othʳ iust cause of yoʳ defence, or recompence of losses sustayned[)]; In wᶜʰ cases so excepted, if yᵘ attempt surprize and take the personnes Shippes and goodꝭ of any Prince or State, by whose Subiectꝭ yᵘ shall susteyne any wrong or losse, in manner as aforesaid, yᵘ

shall not for any such act or actꝭ, grounded vppō the occasions abouemencōned, be in daungr or subiect to the perill and penalties of our lawes AND WHERAS by or łres Pattentꝭ,[1] graunted to the said Gouernor and Companie of Mrchantꝭ of Londō, trading into the East Indies, wee haue straightlye charged and prohibited, all othr our Subiectꝭ of what condicōn soeuer, to trade visite or frequent, by way of mrchandize into the said East Indies, or into any of the Islandꝭ or Portꝭ therof vppō paine and forfeicture not only of their goodꝭ and mrchandizes, but also of their Shippes and furnyture therof WEE therfore by theis prsentꝭ, do also giue full power and aucthoritye to yu, if in this yor voiage both outward and homeward, yu do meete wth any of the Shippes or goodꝭ of any our Subiectꝭ, othr then such as are set out, or sp̄iallye lycensed or ꝑmitted therunto by the Gouernr and Companie aforesaid, And ꝑticłerlye if yu chaunce to light on, Sr Iohn fferne[2] knight, or any of that Companie, or the Shippes or goodꝭ of any of them, [(]who disobeyed latelye or Comaundmt of desisting their intended voiage, signifyed vnto them in ffraunce, by our Roiall łres vndr our Priuye Seale) to arrest, take, and seize, the Shippes and goodꝭ of all and euerye of them, and of all othr our Subiectꝭ, so offending, the one half or the value therof, vppon indifferent appraisemt to be reserued to or vse, and the othr half to be conuerted to the vse of the Gouernr and Companie aforesaid, And as for the ꝑson or ꝑsons of the said Sr Ino fferne and Consortꝭ, and of all othr offending as before is said, we do also aucthorize yu to deteyne them in yor custodie and to bring them, or so many of them as yu shall apprehend, saufelye back into England wth yu, here to aunswer such matters as shalbe obiected against them, for doing contrarye to or Comaundmt, expressed in or said łres Pattentꝭ, and for their contemptꝭ and offencꝭ, comytted and done against or Roiall lawes. AND wheras the Gouernr and mrchantꝭ aforesaid haue a

[1] The charter of 31st May, 1609.

[2] One of the interlopers who from time to time troubled the Company's peace. Rumours were spread in 1615 of his intended voyage to the East Indies from Brest, and Pepwell was reported to be one of those engaged in the expedition. Ferne seems to have set sail in spite of a positive command to the contrary from James I., but what success he met with is not known.

furth^r purpose aft^r the accomplishing of yor said voiage into the East Indies, to vse yor furth^r seruice for some time, in visiting their seu^{r}all plantac̃ons and placę of residence, and in setting such Orders both in the same, and in such oth^r placę, as they shall direct y^u vnto, for the benefit of their Trade and Traffique WEE also allowing of their intenc̃ons and purposes therin, do herby straictlye charge and com̃aund y^u to followe such Instrucc̃ons and direcc̃ons in that behalf, as y^u shall receiue from the said Gouern^r and m^{r}chantę aforesaid, and in no wise to contrarye the same, as y^u will aunswe^r the contrarye at yor ꝑills. AND forasmuch as o^r said Subiectę the m^{r}ch^{t}ę and oth^r the Gouern^{r}s of this voiage, out of prouidence, and foresight, if any mortalitye, either by sicknes or oth^{r}wise (wch God forbid) should befall the said Beniamyne Ioseph, haue made choise of our trustye and louing Subiect Henry Pepwell, to succeede the said Beniamyne Ioseph in the charge of Cap^{ne} and Cheif Com̃aund^r of all the persons employed in this voiage, as aforesaid, we do also in case such an accydent should happen, allowe and approue of their choise in that behalf, And do herby giue full power and aucthoritye vnto y^u the said Henry Pepwell, to do and execute all and euery thing incydent to the charge of Captaine and cheif Com̃aunder of all the persons employed in this voiage aforesaid, in as ample manner and forme to all intentę and purposes as is before com̃ytted and employed vppō the said Beniamyn Ioseph, And theis our ł̄res shalbe also sufficient warrant and discharge to y^u the said Henry Pepwell, for the doing and executing of all and singuler the p^{r}misses as aforesaid. IN WYTNES wherof we haue caused theis our ł̄res to be made Patentę. WYTNES our self at Westm^r the twentith day of December, in the Thirtenth yeare of o^r Raigne of England ffraunce and Ireland, And of Scotland the nyne and fortith.[1]

per breue de priuato Sigillo. Coppin.

[1] 1615.

IAMES[1] by the grace of God King of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland defendor of the faith &c, TO THE Thr̄er Chauncellor Vnderthr̄er, and Barons of our Exchequer, for the time being, to all our Iustices Officers and Ministers for the time being, To all Customers, Comptrollers ffarmo^{rs} of Customes Searchers and Wayters, in any of our Portꝭ for the time being, And to all the Officers Ministers and subiectꝭ of vs our heires and Successo^{rs} for the time being, to Whome it shall or may appertaine greeting WHEREAS Wee by our Lr̄es Pattentꝭ sealed wth our greate Seale of England, bearing date the One and Thirteth daie of May in the Seaventh yeare of our raigne of England ffraunce and Ireland, and of Scotland the Twoe and ffortith, of our espetiall grace certen knowledge and meere Mocõn did for vs, our heires and successo^{rs} graunte vnto the Gouernor and Company of Merchantꝭ of London, trading into the East Indies and theire Successo^{rs}, That yt should and might be lawfull to and for the said Gouerno^{r} and Company and theire Successo^{rs} to shipp and transport out of this our Realme of England, or the Domynions of the same in any theire voyages to or towardꝭ any the partꝭ in our said Lr̄es pattentꝭ mencõned, All such forraigne Coyne of Siluer, Spanish or other forraine Silver or other Ballion of Silver, as they should bring or cause to be brought, into this Realme of England, from the partꝭ beyond the Seas either in the same kinde, sort, stampe, or ffashion,[2] to be coyned wthin our Mint, wthin our Tower of London, at theire pleasure, Soe as the Whole quantety of Coyne or Moneyes, by them to be transported in any theire said voyages, should not exceede the value or Som̄e of Thirty Thousand poundꝭ in any

[1] There is a minute of this grant in the Public Record Office (see *Cal. of State Papers, E. Indies*, 1513-1616, p. 449). It would be interesting to trace the circumstances in which this important patent was applied for and granted; but unfortunately just at this point there is a break in the Court Minutes, owing to the loss of one of the volumes of the series. Probably the following entry, which occurs in the minutes of the last meeting recorded in this year (10th Nov., 1615), relates to the subject :—" Mr Governor signified vnto this Courte that the cause of his absence " at there last meetinge was, by reason of his attendaunce wth my Lord Chauncellor " and Mr Secretarye in procuringe the Bill from his Matie: for the pattent, wch at " last wth greate difficultie hee obtayned, and this Courte gaue him thankes for his " greate paines taken therein."

[2] Some words have been omitted here (cp. page 485).

one voyadge, as in and by the said Lr̃es Pattentȩ (amongest diuers Covennt̃ȩ grauntȩ powers privilidges aucthorityes and other thingȩ, therein conteyned[)] more at lardge appeareth. AND WHEREAS by our royall proclamac̃on, given at Whitehall the Three and Twentith day of March last past before the Date hereof, Reciting as therein is recited (for the considerac̃ons therein expressed, and by the advise of our privie Councell[)], Wee did publish and declare and straightly charge and com̃aund as well our Thr̃er of England, Chancellor of our Exchequer, and Warden of the Cinque Portȩ or his Deputie, as all other our Iudges, Barons of the Exchequer Iustices officers and ministers, and more especially our Customers Comptrolers and searchers, and theire Deputies and Waighters, and alsoe the ffarmo^rs^ of our Customes in any of our Portȩ, and theire Deputyes or Waighters, and all other our officers and Mynisters, to Whome it might apꝑtaine, and all our Subiectȩ in generall, That all statutes made and in force against the exportac̃on of Golde or Siluer in Coyne, Iewell plate or vessell, or howesoever, should be straightly and duely kept, and observed, and diligently and carefully prosecuted, and putt in execuc̃on, vpon paine not onely of the Penaltyes, and forfeitures in the said Statutes or any of them conteyned, but alsoe of our high Indignac̃on and displeasure, and such prosecuc̃on and censure as should bee fitt in a cause of State, and alsoe upon paine of our high Indignac̃on, losse of Office and other condigne censure, against such our Officers and Mynisters, as should bee remise or negligent in the execuc̃on of our said Lawes, or in the ꝑformance of that our royall Com̃aundement AND WEE did further by the said Proclamac̃on, straightly charge and com̃aund all Merchantȩ and theire ffacto^rs^ Maisters of Shippȩ, Marriners Passengers, and all other our loving subiectȩ, whatsoever, that should haue any notice of gould or siluer in Coyne Iewells Bullyon Plate or vessell, or otherwise howsoever, wch had beene then exported by the space of Twoe yeeres last past before the date of our said Proclamac̃on, or should bee thereafter exported or should be shipped for exportac̃on (reasonable charges for the voyage onely excepted[)] or should be gathered and gott togeather, by change or otherwise, wth intenc̃on to export, or wth intenc̃on to put it into the handes, of them wch should export it, That they forthw^th^ should reveale, the same to

our Thr̄er of England, or vnderthr̄er for the time being, Or to the Warden, or Deputy Warden of the Cinque Portę, To our Attorney genʳall, or some other of oʳ Learned Councell, for the time being, for wᶜʰ theire discouʳy they should receiue in reward the one halfe of the said Gould or Siluer or the value thereof, And on the other part, if they should not discover the same, they should incurr and receiue such punishment, as by our Lawes and Statutes, or otherwise by our prerogatiue Royall, should be meete to be inflicted vpon them for theire offence and contempt in that behalfe, as by our said Proclamac̄on more at large appeareth KNOWE YEE nowe That wee being resolued by all the waies and meanes we maie to further the worthie endeavors of the said Company for the Contynewance and enlargment of Trade into the *Indies* and other remote partę as alsoe for theire better encouragement therein, finding by the experience of that Trade for diuers yeeres nowe last past, That there groweth noe Detryment or inconvenyence, in this our Common welthe by such theire transportac̄on of forraine Coyne and Bullion, but on the other side That an extraordinary benifitt, groweth to our kingdome through the said Trade, by carrying foorth and venting the natiue Com̄odities of this our Realme into the Countryes and Territories of many greate and powerfull Princes, not formʳly knowne, or traded vnto by any of our subiectę, wᶜʰ tendeth to the greatē renowne and dignitie, of our Royall person and gouernment, to the greate honour and enrichement of our Subiectę and State, which benefitt to vs and our Subiectę, is likewise encreased by the bringing into this our Realme of many rich and necessary forreine Com̄odityes, wᶜʰ are to be bought by our Subiectę in greate plenty, and at reasonable rates, and doe much encrease our Customes and Revenewe, and the plenty of such forreine Com̄odityes is soe greate, That a Staple of them beginneth to settle in this our kingdome; Soe as besides the Store wᶜʰ aboundantly serveth our owne Subiectę, a greate ꝑte thereof is carried, out into Germanie Italie Turkie and other places, to supplie the want of our Neighboʳˢ, and other Countries, In wᶜʰ course many greate Shipes, and expert Marryners, are from time to time employed not onely to their ꝑticuler good, but likewise to the honour and benefitt of our kingdome in generall And

although we thought it not convenient, to make an excepcōn thereof in our Proclamacōn yet wee were allwayes resolued, not to countermaund or restraine the said exportacōn as aforesaid, but to continue it by waie of reconfirming our said Lr̄es Pattentƈ, wth a *Non Obstante*, of our said Proclamacōn THEREFORE, out of our Princely disposicōn, not intending the said Company should receiue any preiudice, by reason of our said Proclamacōn or any thing therein conteyned, but that they should be at full Liberty, to transport such Coyne and Silver as aforesaid in as ample manner, as they haue done maie might or ought to doe by force of our said Royall graunt to them in that behalfe made, and the rather for that the Coyne and Bullion of Silver soe to be transported, is onely of forreine Silver and such as shalbe by the said Company brought into the Realme, or by them or any of them procured, to be brought from the partƈ beyond the Seas. and of that alsoe in such reasonable quantity and proporcōn as hath bene thought fitt and convenyent, and is in our said Lr̄es Pattentƈ expressed, of our especiall grace certaine knowledge, and meere mocōn, haue granted and confirmed, And by theis presentƈ for vs our heires & Successo^rs doe graunt and confirme, vnto the said Governor and Company of Merchantƈ of London trading into the *East Indies*, and theire Successo^rs, That it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Governor and Company, and theire Successo^rs, to Shipp and transport, out of this our Realme of England, or the Dominyons of the same in any theire voyages to or towardƈ any the partƈ in our forsaid Lr̄es Pattentƈ mencōned or expressed, all such forreine Coyne of Siluer, Spannish or other forreine Siluer, or Bullion of Siluer, as they haue heretofore sithence the Date, of our said Lr̄es Pattentƈ before mencōned, brought or caused to be brought into this Realme of England, or shall at any time or times hereafter, bring or cause to be brought into our said Realme from any partƈ beyond the Seas, either in the said kind sort stampe or fashion, wch it had or shall haue, when it was or shall be brought in as aforesaid, or in any other forme stampe or fashion, to be coyned w^thin our Mynt, w^thin our Tower of London, at theire pleasure in as lardge and ample manner, as they heretofore haue done, or might or ought to haue done, or hereafter can may might or

ought to doe by vertue or force, and according to the true intent and meaning of our said Lr̃es Pattentꝭ, before mencõned or of any thing therein conteyned; Our said Proclamacõn before mencõned, or any Lawe Statute Acte of Parliament Proclamacõn or Provicõn, heretofore had made enacted, sett forth or provided, or any other matter or thing whatsoeuer to the contrary notwithstanding WHEREFORE wee doe by theis presentꝭ for vs our heires and Successors, straightly charge and comaund you the said Threr Chancellor Vnderthrer, and Barons of ye Exchequer the Warden of the Cinque Portꝭ and his Deputie, The said Iudges Attorney generall, and the rest of our learned Councell, and all other Iustices, Customers, ffarmors of our Customes and other Officers Mynisters and Subiectꝭ of vs our heires and Successors for the time being, to whome it shall or may apptaine, That you and every of you, doe from time to tyme & at all tymes hereafter, quietly permit and suffer the said Governour and Company of Merchantꝭ of London, trading into the East Indies, and theire Successors, to shipp lade and transport such Silver, or Bullion of Siluer as aforesaid according to the true meaning of our said former Lr̃es Pattentꝭ and of theis presentꝭ, And theis presentꝭ or the Inrolement, or exemplificacõn thereof shallbee vnto you and every of you to whome it shall or maie apptaine a sufficient warrant & discharge in that behalfe. WILLINGE alsoe and comaunding, by theis presentꝭ for vs our heires and Successors That the said Governor and Company and theire Successors, or any of them for any Transportacõn, of such Silver or Bullion of Silver as aforesaid at any tyme or tymes sithence the Date of our said Lr̃es Pattentꝭ, and according to the true meaninge in the same expressed, made or hereafter to be made, be not by you or any of you in any wise molested troubled sued ympeached hindered or disquieted; AND WHEREAS wee are given to vnderstand, the said Governour and Company of Merchantꝭ of London trading into the East Indies, at theire owne aduentures, costꝭ and charges, for the honour of this our Realme of England, and for the increase and aduancement of Trade and Merchandize within the same haue sett foorth sundry voyages, to the East Indies, and haue allready discouered and begun to settle a Trade into those partꝭ, and intending the contynewing thereof aswell by

frequenting of places already setled, as by further discoveries of other ꝑtℯ, wch may be fitt for interchaunging of the Co̅modities, of our Kingdomes, wth the Co̅modities of those places such as may be of especiall vse and benifitt to vs and our Subiectℯ AND for that wee are likewise credibly informed, that in such and the like enterprizes and voyages, greate losse and hinderance hath happened, by the Mutinous and disorderly carryage of the Marriners and Saylors shipped, and employed in the said voyages, because none amongest them haue beene sufficiently aucthorized to punish the offendo^rs, according to theire desert: ffor reformaco̅n whereof the said Gouernour and Company of Merchantℯ of London, trading into the East Indies haue beene humble suito^rs, vnto vs that they might haue Power, and aucthoritie from time to time hereafter to elect and choose a Captaine or Captaines or cheife Co̅maunders to be employed by them in any of theire voyages, whoe alsoe might haue power and aucthority for the better governing & ordering of theire people in theire seuerall voyages, and to vse and exercise Martiall Lawe, vpon such mutinous and disordered ꝑsons as shallbe amongest them. WEE gratiously tendering the good successe of theire voyages, and to the end, that such as should goe and be imployed therein, may bee the better ordered and governed of our espetiall grace certen knowledge, and meere moco̅n, haue given and graunted, and by theis presentℯ for vs our heires, and Successo^rs, doe giue and graunt vnto the said Governor, and Company of Merchantℯ of London, trading into the East Indies and theire Successo^rs. That it shall and maie be lawfull, to and for the Gouernor of the said Company, or his Deputie and Co̅mittees, or the greater number of them, that shallbe soe assembled by the appointment, of the said Governour or his Deputie, for the time being, at all time and tymes hereafter, to nominate elect and choose, and to employ in any and every of their voyages hereafter to be made, one or more Captaine or Captaines, or principall Co̅maunder or Co̅maunders to rule and governe all and every our Subiectℯ, in such voyages in a due obedience to be by them yealded vnto, The said Captaines or Principall Co̅maunders in the observing and executing of all such good orders and constituco̅ns, as the

said Company shall thinke good to ordeine and make for the furtherance of such voyages AND the said Captaynes or principall Comaunders, for any good cause, to amove and displace, at the will and pleasure of the said Gouernour and Company, or his Deputy and Comittes, or the greater number of them that shalbe soe assembled, by the appointment of the said Gouernor or his Deputie for the time being AND for the better effecting of our will and pleasure herein, wee doe by theis pñtє for vs our heires and Successo[rs] giue and graunte full power and aucthority vnto all such Captaines or principall Comaunders, as shallbe soe as aforesaid nomynated and chosen and employed to goe in any such voyage, having Comission and Direccõn, from the said Gouernour or his Deputy and Comitties and the greater number of them that shalbe soe assembled by the appointm[t] of the said Gouerno[r] or his Deputy for the time being, vnder the Seale of the Company appointed for that purpose, vnto [whom] wee doe likewise hereby, for vs our heires and Successo[rs], giue full power and aucthority to graunt Comission or Comissions or Direccõns and instruccõns vnto theire Captaines or principall Comaunders for the punishing of Offences and executing of Martiall Lawe vnder theire said Seale according to our pleasure, hereafter in theis pñtє declared, to chastice correct and punish all and every of our Subiectє, or other persons to be employed in any such voyage wch shall not giue due obedience, and respect towardє the said Captaynes, or principall Comaunders, or not beare themselves one towardє another in good order and quietnes for avoyding of any occacõn that might breede, quarrell or dissention amongest them to the hinderance, of the good Successe wch is to be hooped for by Godє providence in any such voyage, according to the quality of theire offences, wth such punishmentє, as are comonly vsed in all Armyes at Sea, when they are not Cappitall, and for Cappitall offences, as wilfull murther, wch is hatefull in the sight of God, or mutynie wch is an offence wch maie tend to the overthrowe of such voyadge, The same being duly and iustly proved, against any of the ꝑson or ꝑsons aforesaid to vse and put in execucõn the said Lawe called Martiall Lawe AND neverthelesse by the verdict of Twelue of the Company, sworne therevnto, for the tryall of such offendors, as in such a case apperteyneth, And

theis our Lr̃es Pattentꝭ, or the enrollment thereof, shalbe aswell vnto the said Gouernour and Company of Merchantꝭ of London trading into the East Indies for the time being, as vnto the said Captaines, or principall Commaunders for the time being, and to all others whome it shall concerne, a sufficient warrant and discharge for the dooing and effecting of all and euery the premisss, according to the true intent & meaning of this our Graunt, Notwthstanding our pleasure is, That the said power vse and exercise of Martiall Lawe, shall continewe onely, vntill the same shall by any Six or more of our privie Councell, whereof the Lord Thr̃erer for the time being to be one vpon good cause to be revoked WILLINGE and com̃aunding hereby the Captaines or principall Com̃aunders soe to be nomynated and chosen as aforesaid, to followe, and principally to observe in all thingꝭ such Com̃ission instruccon and direccons, as they shall receyve, from the said Governor or deputie and Com̃itties aforesaid vnder the foresaid Seale, and in noe wise to contrary the same as they will answere the Contrary at theire ꝑills AND THEREFORE our will and pleasure is, And wee doe by theis pn̄tꝭ, for vs our heires and Successors graunt vnto the said Governor and Company of Merchantꝭ of London trading into the East Indies And to theire Successors, That they shall and maie haue and vse, from tyme to tyme one Seale engraved on the one side wth the representac̃on, of our ꝑson in our Roabes and on the other side, The said Seale to be engraved wth a Portcullis supported by twoe Lyons,[1] AND, wee doe hereby will and com̃aund, That all and every Com̃ission, and Com̃issions wch shall hereafter, be made foorth by the said Company or any of them by vertue of theis presentꝭ shallbe sealed wth the said Seale, AND forasmuch as at this present tyme, wee are in amytie wth all Christian Princes, and are vnwilling that any our subiectꝭ, should giue occac̃on of breache or hinderance thereof, towardꝭ any our Confederates frindꝭ or Allies, And because wee are not ignorant,

Seale appointed.

[1] No other description can be traced of this special seal of the Company, and no impression of it is known among the India Office Records. Possibly, however, a specimen may one day be brought to light, either in a public or private collection, for there would presumably be many occasions for its use. Such a discovery would be deeply interesting.

of the emulacõn and envie, wch doth accompany the discoverie of Countryes and Trades, and of the quarrells and contentions, wch doe many tymes fall out betweene the Subiectę of diuerse Princes, when they meete the one wth the other in forraine and farr reemote Countryes, in prosecuting the course of theire discoveries And being desirous that our Subiectę, should forbeare to move or beginn any quarrell or contencõn vpon the subiectę of our Confederatę, frindę or allies, either in theire gooing foorth or retorning from any of theire voiages WEE therefore doe hereby straightly charge and comaund the said Gouernour and Company of Merchantę of London trading into the East Indies and all Captaines or principall Comaunders, by them at any time hereafter to be employed in such Voyages and all others, wch shall be vnder theire Gouernment that neither in theire voyages or any of them outward or homeward or in any Country Island Port, or place where they shall abide, or come during the time of theire being abroad, out of our kingdomes or dominions, where they meete wth any the subiectę of the King of Spaine or of any other of our Confederates, frindę or allies, or of any other Nacõn or people, theire shippę vessells goodę or merchandizes, they doe not attempt or goe about, to sett vpon take or surprize, theire ꝑsons shippes vessells, goodę or merchandizes, or offer any Iniurie or discourtesie vnto them, except they shallbe by them first therevnto, iustly provoked or driven either in the iust defence, of theire owne ꝑsons Shipes vessells goodę or merchandizes, by any theire disturbance or hinderance whatsoever in theire quiett course of trade, or for Recompence and recovery of the ꝑsons Shippę goodes or merchandizes, of any our Subiectę, that haue beene allready in or neere the East Indies, or for any other iust cause of theire defence, or recompence of losses susteyned; In wch cases soe excepted, if the said Capptaines or principall Comaunders, or any others vnder theire gouernment, shall attempt surprize and take the persons Shippes and goodę of any Prince or State, by whose subiectę they shall susteine any wronge or losse in manner as aforesaid, The said Gouernour and Company or theire Captaines and Comaunders shall not, for any such act or actę grounded vpon the occacõns aboue mencõned, be in danger or subiect to the ꝑill and Penalties of

our Lawes, AND to the end That the said Gouernour and Company, maie from time to tyme be truely informed, of the successe and event of such voyages, as shallbee sett foorth to the places aforesaid, and nothing maie be concealed from them, wch maie be fitt for them to knowe, either touching the said discovery and trade, or touching the goodẹ that shallbe exported, and imported by reason thereof, the carriage and demeanour of any, merchant, ffactor Marriner or other ꝑson or ꝑsons to be employed by the said Company or[1] any of the said voyages or otherwise, touching any accident or Circumstance Materiall, happening in or about any such voyadge WEE doe hereby for vs our heires and Successo^rs^, give full power and aucthority, vnto the Governour of the said Company for the time being, or his Deputie or any Six of the Comittees of the said Company, for the time being to examyn vpon oathe any cheife Comaunder Captaine m^r^ merchant ffacto^r^ Marryner or any other ꝑson employed in or about any of the said voyages, vpon any such Interrogatories Articles or questions, as to them shall seeme meete and convenyent concerning the said voyage discovery trade or goodes. or any other materiall circumstance, tending to the true and certaine informacon of the said Gouernor and company, And if any ꝑson or or ꝑsons, being therevnto called or required shall refuse to take such oath, or having receyved the same, shall receiue[2] or neclect to answere, directly and effectually, to such questions and Interrogato^r^ies concerning the premisses as he shallbe examyned of. Then to comitt all and every such ꝑson and ꝑsons soe refusing to take such oath or refusing or neclecting to answere such questions or Interrogatories, to any our Prisons w^th^in the *Cittie of London,* there to remaine w^th^out bayle or Mainprize, vntill such ꝑson shall conforme himselfe and be sworne and examyned as aforesaid ALTHOUGH expresse mencōn of the true yeerely value or certainety of the premiss^s^ or any of them or of any other guiftẹ or grantẹ, by vs or any of our progenito^rs^ or p^r^decesso^rs^ to the foresaid Gouernour and Company of Merchantẹ trading into the East Indies, or any of them heretofore made in the theis p̄ntẹ is not made or any Statute Acte Ordinance provicōn Proclamacon or

[1] This should be "in."

[2] A mistake for "refuse."

restrainte to the contrary thereof, heretofore had made ordeyned or provided or any other thing cause or matter whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding IN WITNES whereof wee haue caused theis our Lr̄es to be made Pattentꝭ WITNES our selfe at Westm^{r} the ffourteenth Daie of December in the Thirteenth yeere of our raigne of England ffraunce and Ireland and of Scotland the Nyne and ffortith.[1]

ꝑ t̄re de Privato Sigillo
Coppin.
examinat ꝑ me *Thomam Marten.*

VNTO[2] a kinge rightly descended from his *Ancestors*, bred in millitary affaires, and clothed wth honour and Iustice.

Translation of the Grand Mogores lre to his Matie, Sent by Mr Steele & dd in May. 1616.

A Commaunder worthie of all com̄aund strong and constant in the Religion, wch the greate Prophett *Christ* did teach, *Kinge Iames*, whose love hath bred such impression, in my thoughtꝭ, as shall never be forgotten, but as the smell of Amber, or as a garden of fragrant flowers, whose bewtie and odor is still increasing soe be assured my Loue shall growe and increase wth yo^{rs}.

Your Lr̄e wch yo^{u} sent me in the behalfe of your merchantꝭ, I haue receyved whereby I rest satisfied, in your Tender Loue towardꝭ me, and desire yo^{u} not to take it ill, for not having writt vnto yo^{u} heretofore, for this my present Lr̄e I send to renewe our Loues, and herewth doe certifie yo^{u}, that I haue sent foorth my firmaundꝭ, through all my Country to this effect, That if any English Shipps or Merchantꝭ, shall arive in any of my Portꝭ my people shall ꝑmitt and suffer them to doe what they will, freely in theire merchandizing causes ayding and assisting them, in all occac̄on of Iniuries, That shallbe offered them, and that the least cause of discourtesie be not done vnto them, as alsoe that

[1] 1615.
[2] This letter is printed by Purchas (Lib. IIII., ch. 16, § 10).

they bee as free, and freer, then myne owne people, & as nowe and form^{r}lie I haue receyved from yo^{u} diuers tokens of your Loue, soe I desire yor mindfullnes of me, by some Nouelties from yor Country as an Argument of ffrindship betweene vs, for such is the Custome of Princes here.

And for yor merchantꝭ I haue giuen expresse order through all my Countryes to suffer them to sell by transport, and carry away at theire pleasure, wthout the lett or hinderance of any ꝑson whatsoeuer, all such goodꝭ and m^{r}chandize or other thingꝭ as they shall desire to buy, And lett this my Lr̃e as fully satisfie you, in the desired Peace and Loue as if my owne sonne had beene the messenger to ratifie the same

And if any in my Country not fearing God nor obeying theire *Kinge*, or any other voide of Religion, should endeavor or be an Instrument to breake this league of ffrindship I will send my sonne *Sultan Corome*[1] a Souldier approued in the warres to cutt him of. That noe obstacle maie hinder the continewance and increasing of our affecc̃ons

IAMES[2] by the grace of [God] king of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland Defend^{r} of the faith &c To our high Trẽar and Admirall of England and to all other our Admiralls Vice admiralls Captaines and others serving vpon the Seas, And to all Mayors Iustices sheriffꝭ Bailiffꝭ Cunstables Customers Comptrowlers Surveyo^{rs} keepers of our Portꝭ Creekes and passages, and to all other our officers mĩnisters & subiectꝭ whatsoever to whome in that behalfe it shall or may appertayne, and to eu^{r}y of them gretinge *Whereas* in the first Session of our Parliament holden at Westm^{r} in the first yeare of our Raigne of England ffraũce and Ireland, and of Scotland the Seaven and Thirteth. One acte of Parliam^{t}

[1] Khurram, third son of Jahangir, and afterwards the emperor Shah Jahan.

[2] There is a minute of this grant in the Public Record Office (see *Cal. of State Papers, E. Indies*, 1513-1616, p. 469).

was made Intituled an acte for the well garbling of Spices,[1] whereby it was ordeyned and enacted, that from and after the last day of September then next ensewing the end of that Session of Parliament, All Spices Wares Druggꝭ and other mrchandizes Garbleable, That is to saie Pepper Cloues Mace Nutmuggꝭ Sinamon Gynger, Long Pepper Wormeseedes Comynseedꝭ Anniseedes Culliander seedꝭ, Bynney Pepper, Almondꝭ Dates Galls Gumes of all sortꝭ and kindꝭ Garroway seedꝭ and all other Spices Drugꝭ wares & other merchandizes that had beene garbleable Spikenard Ballingall Turmarick Setwell Cassia fistula Binny pepper Seny Barbaries Rice Ereos Stauesacre, Calamus ffenncreeke Cassia Lignea graines[2] vsually garbled or ought to be garbled clensed seured sorted or devided in the Citty of London and the Libertyes thereof, should for the fees vsually allowed in that behalfe be sufficiently clensed seured garbled and devided & afterwardꝭ sealed by the Garbler therevnto appointed for the time being, or by his sufficient Deputie or Deputies servant or servantꝭ, before that the same or any parte thereof should be sould vpon paine of fforfeyture, of all and euery such drugꝭ, wares and other merchandizes or the value thereof wch should be sould, As by the said Act more at lardge appeareth. *And whereas* the true intent and meaning of the said Act was that none of the said Spices drugꝭ wares and merchandizes brought into this Realme should be vttered or sould to the end to be vsed in meatꝭ drinkꝭ and other needefull occacõns amongest our Subiectꝭ wthin this realme before such time as the same were sufficiently clensed seured garbled and deuided as is aforesaid And the true meaning of the said Act did not in any sorte extend to the clensing seuring garbling and deviding of any such the said Spices drugꝭ wares and mrchandizes as should be transported out of this Realme in such sort as they were brought into the same, or ells should[3] in whole Packꝭ Caskes or sackꝭ to any person or ꝑsons to remaine vntill it come to be after vsed by our subiectꝭ

[1] See note, page 199.

[2] This list has got into some confusion. All the words between "kindes" and "beene" should really come between "graines" and "vsually." The list, for corrections in spelling, may be compared with that on page 199.

[3] "Sould" appears to be meant.

wthin this realme or any other our Dominions *And whereas* it is found that by some gen^{r}all woordꝭ that passed in the said Acte noe ware m^{r}chandizes or Com̃odities, that are garbleable being brought into this realme can be sould betweene Merchaunt & Merchaunt vngarbled to the intent to transport the same into the partꝭ beiond the Seas, or to be sould againe in whole sale, But the Seller thereof by the strict Lr̄e of the said Statute, shall thereby be in Danger to forfeite all the said Spices Druggꝭ Wares and Merchandizes wch he shall soe sell vngarbled or the value of them And whereas wee are certenly informed, That our louing subiectꝭ, the Gouernor and Company of merchantꝭ of London, trading into the East Endies, haue allready heretofore in theire severall voyages made into the East Indies brought from thence into this our Realme of England greate quanteties of Spices wares merchandizes and com̃odities, garbleable more then could be vtterred or spent, within this our said Realme in many yeares and shall still from time to time in the continewing of theire said Trade to the East Indies, bring from thence greate quanteties of such Spices wares merchandizes and commodities, garbleable more then can for present vse of our subiectꝭ be vtterred or spent within our realmes or Dominions, And haue beene therefore humble Suto^{rs}, to vs, to haue our Licence to sell from tyme to time in whole packꝭ Sackꝭ and Caskes such quanteties and soe much of all such Spices Wares Merchandizes and Com̃odities, garbleable wch they shall bring or haue retorned in any of theire voyages or Shippes from the said East Indies, into our said Realme of England, as to them should seeme good or as may most tend to theire proffittꝭ and benefittꝭ in groce and vngarbled, wch by reason of the said Statute they make doubt to doe, wthout our spetiall Licence in that behalfe which ffavor if we graunt them not, greate quantetyes of theire said Shippes[1] Wares and Merchandizes, will continewally ly vpon theire handꝭ to theire greate losse and damage *And whereas* wee haue formerly by our Lr̄es Pattentꝭ[2] dated the Twoe and Twentieth daie of May in the Seaventh yeare of our Raigne of England ffrañce and Ireland and of Scotland the Twoe and ffortith

[1] A slip for "Spices."

[2] Now in the India Office, among the "Parchment Records" (No. 4).

graunted to our welbeloued subiectℓ the Gouʳnor and Company of Merchāntℓ trading into the East Indies and theire successoʳˢ a dispensac̄on and Declarac̄on with and of the said Statute in the case aforesaid, wᶜʰ neuʳthelesse is defectiue, and attayneth not the full Libertie of our royall intenc̄on towardℓ them. *Nowe knowe* yee therefore that wee gratiously tendring the wellfaire & Com̄odities of our said louing subiectℓ the Gouernoʳ and Company of Merchantℓ of London trading into the *East Indyes* and theire Successoʳˢ, And to the End they may be the better enabled to maintaine and continewe theire trade and Traffique in the East Indies of our espetiall grace certaine knowledge and meere moc̄on, haue giuen and graunted, And by theis presentℓ doe giue and graunt full and free Libertie Licence power and aucthority vnto the said Gouernor and Company of Merchantℓ of London trading into the East Indies, and to theire Successoʳˢ That it shal[l] and may be lawfull to and for them, and euery person and persons being free of the said Company at all tymes hereafter and from tyme to tyme at theire owne free wills and pleasures to vtter sell and put to sale such quantityes, and soe much of all or any sortes of Spices, wares and merchandizes and Com̄odities wᶜʰ they shall bring and haue retorned in any of theire voyages or shippes from the said East Indies into this our said Realme of England, or any part thereof; as to them or any of them shall seeme good, or as may most tend to the proffitt and benefitt of them or any of them in whole greate Packℓ Sackℓ or Caskℓ vngarbled, and not clensed severed sorted or devided to any merchant or merchantℓ or other ꝑson or ꝑsons aswell our naturall borne subiectℓ as aliens denizons or straingers wᵗʰout any danger damage losse forfeiture or penaltie vnto the said Gouernor and Company of Merchantℓ of London trading into the East Indies, and theire Successors, or any person or ꝑsons being free of the same Company or vnto any of them, by vs or to our behalfe to be had taken lost forfeyted or incurred, and without any manner of Lett trouble interrupc̄on or disturbance of any other ꝑson or ꝑsons whatsoever, The said Statute before recited, or any other Statute Acte Lawe Custome vsage restraint prohibition or thing to the Contrary thereof in any wise notwithstandinge *And wee further* for vs our heires and Successors of

our like espetiall grace certaine knowledge and meere moc̃on, doe giue and graunt full and free Libertie, power Licence and aucthority vnto all and every merchānt and merchantꝭ person and ꝑsons whatsoeuer aswell our naturall borne subiectꝭ as Alyens Denizons or strangers that they and eu^{r}y or any of them shall and lawfully may bargaine for buy receiue and take of the said Gou^{r}no^{r} & Company of merchantꝭ of London trading into the East Indies, and theire Successo^{rs} for the time being and of all and every person and of all and euery person and ꝑsons being free of the same Company or of any of them any such spices drugꝭ wares merchandizes, and com̃odities in whole greate Packꝭ Sackꝭ or Caskes, as aforesaid before the same be garbled clensed severed or devided wthout any damage losse fforfeyture or Penaltie against them or any of them by vs or to our vse and behoofe to be had taken lost forfeyted or incurred, and wthout any manner of Lett trouble interrupc̃on or disturbance of any person or ꝑsons whatsoeuer The said Statute or any other statute, acte lawe custome vsage restrainte prohibic̃on or thing to the Contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding Paying vnto vs our heires and Successors from time to time all and eu^{r}y such Customes Subsidies som̃es of money, and other duties, as are or ought to bee answered and paid to vs our heires and Successors for or by reason of the transportac̃on of any the said Spices Drugꝭ wares merchandizes and Com̃odities soe to be transported as is aforesaid, *Prouided allwaies* that if any merchaunt or merchantꝭ or other person or persons whatsoever aswell naturall borne subiectꝭ, as alyens denizons and strangers, wch shall bargaine for buy of the said Gouernor and Company of Merchantꝭ of London trading into the East Indies or theire Successo^{rs} for the time being or of any person or persons beinge free of the same Company any such spices drugꝭ wares or m^{r}chandizes soe bought as aforesaid in whole greate Packꝭ Caskes or Sackꝭ vngarbled and not clensed seuered sorted or devided as is aforesaid shall at any time afterwardꝭ put any of the said drugg wares or merchāndizes soe bought as aforesaid to sale or otherwise vtter the same wthin the Realme of England or any other our kingdomes dominions or Territories, wch Spices shall not be afterwardꝭ exported but sould wthin this our Realme for inward

vse That then eu'y such person shall incurr and fall into the Losse penaltie and forfeiture in the said recited acte conteyned This our present graunt or any thing therein expressed to the contrary notwithstanding: *And further* of our more abundant grace certaine knoweledge and meere Mocōn, wee doe for vs our heires and Successo's graunt ꝑdon remise and release vnto the said Gouerno' and Company of merchānt̃ of London tradinge into the East Indies S' Thomas Smithe knight nowe Gouerno' of the same Company Morrice Abbot Deputy and William Harrison Tresorer to the said Company, And to Robert Offley Robert Johnson, Robert Bell William Holliday Reynold Greene, Lawrence Greene Thomas Westrowe Nicholas Leate Hugh Hammersley Humph'ey Hanford̃ Christofer Cletherowe Robert Bateman Nicholas Crispe Ieffrey Kirby Henry Garraway William Russell Thomas Mun William Burrell Robert Salmon, William Stone and Humfrey Smith the present Cōmittees of the said Company and all other ꝑsons nowe free of the said Company, All and eu'y of them all offences contempt̃ and act̃ heretofore done or Cōmitted by them or any of them against the said recited statute, in case where the sales so questioned or impeached or to be questiond or impeached, haue beene by whole greate sale Pack̃ Sack̃ or Cask̃ vngarbled as aforesaid and not clensed seu'ed sorted or devided and not otherwise, and all forfeytures losses penalties, and sōmes of money wch hath doth or may growe due belong or appertaine to vs our heires or successo's for or by reason of the same act̃ offences and Contempt̃ or any of them, in the case aforesaid, And all accōns suites informacōns and Demaundes, whatsoeuer for touching or concerning the same Act̃ offences and contempt̃ and euery of them, Soe that neither they the said Gouerno', and Company of merchant̃ of London trading into the East Indyes S' Thomas Smith Morrice Abbott William Harrison Robert Offley Robert Johnson Robert Bell William Holliday Reynold Greene Lawrence Greene Thomas Westrowe Nicholas Leate Hugh Hamersley Humfrey Handford Christofer Cletherowe Robert Bateman Nicholas Crispe Jeffrey Kirby Henry Garraway William Russell Humfrey Browne Thomas Munnes William Burrell Robert Salmon William Stone and Humfrey Smith nor any other ꝑson being nowe free of the

said Company or any of them shall at any time hereafter be sued troubled or molested for or by reason of the same offences or any of them in the case aforesaid. *And whereas* wee by our Lr̄es pattentℓ sealed wth our greate seale of England bearing date the one and Thirteeth daie of May in the Seaventh yeare of our raigne of England ffraunce and Ireland and of Scotland the Twoe and ffortith of our espetiall grace certen knowledge and meere moc̄on did for vs our heires and Successo[rs] graunt vnto the Gouernor and Company of merchantℓ of London trading into the East Indies and theire Successo[rs], That it should and might be lawfull to and for the said Gouerno[r] and Company and theire Successo[rs] to shipp and transport out of this our Realme of England or the Dominions of the same in any theire voyages to or towardℓ any the partℓ in our said Lr̄es pattentℓ menc̄oned, All such forraigne Coyne of Siluer or Bullion of Siluer as they should bring or cause to be brought into this realme of England from the partes beiond the Seas either in the same kind sort stamp or ffashion w[ch] it should haue when they brought it in or any other forme stampe or fashion to be coyned w[th]in our Mint w[th]in our Tower of London, at theire pleasure, Soe as the whole quanteties of Coyne or moneyes by them to be transported in any theire said voyages should not exceede the value or som̄e of Thirtie Thousand poundℓ in any one voyadge as in and by the same Lr̄es Pattentℓ amongest diuerse Couenantℓ Grauntℓ Powers previlidges auctho-rityes and other thingℓ therein conteyned more at large appeareth *And* whereas by our Royall ꝑclamac̄on given at Whitehall the Three and Twentith daie of March, in the Twelueth yeere of our raigne of England ffraunce and Ireland, Reciting as therein is recited for the considerac̄ons therein expressed, and by the aduise of our privie Councell, wee did publish and declaire and straightly chardge and com̄aund aswell our Trear̄ of England Chāncellor of our Exchequer and Warden of the Cinque portℓ or his deputy as all other our Iudges Barons of our Exchequer Iustices officers and mynisters, and more especially our Customers Comptrowlers and searchers, and their deputies and waighto[rs] And alsoe the farmo[rs] of our Customes, in any of our Portℓ and theire Deputies or Wayters and all other our officers to whome it might appertaine, and all our Subiectℓ in Generall, That all

Statutẹ made and in force against exportac̄on of Gould or Siluer in Coyne Iewells plate or vessell or howesoever should be straightly and duely kept, and observed and deligently and carefully prosecuted and put in execuc̄on, vpon paine not onely of the Penaltyes and fforfeitures, in the said Statutes or any of them conteyned, But alsoe of our high Indignac̄on and displeasure, and such prosecuc̄on and Censure, as should be fitt in a cause of State, and alsoe vpon paine of our high indignac̄on, losse off office and other condigne Censure against such our officers or ministers as should be remisse or necligent in the execuc̄on of our said lawes, or in the performance of that our Royall Com̄aundement: And wee did further by the said ꝓclamac̄on straightly chardge and com̄aund all Merchantẹ, and theire ffactors, Mrs of Shippẹ Marriners passengers and all other our loving subiectẹ whatsoever that should haue any notice of Gould or Siluer, in Coine Iewells Bullions plate or vessell or otherwise howesoever wch had beene then exported by the space of Twoe yeres then last past before the date of the said proclamac̄on or should be thereafter exported or should be shipped for exportac̄on, (reasonable Charges for the voyage onely excepted) or should be gathered and gott togeather by chānge or otherwise, wth intent to export or wth intenc̄on to put it into the handẹ of them wch should export it, That the fourthwith should reveale the same, to our Thr̄er of England or Vnderthr̄er for the time beinge, or to the Warden or Deputy Warden of the Cinque Portẹ to our Attorney Generall or some other or some other of our Learned Councell for the time beinge, ffor wch theire discovery they should receiue in reward the one halfe of the said gould or Siluer or the value thereof, And on the other ꝑt if they should not discover the same should incurr and receiue such punishment, as by our lawes and statutes or otherwise by our prerogatiue Royall should be meete to be inflicted vpon them for theire offence & contempt in that behalfe, as by our said proclamac̄on more at lardge appeareth. *And whereas* we by our Lr̄es pattentẹ[1] sealed wth our greate Seale of England, bearing date at Westminster the ffowerteenth daie of December in the Thirteenth yeare of our Raigne of England ffraunce and Ireland and of

[1] See page 468.

Scotland the Nyne and ffortith, Reciting therein that wee beeing resolved, by all the Waies and meanes wee might, to further the woorthie endeavors of the said Company for the Continewance and enlargement of Trade into the Indies and other remote partę as alsoe for theire better encouragement therein, finding by the experience of that Trade for diuerse yeares then last past, That there did growe noe detriment or inconvenience to this our Coīon Welth by such there transportacōn of forraygne Coyne and Bullion But on the other side that an extradinary benefitt did growe to our kingdome through the said Trade by carrying out and venting the Natiue Coīodities of this or Realme into the Countryes and territories, of many greate and powerfull princes not formerly knowne or traded vnto by any of our subiectę wch Tendeth to the greate Renowne and Dignity of our royall ꝑson and gouernement, to the greate honour and enrichment of our Subiectę and State, wch benefitt to vs and our subiectę[1] in greate plenty and at reasonable rates and did much encrease our Customes and Revenue, and the plenty of such forraine Coīoditye's was soe greate that a Staple of them begun to settle in this our kingdome, Soe as besides the Store wch abundantly served our owne subiectę, a greate ꝑte thereof was carried out into Germany Italie Turkie and other places to supplie the want of our neighbors and other Countries in wch Course Many greate Shippes and expert Marriners were from tyme to time ymployed, not onely to theire ꝑticuler good, but likewise to the honor and benefitt of our kingdome in generall, *And* although wee thought it not convenient to make an excepcōn thereof in our proclamacōn, yett wee were alwayes resolued, not to Countermaund or restraine the said exportacōn as aforesaid, but to continewe it by waie of reconfirming our said Lr̄es pattentę with a non obstante of our said proclamacōn, And therefore out of our princely disposicōn not intending the said Company should receiue any preiudice by reason of our said Proclamacōn or any thing therein Conteyned but that they should be at full liberty to transport such Coine and Siluer as aforesaid in such ample manner as they had donn might or ought to doe, by force of our said former royall Graunt to them in that behalfe made, and the

[1] Some words have been omitted here (cp. page 470).

rather for that the Coyne, and Bullion of Siluer soe to be transported was onely of forraigne Siluer and such as should be by the said Company brought into this Realme or by them or any of them procured to be brought from the partꝭ beiond the Seas, and of that, And of that also in such reasonable quantety and proporc̄on as had beene thought fitt and convenient and was in our Lr̄es pattentꝭ expressed, of our espetiall, grace certaine knowledge and meere moc̄on, did graunt and confirme, vnto the said Gouernor and Company of Merchantꝭ of London trading into the East Indies and theire Successors, that it should and might be lawfull to and for the said Gouerno^{r} and Company and theire successo^{rs} to shipp and transport out of this our Realme of England or the Dominions of the same in any theire voyages to or towardꝭ any the partꝭ in our foresaid Lr̄es pattentꝭ menc̄oned or expressed, All such forraigne Coyne of Siluer spanish or other forreigne Silver or Bullion of Siluer as they had theretofore since the date of our said Lr̄es pattentꝭ bearing date the foresaid one and Thirtith daie of Maie in the Seaventh yeare of our raigne of England ffraūce and Ireland brought or caused to be brought into this realme of England or should at any time or times after the date of our said Lr̄es pattentꝭ bearing date the foresaid ffoure-teenth daie of December in the foresaid Thirteenth yeare of our raigne of England ffraunce and Ireland bring or cause to be brought into our said Realme from any the partꝭ beiond the seas either in the same kind sort stamp or fashion wch it had or should haue, when it was or should be brought in as aforesaid, or in any other forme stampe or fashion to be coyned wthin our Mint wthin our Tower of London at theire pleasure in as lardge and ample manner as they theretofore had donn or might or ought to haue donn or thereafter could might or ought to doe by vertue or force, and according to the true intent and meaninge of our said Lr̄es pattentꝭ before menc̄oned or of any thing therein conteyned our said ꝑclamac̄on before menc̄oned or any Lawe Statute acte of Parliament ꝑclamac̄on or provic̄on theretofore had made enacted sett foorth or provided or any matter or thing whatsoeu^{r} to the Contrary in any wise notwithstanding, as by our said Lr̄es pattentꝭ bearing date the said ffourteenth Daie of December, amongest diuerse others grauntꝭ powers aucthorities and other thingꝭ therein conteyned more at lardge appeareth *And Whereas*

wee are informed that by the blessingꝭ of Almightie God the said Trade into the East Indies is likely still more and more to encrease and our said Subiectꝭ the Gouernour and Company of m^{r}chantꝭ of London trading into the East Indies, are like wthin the time and Compasse of one yeare to make and sett forth diuerse seuerall voyages into the said East Indies, wherevpon some question and doubt maie arise vpon our true meaninge, and intent, as by the woordes of our foresaid graunt and Lr̄es pattentꝭ, Namely whether our said Subiectꝭ the Gouerno^{r} and Company of Merchantꝭ of London trading into the East Indyes, may in every of theire said voyages and at every severall time of setting forth of Shipp or Shippꝭ in Trad of merchandize, vnto the said East Indies, carry forth the said some and quantety of Thirtie Thousand poundꝭ of such forraigne Coyne of Siluer Spannish or other forraigne Silver or Bullion of Silver as aforesaid, ffor avoyding of wch Doubte and Scruple, and for more full declarac̃on of our true meaning therein wee doe hereby signifie and declare, And doe of our spetiall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere moc̃on for vs our heires and Successo^{rs} graunt vnto the said Gouernor and Company of merchantꝭ of London trading into the East Indies, That it shall and may be lawfull for them and theire Successo^{rs} yearely and eu^{r}y yeare in all the voyages, wch they shall yearely make in or vnto the said East Indies to shipp and transport out of our Realme of England from the partꝭ beyond the Seas either in the same kinde of stampe or fashion, wch it shall haue when they brought it in or any other forme Stampe or fashion to be coyned wthin our Mint wthin our Tower of London. at theire pleasure, permitting them to carry more or lesse of theire said Bullion or Siluer in any of the said yearely voyages as shall serue theire occac̃ons, and shalbe thought most convenient, soe as the same doe not exceede the some of Threescoore thousand poundes in the whole in all the said voyages in any one yeare to be made as aforesaid accompting, and reckoning euery single Spanish Ryall, for at and after the value of Six pence sterling. every Spanish peece of Twoe Rialls for and at the value of Tweluepence sterling, Every peece of ffower spanish Rialls, for and at the value of Twoe shillingꝭ sterling and eu^{r}y peece of Eight spanish Rialls for and at the value of ffoure shillingꝭ sterling any Lawe statute ordinance

or proclamacõn to the Contrary in any wise notwithstanding, And we doe hereby straightly charge and comaunde the said Gou^r^nour and Company of m^r^chante of London trading into the East Indies and theire Successo^rs^, and euery of them, That they shall not carry out any Coyne Silver or Bullion of Siluer, whatsoever in all theire voyages or times of sending forthe Shippes into the said East Indies, in any one yeare, over and aboue the said quantety of Threescoore Thowsand pounde in manner and forme aforesaid. *Allthough* expresse mencõn of the true yearely value, or Certenty of the premiss^s^ or of any other guifte or graunte by vs or any of our progenito^rs^ or predecesso^rs^ to the foresaid gouernor & Company of m^r^chante of London trading into the East Indies heretofore made in theis pñte is not made, or any statute acte ordinance Provicõn Proclamacõn or restrainte to the Contrary thereof heretofore had made ordeyned or provided or any other thinge cause or matter whatsoever to the Contrary in any wise notwithstanding *In Witnes* whereof wee haue caused theis our Lr̄es to be made Pattente *Witnes* our selfe at Westminster the Eleaventh day of Iuly in the ffourteenth yeare of our Raigne of England ffraunce and Ireland and of Scotland the Nyne and ffortith.[1]

RIGHT[2] trustie and welbeloved cozen and councellor, and right trustie and welbeloved Councello^r^ wee greete you well, having found by experience the greate good that ariseth to this our kingdome spetially importing the aduancement of Navigacõn, by reason of some Companyes erected for traffiquing in the East Indies Greeneland Muscovia and such like remote places, where fewe or none would aduenture to travill, before theis Companyes, were established,

[1] 1616.

[2] This interesting document relates to the patent granted by James I. to Sir James Cunningham about November, 1617, for the establishment of a Scottish East India Company. As this concession promised a formidable competition with their trade, both the East India and Muscovy Companies bent all their efforts to get the patent withdrawn. In this they were successful (March, 1618), but at some expense, as Sir James and his associates had to be compensated for the loss of their expected profits.

wth such p^rvilidges as were thought expedient, prohibiting all others whoe were not allowed by the p^rvilidged vndertakers, and subiect to the orders appointed by them, to haue Comerce wth those partẹ, out of the earnest regard to the weale of that our kingdome, that it may enioy the like benefitt for good consideracōns moving vs therevnto, wee are desirous that a Company be established likewise wth yo^u, wth sole power to trafique in the places abouenamed in the same manner, and wth the like condicōns, as were graunted in theis our kingdomes for the said cause, And because that Sr Iames Cunningham of Glegarnock knight hath procured sundry frindes and assosiatẹ of his, to concurre wth him for the accomplishing of the said enterprize, wee haue made choise of him to be gouernour of the said Company, willing that he should haue all the rightẹ and prerogatiues belonging therevnto to him his heires and assignes during all the time that wee or our successors, shalbe pleased to continewe the said Company w^thin this our kingdome And that it shallbe lawfull for him and his associates to transport vtter vent, and sell all such comodities, wares or merchandizes, as by him or them shallbe brought home, in any kingdome that they thinke, in as ample manner, and as the Company of London doe or may doe, by vertue of theire pattent graunted vnto them, Therefore our pleasure is having considered the course that is taken w^thin this our kingdome, and what by differences of Lawes and customes is fitt to be abstracted added or altered thereanent, That ymediately thereafter a Pattent be graunted for that our kingdome to the said Sr Iames and his associates, wth as lardge Liberty and favourable condicōns, as (when yo^u haue consulted therevpon[)] can conveyentely be graunted. Soe not doubting of your affeccōn, for the furtherance of such a good worke, wee bidd yo^u hartely farewell, from the Courte at .

This is a true coppie of the Lr̄e signed by his ma^tie: to Sr Iames Cunningham of Glegarnock knight his heires assignes and associates for an East India Company ꝑ Sr *William Alexander* Clerke of the signet for *Scotland*

William Alexander

A Lrẽ from the Gouernour and all the principall states of the Ilandꝭ *Banda* called *Puluway Puluroone* and *Nera* sent vnto generall Keelinge and the principall ffactor of the English at Bantam &c[1]

WEE haue all heard even from farr Countryes, of the greate Loue and peace, that the kingꝭ of England hath wth all the world from Europe to India, even from the former ages vntill this present, onely the king of England doth helpe all the world, and hath donn noe hurt to any of our Religion, or doth seeke to overthrowe, our Lawe, and doth not by force attempt to overcome any mans kingdome but onely by peace and frindshipp doth seeke trade wthout violence, theis causes onely doe make vs to loue and affect the king of England, because (as yett) we haue never heard any hurt, that he hath donn to any Nac̃on. Therefore wee all desire to come to an agrement wth the kinge of England, because that nowe the Hollanders doe practize by all meanes possible to conquer our Country and destroy our Religion by reason whereof all of vs of the Islandꝭ of Banda doe vtterly hate the very sight of theis Hollanders, sonnes of Whores, because they exceede in lying and villany and desire to overcome all mens Country by Trechery, Theis are the occac̃ons whie wee soe extreamely hate them, Wee haue nowe therefore wth one genrall consent, resolued never hereafter to trade wth them, but allwayes to esteeme, but allwayes to esteeme them our vtter Enimyes, wherefore wee all thought good to send this Lrẽ to genrall Keeling, and the principall factor of the English at Bantam, That if soe be the kinge of England out of his loue towardꝭ vs will haue a care of our Cuntry and Religion and will helpe vs wth Artillary powder and shott and helpe vs to recover the Castle of Nera, whereby wee may be able to make warrs wth the Hollanders, by Godꝭ helpe all the spice, that all our Ilandꝭ shall yeald, wee will onely sell to the king of England, and to noe other nac̃on in the world, wherefore if you shall please to accept

[1] This may possibly have been brought to Bantam by the ambassador who accompanied Sophony Cozucke to that town in September, 1615, sent by the Bandanese to capitulate with the chief in Bantam concerning conditions of agreement between themselves and the English (*O. C.* 324).

of what you[1] haue here written, Wee doe all intreat to make to make agreement wth the king of England, that there be noe discontent betwixt vs even from this tyme forth *for evermore*[2] to the end of the world.

And if it should soe happen, that in small matters the Bandanezers should giue occacōn of Discontent to the English, or the English doe that wch might be distastfull to the Bandanezars that then wth mutuall consent like frindℓ they would beare, wth each others errors onely wee all desire that you doe not seeke to overthrowe our religion, and that you doe not comitt offence wth our Weomen, because theis Twoe onely wee are not able to endure, Yf therefore the king of England out of his Loue shall please to assiste vs, wee doe all then earnestly request that you would come vnto vs, wth what convenient speede may bee.

Commission at large from ye Compie, to their Capne & cheife Commandr vnder ther broad seale.

first giuen to Capne Newport[4] in ye Hope.

TO[3] all to whome this present writinge shall Come to be seene read or heard The Gouerner and Companie of Merchantℓ of London tradinge into the *East Indies*, send greetinge in our Lord God everlastinge Whereas our most gratious Soveraigne Lord Iames by the grace of God of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland Kinge defendr of the faith &c, duely waighinge and Consididringe that noe voyage or enterprize wherein multitude of menne of seurall qualities and dispositions are to be vsed and employed, Can bee performed and accomplished wth hope of good successe except some amongst them bee sufficientlie anthorized to restraine and punish mutinous and disorderlie persons accordinge to their desert by his Highnes Lrēs patentℓ bearinge date

[1] A mistake for "we"?

[2] Underlined in the original.

[3] By Letters Patent of 14th Dec., 1615 (see page 468) the Company were empowered to grant commissions to their commanders (under a seal expressly appointed for that purpose), conferring upon them power to punish offenders, &c. This obviated the necessity of obtaining a royal commission for this purpose for each voyage, as had formerly been the practice. The present document shews the form in which these commissions were issued.

[4] See page 442, note.

the fourteenth daye of December in this Thirteenth yeere of his Raigne of England ffrance and Ireland, and of Scotland the Nine and fortieth, At the humble suite of the said Gouerner and Companye gratiouslye tenderinge the good successe of their voyages into the said *East Indies*, hath giuen and graunted vnto the said Gouerner and Companie full power and authoritye at all tyme and tymes then after to nominate Chuse and employ in any and every their voyages then after to bee made, one or more Captaines or principall Commaunders to rule and governe all and everie his highnes Subiectꝭ in such voyages in due obeidience for the observinge and executinge of all such good orders and constitutions as the said Companie shall thinke meete to ordaine and make for the furtherance of such voyages and to give Comission direction and Instruction vnto the said Captaines and Com̄aunders for their owne Carriage as also for punnishinge of offenders in the said voyage, And that such Captaines and Com̄aunders so nominated Chosen and employed to goe on the said voyagꝭ haueing Comission and direction from the said Gouerner and Companye vnder the seale of the Companie appointed for that purpose shall haue full power and authoritye for punnishinge offences and executinge of Marshall Lawe namely to Chastize Correct and punnish all and every such person to be emploied in such voyages wch shall not giue dewe obedience, and respect towardꝭ the said Captaines and principall Com̄aunders, or not beare them selues one towardꝭ another in good order and quietnes, for avoydinge of any occasion that might breed quarrell or dissention amongst them to the hindrance of the good successe, wch is to be hoped for by Godꝭ providence in any such voyage accordinge to the qualitie of their offences wth such punishmtꝭ as are com̄onlye vsed in all Armyes at sea when they are not Capitall, and for Capitall offences as wilfull murther and mutinye wch may tend to the overthrowe of such a voyage the same beeing iustly and truely proued against any the person or persons aforesaid to vse and put in execution the Law Called Marshall Law, And neurtheless by the verdict of twelue of the Companie sworne therevnto for the tryall of such offenders, as to such a case appertaineth And the said Lerēs patentꝭ to bee a warrant, and discharge for the doeinge of all and everie the premisses; His Maiestye thereby

strictly charginge and Com̄aunding the said Captaines or principall Commaund^{rs} so to bee Chosen and employed to followe and punctuallie to obserue in all thingꝭ such Com̄ission instruction and directions, as they shall receaue from the said Gouerner, and Company vnder the foresaid seale and in noe wise to Contrarie the same as they will answeare the Contrary at their perrills, And his Matie by the said Le͞res patentꝭ doth strictly Charge and Com̄aund the said Gouerner and Companye and all Captaines and Principall Commaunders by them to bee employed in such voyages that whether in their voyages outward or homeward or in any Countrey Iland Port or Place where they shall abyde or Comme duringe the tyme of their beeinge abroad out of his Highnes kingdomes or dominions where they meete wth any the Subiectꝭ of the Kinge of Spaine or of any other his Highnes Confederatꝭ, ffriendꝭ or Allies, or of any other Nation or people their shippes vessils Goodꝭ or M^{r}chandizes, they doe not attempt or goe about to sett vppon take or surprize their persons shippes vessels Goodꝭ or Merchandizes or offer any Iniurye or discurtezie vnto them except they shall bee by them first therevnto iustlye prouoked, either in the iust defence of their owne persons shippes vessels Goodꝭ or Merchandize, [[1]or offer any Iniurye or discurtezie vnto them, except they shalbee by them first therevnto iustly prouoked either in the iust defence of their owne persons shippes vessells Goodꝭ or M^{r}chandizes][1] by any their disturbance or hindrance whatsoeuer in their quiett Course of Trade, or for recompence and recou^{r}ie of the persons shippes goodꝭ or M^{r}chandize of any his highnes subiectꝭ, that haue bene allready in or neere the *East Indie*[*s*] or for any other iust cause of their defence or recompence of Losses sustayned In wch cases so excepted, yf the said Captaines or principall Com̄aunders or any others vnder their gover̄ment shall attempt surprize or take the ꝑsons shippes and Goodꝭ of anie Prince or State by whose Subiectꝭ they shall sustaine any wronge or losse in manner as aforesaid the said Gou^{r}ner and Companie or their Captaines and Com̄aund^{rs} shall not for any such Act or Actꝭ grounded vppon the occasions mencõned bee in daunger or subiect to the perill

[1] These brackets have apparently been inserted in the MS. by someone who had noticed the duplication of this passage.

or pen̄alties of his highnes Lawes as in and by the said Lr̄es patentℯ more at large may appeare: Nowe knowe yee that wee the said Gour ner and Companie of Mr chantℯ of London Tradinge vnto the *East Indies* Intendinge by the helpe and assistance of Almightie God this instant month of to sett out a voyage of shippes sufficiently victualed manned and fraught wth mr chandize to goe in Course of Trade into the said *East Indies* haue out of the good opinion wch wee hold and Conceyue of A B his experience Iudgment Skill and discretion in matters of Trade and Nauigation and of his abilitie and wisdome to gouerne and direct *so great a fleete of*[1] Shippes and number of men to bee therein employed and of his care diligence and faithfulnes about the same haue nominated chosen and appointed the said A B to bee *Captaine and principall Gour ner*[1] in the said voyage of the said shippes and persons, And accordinge to the said power to vs viven[2] by the said Lr̄es Patentℯ doe hereby giue warrant & auch[thority] to the said A. B. to doe execute and perfourme all and eur ye thinge wch to the place and office of a *Captaine and a principall*[1] Com̄aunder appertaineth as well in punnishing and Correctinge of offenders in all kindℯ in and duringe the tyme of the said voyage, as also for the iust and lawefull defence of the said persons Shippes goodℯ and Mr chandizes against the offence vyolence and Iniurye of Enemyes or evill disposed persons as also for the recoveringe backe and getting recompence for all losses wrongfullie receiued or sustained by any such meanes as aforesaid, And likewise for doeing and performeing such other matters thinges direcc̄ons and Com̄aundementℯ wch hee the said A B doth or shall herewth receive in charge by writinge from the said Gour nr and Company touchinge the said voyage or the busines thereof, So as the said A B in doeinge and executinge the pr misses doe in all thinges followe and obay his Maties will and direcc̄ons heerein before expressed to bee conteyned in the said recited Lr̄es Patentℯ, and such orders and Constitutions as the said Gouerner and Companie haue made ordeyned and

[1] These words in italics are underlined in the original.

[2] A mistake for "given."

sett in writinge vnder their Seale and herewth deliu^{r}ed to the said A B and not otherwise And whereas his Matie by his ler̄es Patentę bearing date the 31th day of May in the 7th yeare of his highnes raigne of *England France* and *Ireland* and of Scotland the 42th Hath further bene graciouslye pleased streightlye to charge, and prohibite all his Subiectę of what condicon soeu^{r}, To trade visite or frequent into the said *East Indies*, or into any of the Islandę or Portę thereof, vppon peine and forfeicture not onely of their goodę and M^{r}chandizes, but also of their shippes and furniture thereof. Now knowe yee. That wee the said Gou^{r} and Comp^{nie} aforesaid, by the lyke power to vs given by the said Ler̄es Patentę, doe hereby giue warrant and aucthortie vnto the said that if in his voyage outward or homeward, hee shall meete wth any of the shippes or goodę or any of his Ma^{tis} Subiectę (other then such as are set out by our appointment[)], To arrest, take and seize the persons Shippes and goodę of all such offenders and to deteyne them in his Custodye, and bringe them saufelye back into *England* wth him ; here to answear such matters as shalbe obiected against them for doeing contrarye to his *Highnes* Com̄aundm^{t}, expressed more largely in his said ler̄es patentę

In Wittnes whereof The said Gou^{r}ner and Companie haue herevnto putt their Seale thearevnto appointed the day of in the yeare &c.

TO[1] all to whome theise presentę shall Com̄e to bee seene read or heard, The Gou^{r}ner and Company of the Merchantę of London tradinge to the *East Indies* send greetinge, whearas o^{r} Soveraigne Lord the Kingę Matie by his Ler̄es Patentę vnder the greate Seale of England made and dated the fourteenth day of december in the

[1] The preceding document (see note) is a specimen of the commission issued to the commander of the Company's fleet; the present one appears to shew the form adopted for the captains of the separate vessels.

thirteenth yeere of his Raigne over this Realme of England Hath graunted to vs the said Governer and Companye full power and auchthoritye at all tymes then after to nominate and ymploy in every of o^r^ voyages then after to bee made into the said *East Indies,* One or more Captaynes or Principall Comaund^rs^ to rule and governe his Maties subiect*e* in such voyages in dewe obeidience for the observinge and executinge of all such Orders and Constitucōns as wee the said Gou^r^ner and Companie shall thinke fitt to make and ordayne for the furthrance of such vyage His Matie thereby streightly Chargeinge and Comaundinge the said Captayne and Principall Gou^r^n^rs^ so to bee ymployed to follow and punctually to obserue in all thinges such Commission Instruction and directions, as they shall receive from the said Governer and Companie and in no wise to contrarie the same as they will answeare the contrary at their perills. Now know yee That wee the said Governer and Companie tradinge to the *East Indies* intendinge by the assistance of Allmightie God this present Month of   to sett out one or more Shippes sufficiently victualled manned and laden with Merchandizes to goe in Course of Tradinge into the said *East Indies* out of the good opynion wch wee hould and Conceyve of 𝔄 𝔅 have Chosen and appoynted the said 𝔄 𝔅 to bee chief Comaunder and principall Governer in the said voyage of the good Shippe Called the.   And according to the power to vs given by his Maties said Lerēs Patent*e* doe hereby give warrant and auchthoritie to the said 𝔄 𝔅 and to such other person and persons wch duringe the said voyage vppon or after the death or removall of the said 𝔄 𝔅 the said Companye haue named and appoynted to bee Captaine or principall Commaunder of the said Shippe to doe execute and performe all and every thinge wch to the place and office of a Captaine or principall Commaunder appertaineth, accordinge to the Directions and Commaundm^t^ wch the said 𝔄 𝔅 hath or shall herew^th^ receiue in Charge by writinge from vs the said Gouerner and Companie touching the said voyage. and the busines therof. So as the said 𝔄 𝔅 and such other person or persons wch shall succeede in his roome as aforesaid in doeinge and executinge of

the premisses doe in all thinges followe and obey such ord[rs] and Constitucõns as wee the said Gouerner and Companie haue made ordayned and sett in writinge and herew[th] delivered to the said A B and not otherwise In witnesse whereof wee the said Governer and Companie have herevnto put our Seale the day of in the yeares &c.

Iames Rex[1]

RIGHT trustie, and right welbeloued Counsaylor wee greet yow well; These are to will and require yow forthwith to deliuer to our trustie, and welbeeloued S[r]. Thomas Smith Knight Gouernor of the East Indya Companye of Merchant℮, or to any whome hee shall apoynt, one Brass Demye Culueringe of ffiue and twentie hundred weight or thereabout℮; to be presented in our name to the Kinge of Macassar in the East Indyes, from whome wee haue receyued manye present℮ of farr greater value heretofore. And for your soe doeinge, this shall bee your warrant. Geuen vnder our Signet at Whitehall this 13th. of Ianuary 1616.

To our right trustie and right welbeeloued Counsayler the Lo: Carew[2] M[r] of our Ordinance

[1] This letter explains itself. There is no reference to the matter in the Court Minutes.

[2] George Carew, Baron Carew of Clopton, and afterwards Earl of Totnes (*b.* 1555, *d.* 1629), was a fine example of the many sidedness which characterized the men of his day. He had made a voyage with Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and had held a captaincy in the royal navy; as Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, he had taken part in Essex's expeditions to Cadiz and to the Azores; he had been for a short period ambassador in France; he had rendered most important services in Ireland, both in a military capacity and in administrative posts; as a courtier, he had the good fortune to enjoy the favour of three successive occupants of the throne; and he is still remembered with gratitude by students for his extensive collection of documents bearing on Irish history, a subject in which he took the liveliest interest. He was appointed Master of the Ordnance on the 26th June, 1608, and held the post until the 5th May, 1617 (see *Dict. of National Biography*, s. n.).

IAMES[1] by the grace of God Kinge of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland defendor of the faith &c, TO the Treasourer Chauncellor Vnderthrer and Barons of our Exchequer for the tyme being. To the Warden of the Cinque Portes, or his deputy for the tyme being. To all our Iudges for the tyme being. to our Attorney generall, and the rest of our learned Counsell, for the tyme being. To all our Iustices, Officers and Ministers for the tyme being. To all Customers Comptrollers, ffarmors of Customes. Searchers and Wayters in any of our Portes for the tyme being. And to all the Officers Ministers and Subiectꝭ of vs and our Heires and Successors for the tyme being; to whome it shall or may appertaine, Greeting; WHEREAS we by our lr̃es Patentꝭ sealed with our greate Seale of England bearing date the one and thirtith day of May in the seaventh yeare of our Raigne of England ffraunce and Ireland . and of Scotland the two and fortith. Of our espetiall grace certaine knowledge and meere motion did for vs our heires and Successors graunt vnto the Gouernor and Companie of Mrchantꝭ of London trading into the *East Indies* and their Successors. That it should and might be lawfull to and for the said Gour & Companye and theire Successors to shipp and transport out of this our Realme of England or the dominions of the same in any theire voyages to or towardꝭ any

[*The rest is wanting*]

[1] It is difficult to assign a date or subject to this fragment, but there seems to be some reason for concluding it to belong to the Royal Grant of 16th January, 1617/18, by which the Company were empowered to export foreign coin to the value of 100,000*l.* yearly [see Shaw's *Charters of the East India Company* (Madras, 1887), page 287, and a reference in No. 6 of the charters calendared on page 263 of a *Report on the old Records of the India Office* (W. H. Allen & Co., 1891)]. A copy of the petition leading up to this grant is preserved among the records at the India Office (B.R., FF, III, 16), but of the document itself no copy can be traced.

Condic̃ons[1] propounded and agreed vppon the fifth of May 1618 betwixt the Gouern^{r} and Companie of M^{r}ch^{t}℮ of London trading into the East Indyes on thone part and George Hall of Deptford Stroud in the Countye of Kent Ancho^{r}smith on thother parte

THAT George Hall shall whollie employe himselfe in the Companies busines, and not to meddle wth any other mens wthout leave first had from the Companie in writing nor keepe any other Shopp or Shoppes in the Towne or else where.

That the said George Hall shall not make any Ironworke whatsoeu^{r} (as Anchors, boult℮ Ring boult℮, Carriage worke, Ruther Irons, Pumpe chaines, Plates &c) wthout order from the Companie or their Deputyes, and to receaue direccons from them both for the waight and sizes And if that any such worke being made, shall not be approued of, it shall then be returned backe againe vnto the said George Hall, who shall make all his worke as is said according to direcc̃on for the sizes and waight by the patterne and noe otherwise Nor that Bradshowe receaue any Iron worke made but such as he shall first acquaint, Mr Burrell wthall, to be according to the said direcc̃on.

That the said George Hall, shall not alter nor change, any of the said Iron that is laid in by the Companie for their vse about any other mens work℮, but onely for the Companies seruice nor to carrye away or wast any of the Companies coales, but to cause them to be spent onelye about their busines. And shall worke noe other Iron then such as he shall receaue from the Companie.

And that the said George Hall, shalbe answerable in accompt for all such Iron and coales as shalbe deliu^{r}ed to him from the Companie according to the direcc̃on given by the M^{r} of the worke.

And for the prices of eu^{r}ye ꝑticuler sort of Iron worke, the said Gouernor and Companie doe cou^{n}en[t] to paie vnto the said

[1] This agreement is entered on the Court Minutes, under date 5th May, 1618.

George Hall as followeth being according to a former agreem^{t} made wth Iohn Martyn, the 17th of October 1615.

		li	s	d
ffor Anchors from ...	100 to 1000^{wt}	1	10	0 ꝑ Cent
ffor Anchors from ...	1000 to 2000	1	13	0 ꝑ Cent
ffor Anchors from ...	2000 & vpwardꝭ ...	1	15	0 ꝑ Cent
ffor Ruther Irons and Pumpe chaines		0	0	4 ꝑ pound
Boate Hookes and Leech hookꝭ		0	1	4 ꝑ peece
Gromettꝭ and Staples poz 4^{l} ꝑ doss[1]		0	2	0 ꝑ doss
Muskett Hookꝭ		0	0	2[2] ꝑ peece
Carriage fore lockꝭ		0	0	2 ꝑ peece
Shutting of ould boultꝭ		0	0	2 ꝑ shut
Boate Ruther Irons		0	4	0 ꝑ paire
Stiffe[3] Ruther Irons		0	3	4 ꝑ paire
Pinchers of all sortꝭ well steeled		0	0	5 ꝑ pound
Murthering peeces standing to tryall		0	0	5 ꝑ pound

THE[4] order of Accomptꝭ to be kept by Richard Mountney Husband for the Companie of M^{r}chantꝭ of London trading to theast Indies, together wth Certayne other diligences to be obserued by the said Husband for the ffaithfull and plaine effecting of those Affayres wch haue byn and hereafter shalbe Comitted to his Charge by the Gouernor Deputye and Com̄ittees for the said Companie concerning the second Ioynt Stock.

1 ffirst fforasmuch as heretofore yo^{u} haue not kept the accomptꝭ of the said Companie in such order and fforme as we expected, and is nee[d]full to be vsed in a busines of soe great trust, and consequence. Wee doe therfore order and appoint yo^{u}, for the Reformacōn of that wch is alreadye pas[t] and for the better

[1] Dozen? [2] 3 in the copy entered on the Court Minutes. [3] Or "sciffe"?

[4] These instructions were drawn up at a Court held 10th December, 1619, and will be found entered upon the minutes under that date. For a note on Richard Mountney see page 304.

Informacõn of the said Companie in tyme to come That yo^u ffforthw^th prepare and keepe the said acco^tę orderly in a ffayre Iornall and lidger

2 And yo^u shall Intitle the said bookę in the name and for the vse of the said Companye

3 And in the begining of the said Iornall yo^u shall sett downe by way of Inventarie all and eu^rye ꝑticuler Çomoditnumbers, Stores, ꝓvisions, some and somes of money or victualls wch did Remayne in yor Charge apꝑtayning vnto the ffirst Ioynt Stocke, and are sithence transferred vnto the vse of the second Ioynt Stocke.

4 And yo^u shall keepe an acco^t of all and euerye ꝑticuler some and somes of money wch yo^u haue or shall receaue by warrant of the Tresorer, or of any other ꝑson by w^t meanes soeuer for and to the vse of the said Companie

5 And yo^u shall keepe seu^rall Acco^tę for each Comodityes, Stores ꝓvisions or victualls wch yo^u haue or shall hereafter ꝓuide and buy to Ishew forth to the shippes of the said Companie, or to ther yardę, or in whatsoeuer other mannor to their vses

6 And forasmuch as their doeth pase thoroughe yor handę many pettye matters in ꝓvisions of smale valewe, wch cannot require nor easilye be accommodated into seu^rall accomptę, yo^u shall therfore keepe one accompt for them all, vnder the name of pettye ꝓvisions, and in yor Iornall yo^u shall sett downe all the ꝑticulers, wch being Colected into grosse somes yo^u may the more easilye pase the ꝑcells into yor Lidger.

7 And wheras yo^u doe often receaue many thingę of great valew for the wch yo^u make noe disborsm^t but haue onely the Custodie or charge to receaue, and Ishew them to the vse of the Comp^a As namely the Comodityes bought by the Cōmittees wch yo^u receaue by waight Measure or number, to shippe forth. And alsoe many ꝓvisions, Stores, and victualls wch haue byn and hereafter may be retorned home in the Shipps of the ffirst and second Ioyn Stocke ; yo^u shall therfore bringe all the said thingę

whatsoeu^{r} vnto the aboue written acc^{t}ꝭ. wherby the Companie may at all tymes plainely, knowe and ꝑceaue in what manno^{r} yo^{u} haue, Ishewed fforth ther said Goodꝭ.

8 And yo^{u} shall take a bill of ꝑcells subscribed by the partyes of whome you buy any thinge for the said Companie. ffor in the Auditt of yor accomptꝭ that shalbe required of yo^{u} to vouche the ꝑcell.

9 And yo^{u} shall not furnish nor lade anything wha[t]soeu^{r} in the Companies Shippes or yardꝭ or otherwise wthout Receaptꝭ from those seu^{r}all officers, whome that shall concerne to Receaue and to be accomptable for the same, for in the Auditt of yor accomptꝭ yo^{u} shall not be discharged wthout the said receaptꝭ.

10 Lastlye yo^{u} shall vse diligence and prepare all the said bookꝭ to be Audited once eu^{r}ye moneth at the least. And yo^{u} shall haue a speciall care and inspection to those officers who are employed vnder yo^{u} in the Affayres of the said Companie that they be skilfull true and ffaithfull in their seu^{r}all placꝭ and employmentꝭ.

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